A
Concise Comparative
Celtic Grammar

By

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Preface.

This book is not intended to replace the Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen, but rather to serve as a sort of preparation for it, giving in condensed form as much of the material in the greater work as seems to suffice for university courses in the Celtic countries. We have therefore retained the same arrangement as in VKG, and have given, at the top of every page, references to the corresponding paragraphs of VKG.

All linguistic materials are here printed in italics, so that the principle followed in VKG of always representing by the same sign in italics the same sound is given up. Nevertheless we have in the main kept the notation used in VKG: thus *ĭ* means *i* in the IE or Germanic words or formulas, but for reasons of convenience we use *y* in Sanskrit words. When it is necessary to distinguish clearly between phonetic and orthographic spelling, phonetic signs or words spelled phonetically are put between / /. MnCo words should therefore be given either in Lhuyd's spelling or in phonetic spelling included in [ ], we fear that we have not always been consistent in this respect. The special Co signs for *w* and *d̄*, which would have given typographical difficulties, have been silently replaced by the ordinary signs. The sign ⟨ ⟩ indicates 'to be supplied' and [ ] 'to be deleted', ' denotes the real meaning and ' ' the supposed original meaning.

Many details, many paragraphs and some chapters found in VKG have had to be omitted. Our decisions in these cases have not always been infallible, and in some cases the choice should no doubt have been different. But within the limits adopted for our Concise Grammar we have everywhere tried to bring the doctrine up to date (though we have not taken for granted that the latest theories are without exception preferable to the older ones), the reader will find many important improvements and additions to VKG in this shorter work.

For Irish Palatalization the rules of VKG are given here, they still seem to be nearest the truth But the different system of Pokorny is referred to, and it is of course only by inadvertency that reference has not been made to the interesting system given by Thurneysen, Handb p 93ff , and repeated in a more precise form in ZCP 20 357

The etymological explanation of the verbal endings is much shorter than in VKG But as to the active endings this does not mean that the theories of VKG have been found incorrect On the contrary we still believe that the difference between simple and conjunct endings in Celtic depends on the fact that the forms of the simplex contain a suffixed subject pronoun which of course could not be suffixed to forms preceded by a preverb (§ 448) But in building up the new system the Celts have utilized some inherited elements, thus they have utilized the old ending *-mi* confounding it with the 1 sg pronoun we therefore do not object to the idea that they may have utilized in the same way the inherited ending *-ti*, confounding it with *-t* + pronoun We have for want of space entirely omitted the theory of the imperfect (VKG § 605 1) But the fact remains that the endings of the Celtic imperfect seem to be the secondary active endings with retained finals, looking as if they had been followed by a monosyllable with initial *e-*, this explanation (which cannot be applied to the 3 sg) holds good even for the 2 sg if we start from the ending *-tha* (Gk οἶσ-θα etc) In this way we get rid of the difficulty implied in the older explanation of Ir act 1pf 2 sg *-bertha* as a middle form, since the 2 sg 1pv dep *labrithe* shows a different vowel If the monosyllable following the 1pf was **est*, it no doubt meant was', not 'is' it is well known that in Russian *byvalo* 'was' can be used to form a consuetudinal 1pf *staruška mat', byvalo pod oknom sidĕla* the old mother used to be sitting at the window' (literally ' sat, it used to be''), Puškin, Domik v Kolomnĕ, XXXI (for Lith *būdavo* v Niedermann, Senn, Brender Worterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache, I 93)

We gratefully acknowledge the very great help given by Mr G Melville Richards in preparing the index to this work Want of space has unfortunately compelled us to reduce the full index made by him to its printed size We hope however that the index will be found practically complete for the Celtic words in the grammar properly speaking (though the MnIr forms as a rule have

only been given when the corresponding older forms are not mentioned in the grammar) But as the list of verbs is in itself arranged alphabetically, we have only given from this list just as many forms as would seem sufficient to enable a student acquainted with Irish phonetics and orthography to find his way in the list of verbs And for the Non-Celtic languages we have only given a few references to some explanations not found in VKG (in § 637 note we have not quoted any Non-Celtic forms, but scholars will easily see the importance of the W materials here adduced for the reconstruction of the IE form of the root)

Henry Lewis   **Holger Pedersen.**

Errata.

P 36 1 10 Read *denim*
P 42 1 7 Read MnW *lleath*
P 45 § 58 For I bought read he bought
P 50 § 69 1 7 For OBr read OBrit
P 72 1 10 For indeed read moreover
P 76, end of § 115 Read melody
P 78 1 10 For 'he carries read 'he holds
P 97 § 166 last line Read MnIr *urchar*
P 116 § 192 last line For 390 9 read 390, 8
P 124 § 211 1 3 For *to saig-* read *to-od saig-*
P 151 end of § 254 Read *enmetiam*
P 186 1 9 Read *diguedham*
P 187 1 16 For wither read whiter
P 206 second set-off 1 2 Read *o if ony* (not *yny*)
P 226 § 374 1 3 Read *dub*
P 254 § 421 1 9 After *io* add in the ind and subj
P 258 § 427 1 3 Read *ro-riess\n te*
P 266 1 13 Read *echomnuchuir*
P 267 end of § 432 For *ad io isat* read *ad r-orsat*
P 277 Note 2 1 3 Read entru-ts
P 318 § 478 1 last line For *at* read *at et it* (§ 388, 6)
P 364 § 549 2 1 9 Read *-omthiged*
P 373 § 570 1 4 Read *are-r-ancatar*
P 379 1 6 Read Penarth
P 399 Note 1 4 Read these

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A Phonology

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XXXI   The verb.

XXXII   Full paradigms of the verbs

Abbreviations.
(I) Grammatical

abbrev	abbreviated	etym	etymological, etymology
	abbreviation	expl	explosive
abl	ablative	fem	feminine
acc	accusative	FN	Proper Name, feminine
acct	accented	foll	follow(ing)
adj	adjective	fut	future
adv	adverb	g(en)	genitive
altern	alternation	gl	glossing, gloss on
amalg	amalgamated	GN	Proper Name (God)
	amalgamation	ind	indicative
anal	analogical, analogy	indet	indefinite
art	article	indep	independent
assim	assimilated,	inf(in)	infinitive
	assimilation	init	initial
bet	between	instr(um)	instrumental
borr	borrowed, borrowing	interrog	interrogative
cent	century	intervoc	intervocalic
cog	cognate	ipf	imperfect
coll	collective	ipv	imperative
colloq	colloquial(ly)	irreg	irregular(ly)
comb	combination	len	lenited, lenition
compar	comparative	lit	literally
conj	conjunct(ion)	loc	locative
cons(t)	consonant	m(asc)	masculine
consuet	consuetudinal	monosyll(s)	monosyllabic,
cpd(s)	compound(s)		monosyllable(s)
cop	copula	MN	ProperName (masculine)
d(at)	dative	neg	negative
decl	declined, declension	neut	neuter
dep	dependent	nom	nominative
dep(on)	deponent	obj	object
deriv	derivative, derived	orig	original(ly)
devel	development	palat	palatal(ization)
dial	dialect	part	(i) participle,
diphth	diphthong		(ii) particle
disyll	disyllabic	perf	perfect
du	dual	pers	person(al)

plpf	pluperfect	rel	relative
pl(ur)	plural	sent(s)	sentences
PN	Place Name	s(in)g	singular
posit	positive	st	stem
poss	possessive	subj	(i) subject,
prec	preceding		(ii) subjunctive
pred	predicate, predicative	subst	substantive
pref	prefix	suff	suffix
prep	preposition	superl	superlative
pres	present	syll(s)	syllable(s)
pret	preterite	ton	tonic
pr(im)	primitive	trisyll	trisyllabic, trisyllable
prob	probably	unacct	unaccented
procl	proclitic	vb	verb
pron	(i) pronoun,	vn	verb(al) noun
	(ii) pronounced	voc	vocative
redupl	reduplicate(d)	wr	written

(II) Languages

Aeol	Aeolian	Hitt	Hittite
Alb	Albanian	IE	Indo European
Arm(en)	Armenian	Ir	Irish
Arr	Arran	Lat	Latin
Av	Avesta, Avestic	Lett	Lettish
Bas vann	Bas Vannetais	Lith	Lithuanian
Br	Breton	MHG	Middle High German
Brit	British	Mn	Modern
C(elt)	Celtic	NW	North Welsh
Co	Cornish	O	Old
Corn	Cornouaille	OE	Old English
Cret	Cretan	Og	Ogam
Dan	Danish	OHG	Old High German
Don	Donegal	ON	Old Norse
Dor	Doric	Osc	Oscan
Du	Dutch	OSl	Old Slavonic
E	English	Pers	Persian
EW	Early Welsh	Pr	Old Prussian
Fr	French	Russ	Russian
G(aul)	Gaulish	Sc	Scottish (Gaelic)
Germ	German	Serb	Serbian
Gk	Greek	Skr	Sanskrit
Glam	Glamorgan	SW	South Welsh
G -Lat	Gaulish-Latin	Swed	Swedish
Gmc	Germanic	Treg	Tregurer
Goth	Gothic	Umb(r)	Umbrian
Gothl	Gothland	V	Vannes, Vannetais
Gwent	Gwentian	W	Welsh
Gwyn	Gwynedd, Venedotian		

(III) Bibliographical

ACL   Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie, herausgegeben von Whitley
    Stokes und Kuno Meyer Halle a S 1898– 1907

Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis, B IX 5 (1926)

AL(W)   Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, Aneurin Owen (Com-
    missioners of the Public Records), 2 vols London 1841

Älteste ir Dichtung   Über die älteste irische Dichtung, Kuno Meyer
    (Kgl Preuß Akad No 6 10), 1913, 1914

Anecd   Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts Ed by O J Bergin, R I Best
    Kuno Meyer and J G O'Keeffe, Vols I—V Halle 1907—1913

Annals of Ulster Annala Uladh   Ed by W M Hennessy and B Mac-
    Carthy, Vols I—IV Dublin 1887—1901

Ann de Bret   Annales de Bretagne publiées par la Faculté des Lettres
    de Rennes 1885—

Arch glott suppl   Archivio Glottologico Italiano   Supplementi all'
    Archivio Torino 1891—

Arm St   Armenische Studien Lidén, Goteborg 1906

Asp i Irsk   Aspirationen i Irsk   Holger Pedersen Leipzig 1897

Atk Keat   Tri Bior ghaoithe an bhais of Rev Geoffrey Keating, edited
    with Glossary and Appendix by Robert Atkinson (Royal Irish Academy,
    Irish Manuscripts Series, Vol II Part I) Dublin 1890

Atk LBr   The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac Text,
    Translation and Glossary By Robert Atkinson (Royal Irish Academy,
    Todd Lecture Series II) Dublin 1887

BA   The Book of Aneirin Facsimile and Text by J Gwenogvryn Evans
    Pwllheli 1908

Barbe   Le Mystère de Sainte Barbe, Émile Finault Paris 1888

BB   Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben
    von A Bezzenberger [und W Prellwitz]   Gottingen 1877—1907

BB   The Book of Ballymote   published   by the Royal Irish Academy
    With Introduction, Analysis of Contents, and Index, by Robert
    Atkinson   Dublin 1887

BBC   The Black Book of Carmarthen, Reproduced and Edited by J
    Gwenogvryn Evans   Pwllheli   1907

BBCS   The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, Vols 1—8 Cardiff
    1921—

Berla na Filed, Kuno Meyer (ZCP 8 557—8, 1912)

Betha Colmain maic Luachain, Kuno Meyer (Royal Irish Academy, Todd
    Lecture Ser XVII) Dublin 1911

B(eun) M(er)   Beunans Meriasek   Whitley Stokes London 1872

Bruchst d alt Lyrik   Bruchstücke der alteren Lyrik Irlands, Kuno Meyer
    Erster Teil (Kgl Preuß Akad No 7) 1919

BT   The Book of Taliesin Reproduced & Edited by J Gwenogvryn Evans
    Llanbedrog 1910

Burgschaft   Die Burgschaft im irischen Recht, Rudolf Thurneysen (Preuß
    Akad d Wiss, Phil -Hist Kl 2) Berlin 1928

Cáin Ad(amnain)   An Old Irish treatise on the law of Adamnan   Kuno
    Meyer (Anecdota Oxoniensia)   Oxford 1905
Carlsr Bede   Glosses on the Carlsruhe Bede, Thes II 10 – 30
Celtic Scotland, W F Skene 3 vols Edinburgh 1876 – 80
Cerdd Dafod, sef Celfyddyd Barddoniaeth Cymraeg, John Morris-Jones
    Rhydychen 1925
Chrest(omathie) Bretonne, J Loth   Paris 1890
Ch(w)SD(R)   Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein, Henry Lewis Wrecsam 1925
CIrL   Contributions to Irish Lexicography, Kuno Meyer   Vol I, part I
    A – C Halle a S 1906 Part II D – Dno [publ ceased] Suppl to ACL
C Llywarch Hen   Canu Ll H , Ifor Williams   Caerdydd 1935
Cod Liehf   in Lib Land
Comp   The Computus Fragment ZCP 8 408, BBCS 3 256
Corm   Sanas Cormaie An Old-Irish Glossary Kuno Meyer (Aneed IV)
    Halle a S 1912
CW   Gwreans an Bys The Creation of the World   Ed Whitley Stokes
    Berlin 1863
Cyfranc Lludd a Llevelys, I Williams Bangor 1910
Cymmr   Y Cymmrodor, the Magazine of the Honourable Society of Cym-
    mrodorion London 1877 –
Cywyddau D ap G   Detholion o Gywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym   Ifor
    Williams Bangor 1927
D ab Edmwnd Gwaith Dafydd ab Edmwnd, Thomas Roberts Bangor 1914
Darn o'r Ffestifal (Liber Festialis), Henry Lewis (Supplement to the Trans-
    actions of the Hon Society of Cymmrodorion 1923 – 4)   Llundain 1925
Datblygiad yr Iaith Cymraeg, Henry Lewis, Caerdydd 1931
Dê en italo-celtique, Alf Sommerfelt (Videnskapsselskapets skrifter)
    Christiania (= Oslo) 1920
Deff Ffydd   Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr   wedi ei gyfieuthin o
    Ladin   drwy waith M Kyffin   Llunden 1595 Reprint ed by
    Wm Prichard Williams Bangor 1908
Delw y Byd (Imago Mundi), Henry Lewis a P Diverres Caerdydd 1928
Dêsi-Irish   A Contribution to the Phonology of Dêsi-Irish, R Henebry
    Gryphiswaldiae 1898
DFfest   see Darn o r Ffestifal
Dict   Le Mystere de Sainte Burbe, avec traduction française et dictionnaire
    etymologique du breton moyen, Émile Ernault Paris 1888
Dict br fr Legonidec   Dictionnaire français-breton enrichi d'additions
    par Hersart de la Villemarque Saint Brieuc 1847
Dict de Pierre de Châlons   Dictionnaire breton-français du diocese de
    Vannes, Pierre de Châlons Vannes 1723 (New edition by J Loth
    Rennes 1895)
Dinds   see Metr Dinds
Dingestow Brut Dingestow MS (c 1300) now in the National Library of
    Wales (an edition is being prepared for the University of Wales Press
    Board by Henry Lewis)
EEW   The English Element in Welsh, A Study of English Loanwords in

Welsh, T H Parry-Williams (Cymmrodorion Record Series X) London 1923

Eos Ceiriog, Sef casgliad o bêr ganiadau Huw Morus, o gynnulliad a diwygiad W D 2 vols Gwrecsam 1823

Ériu, the Journal of the School of Irish Learning Dublin 1904—

Et ordb Etymologisk ordbog over det norske og det danske sprog, H Falk og A Torp Kristiania 1903—1906

EWG Elementary Welsh Grammar, J Morris-Jones Oxford 1921

Fél Félire Oengusso Céli Dé The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee Ed Whitley Stokes (Henry Bradshaw Society, XXIX) London 1905

Festskrift Amund Larsen Festskrift til Amund B Larsen Kristiania 1924

Fianaig(echt), Kuno Meyer (R I A Todd Lecture Ser XVI) Dublin 1910

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Geirfa Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg, J Lloyd-Jones A—Dauyð Caerdydd 1931—6

Glossaire, GMB Glossaire moyen-breton, Émile Ernault Paris 1895—6

Granim Petite Grammaire bretonne, Émile Ernault Saint Brieuc 1897

Guillevic & Le Goff, Grammaire bretonne du dialecte de Vannes Vannes 1902

Gwaith Twm o'r Nant Gwaith Thomas Edwards (Twm o'r Nant) Liverpool 1874

Gwreans an Bys, see CW

Handb Handbuch des Alt Irischen, Rudolf Thurneysen I Teil Grammatik Heidelberg 1909

Hen MSS Selections from the Hengwrt MSS in the Peniarth Library Ed by Robert Williams 2 vols London 1876, 1892

Hermathena, a Series of Papers on Literature, Science and Philosophy By Members of Trinity College, Dublin Dublin, London

HGCref Hen Gerddi Crefyddol, Henry Lewis Caerdydd 1931

Hib Min Hibernica Minora, Kuno Meyer (Anecdota Oxoniensia) Oxford 1894

Hist Gruff ap Cynan The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan Ed Arthur Jones Manchester 1910

Ieuan Deulwyn Casgliad o Waith Ieuan Deulwyn Ed Ifor Williams Bangor 1909

IF(Anz) Indogermanische Forschungen, herausg von Karl Brugmann und Wilhelm Streitberg Mit dem Beiblatt Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach und Altertumskunde, herausg von W Streitberg Straßburg 1892—

IGE² Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill (Argraffiad Newydd) Golygwyd gan Henry Lewis, Thomas Roberts, Ifor Williams Caerdydd, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru 1937

Ill Stud , see Misc Hib

Imram Bran The Voyage of Bran son of Febal to the Land of the Living Ed Kuno Meyer London 1895

Introd An Introduction to Early Welsh John Strachan Manchester 1909

Ir Recht Irisches Recht, Rudolf Thurneysen (Preuß Akad d Wiss, phil -hist Kl 2) Berlin 1931

Irske Studier, Chr Sarauw   Kobenhavn 1900

Jés   Le grand mystere de Jésus, Hersart de la Villemarqué   Paris 1866

Juv   Glosses in the Juvencus MS , Cambridge Univ Library   Published
by Stokes in KB 4 385—421

KB   Beitrage zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung   herausg von
A Kuhn und A Schleicher   Berlin 1858—1876

Keat   Tri Bior Ghaoithe an Bhais   The Three Shafts of Death by
Geoffrey Keating   Ed Osborn Bergin Dublin (R I A) 1931

Kelt St   Keltische Studien, Heft 1—2 H Zimmer Berlin 1881—1884

King and Hermit   A Colloquy between King Guaire and his brother Marban
Ed by Kuno Meyer   London 1901

KZ   Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Sprachforschung   Herausg von
A Kuhn   1852—

La Langue Bretonne   La langue bretonne en quarante leçons, François
Vallée, septieme édition   Saint Brieuc 1926

Lhuyd   Archaeologia Britannica   By Edward Lhuyd   Oxford 1707

Liad(am) and Cur(ithir)   ed Kuno Meyer   London 1902

Lib Land   Liber Landavensis   The Text of the Book of Llan Dav
by J Gwenogvryn Evans   and John Rhŷs   Oxford 1893

Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland   Leipzig

LL   The Book of Leinster sometimes called the Book of Glendalough
published   by the Royal Irish Academy, with Introduction, Analysis
of Contents and Index by Robert Atkinson   Dublin 1880

LU   Lebor na Huidre Book of the Dun Cow Ed R I Best and Osborn
Bergin (R I A) Dublin 1929

LlA   Llyvyr Agkyr Llanddewivrevi (1346) The Elucidarium and other
Tracts in Welsh   Ed by J Morris Jones   and John Rhŷs (An-
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Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol Henry Lewis   Wrecsam 1923

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1935

Ll H   Canu Llywarch Hen   Ifor Williams   Caerdydd 1935

MA   The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales²   Denbigh 1870

Manx Phonology   Outlines of the Phonology of Manx Gaelic, John Rhŷs
Douglas 1894

Mart Capella   Glosses on Martianus Capella in the Library of Corpus Christi
College, Cambridge, ed by Stokes in Archaeologia Cambrensis 1873,
pp 1—21

MBH   Middle-Breton Hours Whitley Stokes   Calcutta 1876

MC   Pascon agan Arluth (Mount Calvary) Whitley Stokes   1861

Melanges H d Arbois de Jubainville Paris 1905

Mel Loth   Melanges Bretons et Celtiques offerts à M J Loth Rennes,
Paris 1927

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Series VIII - XII) Dublin 1903—1935

Mir Mort   Le Mirouer de la Mort, Émile Ernault Paris 1914 (also RC
31 – 37)

Rep of Welsh MSS   Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language,
   J Gwenogvryn Evans (Historical Manuscripts Commission)   London
   1898—1910

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RM   The Text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh Tales from the Red
   Book of Hergest   Ed by John Rhŷs   and J Gwenogvryn Evans
   Oxford   1887

RP   The Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest, Reproduced and Edited by
   J Gwenogvryn Evans   Llanbedrog   1911

Salt   Saltair na Rann, edited by Whitley Stokes (Anecdota Oxoniensia)
   Oxford   1883

Sg   The St Gall Glosses (Thes II 49—224)

Sitz(ungs)-Ber(ichte) der Kais(erlichen) Ak(ademie) der Wissenschaften in
   Wien

Sitzungsber preuß Ak(ademie) der Wissenschaften Berlin

SM(Gloss)   Ancient Laws of Ireland, Senchus Mor   Vols I—V, Dublin
   1865—1901 Glossary, vol VI   Dublin 1901

Spoken North Welsh, Henry Sweet (Trans Phil Soc 1882—84 pp 409—484)

SR   see Salt

Staples, On Gaelic Phonetics (Trans Phil Soc 1891—93, pp 396—404)

Stories and Songs from Irish MSS , Kuno Meyer (Otia Merseiana, Liverpool
   1899—1903)

Streitberg-Festschrift   Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft Fest-
   schrift für Wilhelm Streitberg Heidelberg 1924

Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Joannis Rozwadowski I Cracow 1927

TBC   The Tain Bo Cuailnge from the Yellow Book of Lecan   Edited
   by John Strachan and J G O Keeffe Dublin   1912 (also as Sup-
   plement to Ériu 1904—1912)

TBF   Tain Bó Fraich Ed by Mary E Byrne and Myles Dillon Dublin,
   S O 1933 (Med and Mod Irish Series vol V)

Tec Corm   Tecosca Chormaic   The Instructions of King Cormac mac
   Airt Kuno Meyer (Todd Lecture Ser XV) Dublin 1909

Thes   Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus   Edited by Whitley Stokes   and
   John Strachan   2 vols Cambridge 1901, 1903

Todd Lect 7 Poems from the Dindshenchas Text, Translation and
   Vocabulary by Edward Gwynn (Todd Lecture Series, vol VII) Dublin
   1900

Trans Phil Soc   Transactions of the Philological Society London 1859—

Trip L   The Tripartite Life of Patrick   Ed by Whitley Stokes
   Rolls Series London 1887

Tudur Aled Gwaith Tudur Aled, T Gwynn Jones   2 vols Caerdydd,
   Wrecsam, Llundain 1926

Tur   The Turin Glosses (Thes I 484—493 713—714)

Vallée   v La Langue Bretonne

VKG   Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen, von Holger
   Pedersen   2 vols Göttingen 1909, 1913

Vie de sainte Nonne, see Nonne

A. Phonology.

I. The development of the IE. sounds in Celtic.

§ 1 The primitive IE sound-system can be set out as follows

Syllabic vowels a o u e $ı$ $\bar{a}$ $\bar{o}$ $\bar{u}$ $\bar{e}$ $\bar{ı}$,

Syllabic sonants r l n m $\bar{r}$ $\bar{l}$ $\bar{n}$ $\bar{m}$,

Non-syllabic vowels w $ȷ$ (forming diphthongs with $\breve{a}$ $\breve{o}$ $\breve{e}$),

Spirants s, $(þ)$.

Explosives				
gh	g^uh	$g'h$	dh	bh
g	g^u	g'	d	b
qh	k^uh	$k'h$	th	ph
q	k^u	k'	t	p

(Uvular) (Labiovelar) (Palatal) (Dental) Labial),

Non-syllabic sonants r l n m

In Celtic the short and the long vowels kept apart, but the short and the long diphthongs fell together   The diphthongs became in part monophthongs, while new diphthongs developed from monophthongs   The syllabic sonants gave groups of vowel + sonant p became a fricative   The uvular and palatal consonants fell together   The labiovelars partly became labials (g^u in all the Celtic languages, k^u and k^uh in Gaulish and British, g^uh- lost its labial character throughout, k^u and k^uh in Goidelic eventually lost their labial quality)   The tenues fell together completely with the voiceless aspiratae at a very early period, and similarly the mediae with the voiced aspiratae w, s, the explosives, and the non-syllabic sonants undergo the change known as lenition

The IE. short syllabic sounds.

§ 2. IE a (Lat , Gk , Gme a, Skr a or $ı$) gives Celt a, Ir *salann* 'salt' W *halen* OCo *haloın* Br (with vowel metathesis) *c'hoalenn, holenn* Lat *sal* Gk ἄλς Goth *salt* , Ir *anál* 'breath'

W *anadl* MlBr *alazn* (Mn *alan, halan,* V *hanal*) Lat *animus,* *anima* Gk ἄνεμος Goth *us-anan* 'to expire', Ir *arathar* 'plough' W *aradr* OCo *aradar* MlBr *arazr* MnBr *arar* Lat *arātrum* Gk ἄροτρον

For the glide-vowels after the syllabic vowel in Irish denoting the quality of the following consonant see §§ 164, 167 For changes due to umlaut, epenthesis, etc, see §§ 178, 166, 181—3

§ 3 (1) IE *o* (Lat, Gk *o,* Gmc *a,* Skr *a, ā*) gives Celt *o,* Ir *odb* 'knot (in wood)' W *oddf* 'lump' Gk ὀσφύς 'hip', Ir *roth* 'wheel' W *rhod* Co *ros* Lat *rota* OHG *rad*

For the various changes undergone by *o* through infection see § 178 (Ir) and §§ 181—3 (Brit)

(2) In W *o* before certain consonantal groups has become *u* (written *w*) in final syllables, ə (wr *y*) elsewhere, W *twng* 'oath', *tyngu* 'swear' Ir *tong-,* W *mwng* 'mane' Ir *mong,* W *iwrch* 'roe-buck' OCo *yorch* gl caprea Br *iouic'h* Gk ζόρξ, ζορκάς 'gazelle', W *twrch* 'hog' OCo *torch* Br *tourc'h* Ir *torc* W *llwrw* 'track' Ir *lorg* Other instances of the same change are W *mŵn* 'neck, collar', *mwnwgl mynwgl,* Ir *muin-torc* 'torquis', *muinél* 'neck' OHG *mana* 'mane', Lat *monīle,* W *mynydd* 'mountain' Co *meneth* OBr *-mo-nid* (Mn *menez*) < **moniyo-* "neck" (cf Gk λόφος 'neck, hill', δειράς 'ridge, neck')

(3) In Ml and MnIr and in Sc *o* has frequently become *a,* OIr *coss* 'foot' MnIr *cos* Sc *cas,* MlIr *boss bass* 'palm of the hand' MnIr and Sc *bas* (MlW *bos*), OIr *torbe* 'profit' MlIr *tarbe* MnIr *tairbhe,* OIr *muir,* g *mora* 'sea', MnIr *muir,* g *mara*

(4) In Brit *o* appears as *a* due to unrounding after original *w,* Ir *fossad* 'firm' W *gwastad* 'level, steady' (Br *goustad*), Ir *foscad* 'shadow' W *gwasgod* 'shelter' Br *gwasked,* OIr *fodail* 'division' W *gwaddol* 'dowry', Ir *folt* 'hair' W *gwallt* OCo *gols,* Ir *folcaim* 'I wash' W *golchi* 'wash' Co *golhy* Br *gwalc'hi* The same change occurs in G *Dago-uassus,* MlIr *foss* 'servant' W *gwas* Co *guas* Br *gwas* **upo-stho-,* cf Skr *upa-sthāna-m* 'attendance, service'

§ 4 IE *u* (Lat, Skr *u,* Gk *v,* Gmc *o u*) appears in Gaulish as *u* (rarely *o*), in the other branches sometimes as *u* (W *w,* Br *ou*), sometimes as *o* Ir as a rule has *o,* and *u* only before *u* or *i* in the following syllable (§ 178), W has /u/ (in monosyll words and in final syllables), but *o* before original *-ā* (§ 184), Co has *o* In Br *u* is most usual but earlier as well as in modern dialects *o* frequently

appears (Ml *con* Mn *koun* 'dogs' Gk *κύνες*) Ir *sruth* 'stream',
g *srotha* W *ffrwd* OCo *frot* Br *froud* *srutu-s, Ir *domun* 'world',
domain 'deep' W *dwfn*, f *dofn* 'deep' Co *down* Br *doun* G *Dubno-*
reia "worldking", Lith *dùgnas* (*-gn-* from *-bn-*) 'bottom', Ir *dobur*
'water' W *dwfr* Co *dour* (i e /*dowr*/) Br *dour* (i e /*dur*/) G *Uerno-*
dubrum "alder-water", MIIr *oss* 'deer' MnIr , Sc *os* Co pl *ohan*
'oxen' Br pl *ouhen*, *oc'hen* OHG *ohso* 'ox'

　　u in Brit undergoes umlaut (§§ 181—3 W /*y*/, wr *y*, Co ,
Br *e*), W *ych* 'ox' In sylls other than final *u* becomes in W *ə*
(wr *y*), W pl *ychen*, *dyffryn* 'valley' (*dyfr-hynt*)

　　§ 5 (1) IE *e* (Lat , Gk *e*, Gmc *e ι*, Skr *a*) gives Celt *e*, Ir
ech 'horse' W , OCo *ebol* Br *ebeul* 'colt' G *Epo-sognatus* "well-
accustomed to horses", *Epona* 'horse-goddess' Lat *equus*, Ir
cethir W *pedwar* Co *peswar* Br *pevar* 'four' G *petuar[ios]* 'fourth'
Gk *τέτταρες* Goth *fidwōr*, Ir *sen* 'old' W , Co , Br *hen* G *Seno-*
gnatus Lat *senex*

　　For changes due to vowel affection in Ir (> *i*) v § 178, in W
(> *y*, *ei*), § 181, in Co , § 182, in Br , § 183 In Co *y* is found
written for *e* where there was no affection, as in *myrgh* 'maiden'

　　(2) *e* before nasal + explosive has become *i* (Ir , G *i*, W , Co *y*,
Br *e*) In Ir the change seems to have occurred only before *i* and *u*
W *gu'ynt* ('o *gwyns* Br *gwent* 'wind' Lat *uentus*, OW *pimp*,
MlW *pymp* (MnW *pump*) Co *pymp* Br *pemp* G *pinpetos* 'fifth',
πεμπε-δουλα Lat *quinque* Gk *πέντε* In Brit *e* before *sw*, *sp*
appears to have fallen together with *i* W *gwych* § 24, 4, *ucher*
§ 25, 1

　　(3) *e* appears in Ir as *i* in hiatus before *a*, *i*, *u* and final *e*, *niæ*,
g *niath* 'nephew , *siur* 'sister', *eo*, g *iach* 'salmon' In Celt *ej* has
generally fallen together with *ij*, cf § 21,2, § 24,3, § 30

　　(4) For *ew* v § 18 In *kʷekʷ-*, *e* > Brit *o*, W *pobi* MnCo *pobaz*
'bake' Br *pobet* 'baked' Gk *πέσσω* 'I cook'

　　(5) Before non-palatal consonants *e* has in MnIr become *a*
(with palatalization of the preceding consonant) OIr *fer* 'man',
MnIr *fear* /*f'ar*/, Sc has an open *e* (but spelt as in Ir) It is note-
worthy that Ir *e* is represented by ON *ja*, ON *Kiallakr* Ir
Cellach, ON *Kiaruair* Ir *Cerball*, ON *bianak* 'blessing' Ir *ben-*
dacht, ON *skiapak* 'lolium temulentum' Ir *scethach* 'emetic, nau-
seating' (Marstrander, Festskrift Amund Larsen, 186) For *e* > *a*
in unacc sylls in MnW (dialects) and in Co v § 125—6

§ 6. (1) IE *ı* (Lat *ı*, Gk *ı*, Gmc *ı*, *e*) appears ın Gaulish as *ı* (e ın *ande-*, *are-*, *ate-*, but *ambı-* § 98), ın Neo-Celt sometımes *i̯*, *y*, sometımes *e* In Ir as a rule ıt ıs *e*, *ı* occurs before *u* or *ı* ın the followıng syllable (§ 178), and further before *n* + consonant and before *nn*, and ın hıatus before *a*, *ı*, *u* and fınal *e* In W *y* predomınates, before orıgınal fınal -*ā* ıt became *e* As a rule, Co has *e*, ıt became *y* before *nn* and nasal + stop, *e* and *y* (also wr *ey*) vary before certaın consonants (*s*, *d̹*) Br has *e*, ın OBr *ı* also occurs, changıng ınto *e* as ın W (§ 184) Ir *fedb* 'wıdow' W *gweddw* OCo *guedeu* Lat *uıdua* Goth *wıduwō*, Ir *bıth*, g *betho* W *byd* OCo *bıt* MlCo *bys, beys* Br *bed* 'world' G *Bıturīges* "World-kıngs", < **gᵘı tu-*, root **qᵘeı-* 'lıve , Ir *fınd* 'whıte' W *gwyn*, f *gwen* Co *guyn* Br *gwenn*, OBı *Uuın-mael* and *Uuen-mael* (MN), *Uuen-brıt* (FN), G *Uındo-bona* (PN) cf Gk *ἰνδάλλομαι* 'appear' For *ı̯* and *ı* ın hıatus see § 21

In pretonıc syllables ın W *ı* becomes *ə* (wr *y*, § 118)

(2) In Br before fınal -*z* (< *d̹*, *þ*, *s*) the dıphthong *eı* regularly appears Ir *dıe* 'day' W *dydd* OCo *deı* MlCo *deth*, *dyth*, *geyth* Br *deız* Lat *dıēs*, Br *feız* 'faıth' W *ffydd* < Lat *fıdēs*, Br *neız* 'nest' § 27, Br *Breız* 'Brıttany', cf Lat *Brıttones*, but Br *nez* 'nıts' (Ir *sned* 'nıt' W *nedd* 'nıts' Gk pl *κόνιδες* OE *hnıtu*), Br *gwez* 'trees' (Ir *fıd* 'tree', g *feda* W *gwŷdd* trees' MlCo *gueyth*) arc re-formatıons from the ʂg *nezenn*, *gwezenn*

(3) *uı* ıs represented by */gu/* ın W *gŵr* (pl *gwŷr*) OCo *gur* MlCo *gour* Br *gour* OBr *Uur-gost* Ir *fer* Lat *uır*, W *gwn* I know' (Co *gon* Br *gounn*, *gonn*) Ir *ro-fınnadar*, by */y/* (wr *u*) ın W *ugaın* '20' Co *ugens* Br *ugent* Ir *fıche* Wıth *ugaın* cf W *ucher* (§ 5, 2)

§ 7 (1) IE *r̥* (Skr *r̥*, Lat *or*, Gk *αο̦ ο̦α*, Gmc *ur*, *or*) and IE *l̥* (Skr *l̥*, *r̥*, Lat *ul*, Gk *αλ*, *λα*, Gmc *ul*, *ol*) ın prım Celtıc before mutes and sonants became *rı* and *lı*, the *ı* developıng as IE *ı* Ir *breth* 'judgment' W *bryd* 'mınd' Co *brys* G *uergobretus* (wıth -*re-* ınstead of -*rı-*, as ın *ματρεβο* § 309) Lat *fors* OHG *gıburt* 'bırth', Skr *bhr̥tı-ś* 'a bearıng, maıntenance', Ir *drech* 'face' W *drych* 'appearance, mırıor' *drem* (MnW *trem*) Br *dremm* 'face' (**dr̥k'smā*) Gk *ἔ-δρακον* 'I saw' OE *torht* 'brıght' Skr *dr̥ś-* 'look', Ir *lethan* 'broad' W *llydan* Co *ledan* Br *ledan* G *Lıtano-brıga* "Broad-town" Gk *πλάτανος* 'plane-tree' Gk *πλατύς* Skr *pr̥thú-ś* broad', Ir *dlıg-ım* MlW *dly-af* 'I am entıtled to' Co *dylly* MlBr *dellıt* 'to have a rıght

to' Goth *dulgs* 'debt' (cf MnW *dyled* 'debt', from older *dylyed* 'claim, right')

Under the influence of a preceding k^u an orig *r* appears in Ir as *ru*, Ir *cruth* 'shape', g *crotha* W *pryd* 'form, time' OCo *prit* 'time' MlCo *prys* Br *pred* Skr *sa-krt* 'once' Osc *petiro-pert* 'four-times', Ir *cruim* 'worm' W Co *pryf* Br *preñv* Skr *kṛmi-š* This development probably took place only before a following *i* or *u*, cf Ir *creth* 'poetry' beside W *prydu, prydyddiaeth* — *wri* gave Brit *ur* in MlW *gwrth* MnW *wrth* 'by' Co *orth* Br *ouz* Ir *frith-, fri*, root **wert-* in Lat *uertō* 'I turn' *uersus* 'against'

(2) Before vowels and spirants IE *r* and *l* developed as *ar, al* in Celtic (*ra, la* before two consonants) (a) Ir *carr* 'cart' W *car* Br *karr*, G -Lat *carrus* Lat *currus* OE *hors*, Ir *arco* 'I ask' W *archaf* Co *arghaf* MlBr *archas* 'he bade' IE **pṛsk'ō* (earlier **pṛk'-sk'ō*) cf Lat *poscō* OHG *forscōn* 'investigate', Ir *marb* W *marw* Co *marow* Br *maro* 'dead' Lat *mortuus* OHG *mord* 'murder' (b) Before syllabic vowels and *j*, *r* and *l* have not remained in any IE language Ir *maraim* 'I remain' Co Br *mar* 'hesitation' Lat *mora* 'delay', Ir *scaraim* 'I separate' W *ysgar* 'to separate' OHG *gi-scoran* 'cut'

§ 8 (1) IE *n* (Lat *en, in*, Gk *a*, before vowels *av*, Gmc *un, on*), and IE *m* (Lat *em, im*, Gk *a*, before vowels *aμ*, Gmc *um, om*), have in Celtic before stops and finally given Ir *en, em*, Brit and G *an, am* (a) Ir *in-derb* 'uncertain', *in-gnáth* 'unusual', W Co Br *an-* 'un-' (W *anhun* 'insomnia', etc) Lat *in-* Gk *a-* Goth *un-*, Ir *imb* 'about' W Co Br *am*, G *Ambi-trebius* OHG *umbi*, Ir *imb*, g *imbe* 'butter' OCo *amen-en* Br *amann, aman-enn* (W *ymenyn* for **emenyn*, cf OCo *emen-in*) (with different vocalization) Lat *unguen* 'ointment' OHG *ancho* 'butter' (b) Before *t* or *k*, Ir has *ē* from *en*, Ir *é-coir* 'unfitting' W *anghywir* 'incorrect', Ir *cét* MnIr *céad* '100' W *cant* Co *cans* Br *kant* Lat *centum* Gk *é-κατόν* Goth *hund*, Ir *dét* MnIr *déad* 'tooth' W Br *dant* Co *dans* Lat *dens*, g *dentis* Goth *tunþus*, Ir *éc* g *éca* 'death' MnIr *éag* MlW *angheu* MnW *angau* (*angheuol* 'mortal') Co *ankow* Br *ankou* **ṇk'u-*, cf Gk *νέκυς* 'corpse' Lat *nex* 'violent death' (c) Ir *deich n-* 'ten' W *deg* Co Br *dek* Lat *decem* Gk *δέκα* Goth *taihun*, cf accusative of consonantal stems, § 304

(2) The syllabic nasals before vowels, spirants and *m* gave Ir and Brit *an, am* (a) Ir *ainm n-* 'name' OW *anu*, pl *enuein* (Mn

enw, enwau) Co *hanow* Br *hano* (Gk ὄνομα < *onom-, Lat *nōmen*)
(b) Ir *am-ıreśś* 'unbelief', Ir *amulach amulchach* 'beardless' (*p*- lost,
cf § 33) (c) *nś, mś* gave Ir *ēś*, with prim Celt loss of *k* before *ś*,
Ir *céımm* 'step' W Co *cam* Br *kamm* cf Ir *cıngıd* 'steps' W
rhygyng 'ambling pace', Ir *léımm* 'leap' W *llam* Br *lamm* cf Ir
lıngım, cf final -*nś*, Ir acc pl *cona* 'dogs', Gk κύνας (d) Ir *banb*
'sucking-pig' W *banw*, OCo *baneu* gl suś, Br *bano*, Ir -*gaınedar*
'is born' W *ganed* 'was born' cf Ir *geın* 'birth' (e) Ir (*ben* 'woman')
g pl *ban* W *benyw* Co *benen* (with umlaut) Gk βανά, Ir W *an*-
before vowels 'un-', Ir *samaıl* 'likeness' W *hafal* 'similar' Co *haval*
Br *hañval* Lat *sımılıs* Gk ἅμα 'at once'

The IE. long syllabic sounds

§ 9 (1) IE *ā* (Lat *ā*, Gk *ā*, *η*, Gmc *ō*) and IE *ō* (Lat , Gk ,
Gmc *ō*) fell together in Celt except in final sylls , appearing as Ir *ā*,
G *ā*, Brit *ō* whence W *aw* (MlW in monosylls and final sylls only,
MnW in monosylls only, elsewhere *o*), OCo and OBr *o*, MlCo and
MlBr , MnBr *o* (wr Co *e*, *eu*, *ue*, *u*, *o*, Br *eu*), MnCo *e*, Vannes *e*,
Ir *bráthır* 'brother' W *brawd* pl *brodyr* OCo *broder* MlCo *broder*
bruder MnCo *bredar* Br *breur* pl *breudeur* V *brer* pl *breder* G *Bra-*
tronos MN Lat *frāter* Gk φράτηρ Goth *brōþar*, Ir *dám* 'company,
following' OW *dauu* gl eliens MlW *daw(f)* MnW *daw* 'son-in-law'
pl *dofıon* OCo *dof* gl gener MlCo *def duf* MlBr *deuff* MnBr V
deañ Gk δῆμος, Dor δᾶμος common people', Ir *fáıth* poet' W
gwawd 'song' (Mn 'derision') G οὐάτεις 'soothsayers' Lat *uātēs*,
Ir *dán* 'gift' W *dawn* Lat *donum*, Ir *gnáth* known' W *gnawd*
'customary' G *Eposognatus* MN "familiar with horses ' Lat *nōtus*
Gk γνωτός, OW *diauc* gl segnem MlW *dıawg* MnW *diog* 'lazy'
OCo *dıoc* gl piger MlCo *mar thyec* 'so lazy' Br *diek* lit ' un-swift'',
cf Lat *ōcıor* 'swifter' Gk ὠκύς swift'

(2) Traces of *aw* in Br are found, Br *a-raok* 'before, forward'
W *yrháwg* 'in future, for a long time to come', beside the proclitic
forms Br *rak*-, W *rhag*, Br *penaos* 'how' W *naws*, older *gnaws*
'nature, temperament' Ir *gnás* 'custom', cf also OBr *annaor* gl
quandoquidem, OW *oraur* 'since', lit ' of the hour'' (prep + art +
Lat *hōra*, cf Ir *óre* 'since', g of *úar* 'hour') Forms with *au* (< *ā*, *ō*)
in OCo are probably Welsh

For *ā* before *w* in Brit v § 18

(3) *ā* is rounded in Ir after *m* in *mór*, *már* 'great' W *mawr*

Co Br *meur* G *Iantumarus* MN < **mā-ro-*, Ir *móin* 'bog' W *mawn* 'peat' Lat *mānāre* 'to flow, spread' The following Ir words with *ō* are borrowings Ir *nós* 'custom' = W *naws*, Ir *rón* = W *rhawn* 'horse-hair', cf Br *reun* 'bristles'

(4) Final IE -*ō* gave pr Celt -*ū*, G *Frontu* < Lat *Frontō*, Ir *cú* 'dog', W *ci* < **k'wō*, v § 91, § 93

§ 10 IE *ū* (Lat *ū*, Gk *v*, Gmc *ū*) appears in OCelt and in Ir as *ū*, but became *ī* in Brit (the change taking place before the final sylls were lost, final -*ū* from IE -*ū* or -*ō* caused the same umlaut as IE -*ī*, v § 181, *ū* first became *v*, and this at least prior to the Latin borrowings, v § 78,3) Ir *rún* 'secret' W *rhin* OE *rūn*, Ir *dún* W *din-* OBrit *Branodunum* G *Lug(u)dūnum* 'Lyons' ON *tún*, OE *tún*, Ir *cúl* 'back' W *cil* OCo *chil* gl ceruix Br *kil* Lat *cūlus*

§ 11. IE *ē* (Lat *ē*, Gk *η*, Goth *ē*, OHG , ON *ā*, OE *ǽ*, MnE ee) became Celt *ī* very early, and fell together with IE *ī* (Lat , Gk , Gmc *ī*) Ir *fír* true' W *gwir* Co *guyr* Br *gwir* G *Co-wirus* MN Lat *uērus* OHG *wār*, Ir *rí*, g *ríg* 'king' W *rhi* OBrit *Ριγόδουνον* PN G *Rigomagus* PN, *Caturix* Lat *rēx*, Ir *lín* 'number' Lat *plēnus*, Ir *síl* seed' W *hil*, *sil* 'posterity' Lat *sē-ui* 'I sowed' OHG *sāen* 'to sow', Ir *sír* 'long' W Co Br *hir* Lat *sērus*

Note In Gaulish *e* or *ei* (prob a close *ē*) appears in some cases *Uisu ria Bello uesus*, *Dumno-coueros*, *Dubno-rex*, *Dubno-reix* This seems to suggest that the change from *ē* to *ī* did not take place in some unacct non-init syllables

Exx of IE *ī* Ir *rim* 'number' W *rhif* OE *rím* OHG *rīm*, Ir *cích* teat' W *cig* 'meat' OCo *chic* Br *kik* Gk *κῖκυς* strength', Ir *li* colour W *lliw* OCo *liu* Br *liou* G *Liuo Liuius* Lat *liuor*

§ 12 IE *r̄* (Gk *ρω*, *ορ* Gmc *ur*, *or* Skr *īr*, *ūr*), IE *l̄* (Gk *λω*, *ολ*, Gmc *ul*, *ol*, Skr *īr*, *ūr*), IE *n̄* (Gmc *un* Skr *ā*), IE *m̄* (Gmc *um*, Skr *ā*) seem to have two sets of representatives in Lat and Celt *ar*, *al*, *an*, *am* and *rā lā nā*, *mā* (though the latter set may be doubted)

(1) Ir *ard* 'high, great' G *Arduenna* Lat *arduus* 'high' Gk *ὀρθός* straight, erect' Skr *ūrdhvá-s*, W Co Br *darn* 'piece' Skr *dīrná-s* 'split', W *sarn* 'causeway, litter' Skr *stīrná-s* 'spread, strewn', Lat *strātus*, Ir *rann* 'part' W *rhan* MlCo *ran* OBr *rannou* gl partimonia **prisnā*, Lat *pars* Gk *πέπρωται* 'it has been fated' Skr *pūrtá-m* 'reward', MlIr *caill* 'a wood' W *celli* 'grove' OCo

kelh Lat *callis* 'mountain-path, woodland pasture', cf ON *holt* 'wooded hill' OHG *holz* 'a wood, forest'

(2) Ir *grán* 'grain of corn' W *grawn*, sg *gronyn* OCo *gronen* Br *greun*, sg *greunenn* Lat *grānum* OHG *korn* 'corn', Ir *bráth* 'judgement' W *brawd* Co *bres* Br *breut* ('pleader'), G *Bratuspantium* PN Ir *barn* 'judge' W *barn* 'judgement', Ir *lán* 'full' W *llawn* Co *luen, leun, len* Br *leun* Goth *fulls* Skr *pūrná-s*, Ir *lám* 'hand' W *llaw* OCo *lof* MlCo *lef, luef* OE *folm* Lat *palma* But there may have been alternation between IE *r̄*, *l̥* and *rā, lā*

(3) Ir *maistre* 'churn' < **mn̥qstriyā* cf Lith *minkau* 'I knead', Germ *mengen* 'mix (for absence of compensatory lenghtening in Ir before lost *n* see § 70,3), G *Cintuqnatus* 'the first-born' Lat *nātus*

The IE *w*- and *j*-Diphthongs.

§ 13. (1) IE *au* (unchanged in most languages), *ou* and *eu* (Gk ου, ευ, Goth *au, iu*, Lat *ū*) remained apart in Gaulish, but with evidence that *eu* and *ou* were already falling together as *ou* > *ō*, in Ir all three gave *ō*, which from the end of the 7th cent on, first before dentals and later before other consonants, became *ua* (§ 151), in Brit all three (with *ō* in Lat loanwords) became *u* (written *u*), orig high mixed round, in MnW the rounding is lost and the vowel is pronounced /y/, MnCo *i*, MnBr high front round = Germ *ü* Cf ZCP 3 264ff, 275ff, 591ff Ir *ruad* 'red' W *rhudd* OCo *rud* MlCo. *ruth* Br *ruz* G *Ande-roudos* Lat *rūfus* (*f* shows it to be borr from an Italic dialect) ON *rauþ-r*, Ir *buachaill* 'shepherd, child' W *bugail* 'shepherd' Co , Br *bugel* Gk βουκόλος 'cowherd', Ir *tuath* 'people' W *tud* 'people, land' Co *tus* 'people' Br *tud* G *Teutomatus Toutomatus Totatiqenus* Osc *touto* Goth *þiuda* 'people', Ir *lóchet* 'lightning' W *llug* 'light' *lluched* 'lightning' (/x/ from *ks*) OCo *luhet* Br *luc'hed-enn* G *Leucetius Loucetius* (epithet of Mars) Goth *liuhaþ* 'light' Lat *lūceō* 'I shine' Gk λευκός 'white'

(2) Diphthongs in insular Celt gave up their diphthongal character before lenited *s*, the *w* being transferred to the following syllable and developing as intervocalic *w*, cf § 18 This took place early enough for a long vowel as first element of a diphthong not to be shortened, Ir *bronnaim* 'I injure' (**bhrusnāmi*) subj *ro-bria* (*i* to be read as *ī* **bhreusāt*) W *briw* 'wound, bruised' Lat *frūstum* 'fragment', *frūstra* 'in vain' OE *brýsan* 'to break', MlIr *tó* 'silent',

OIr plur *inna tuai* gl silentia Ml 112b 3 (an *s*-stem nom **tausos* > **tawos* > **tao* > *tō*, orig a substantive) W *taw* 'be silent' Br *tao* 'silence', W *tawel* 'silent' OBr *taguelguilhat* gl silicernium (misunderstood), *guo-teguis* gl compescuit MnBr *tevel* 'silent' Skr *tūšnīm* 'silently'

(3) The *w*-diphthongs remained as diphthongs at the end of accented monosyllabic words, but in Ir they became monophthongs later, Ir *dau, dó* 'two' OW *dou* MlW *deu* MnW *dau* Co *dow* MlBr *dou* MnBr *daou* Skr *dvāu*, Ir *au, ó* 'ear', cf G *Su-ausia* FN Gk *oὖς* Lat *auris* Goth *ausō*, Ir *nau, nó* 'ship', g *noe* Gk *vaῦς* Lat *nāuis*, Ir *bou* 'of a cow' Skr *gōš*

(4) The diphthong at first remained in Ir before *ʝ*, but later became a monophthong, OIr *aue* gl nepos (but *ind iarm-ui* gl abnepotes) MlIr *óa, úa* **auʝo-* (Lat *auus* 'grandfather', *auunculus* 'maternal uncle', Goth *awō* 'grandmother', further W *ewythr* 'uncle' OCo *euitor* Br *eontr* > **awintro-* or **awentro-*), OIr *naue* 'new', *noe nue* Sg , *nuae* Ml , *nuie* Wb (**nouʝo-s*) W *newydd* Co *nowyth, newyth* OBr *nouuid neuued* (in place-names) MnBr *nevez* (**nowiʝo-s*), G *Neuiodunum Nouiodunum* IE **neuʝo-s*, Goth *niuʝis*, cf Lat *nouus*, Gk *véος* There also appears to be a special development in Brit before *ʝ*, Ir gerundive *bethi* 'to be cut' *srethi* 'to be stretched' (beside part *bithe, srithe*) W *caradwy* 'lovable' Co *caradow* OBr *nit inaatoe* gl non ineundum est Skr *kar-tavya-s* 'faciendus'

§ 14 IE *ai* (Lat *ae*, Gk , Gmc *ai*, Skr *ē*) appears in G as *ai, ē*, in Ir as *ái, ói* (both found in Wb), later *oe, ae* (almost only when beginning a word in Wb), monophthongized early (in ON. wr *e Melpatrekr*, Ir *Máelpatric*) and now in some dialects pronounced /ȳ/, in others /ɔ̄/, since the 15th cent this monophthongal sound is written *ao* In Brit are found W *oe*, OCo *ui* MlCo *oy* MnCo *ō, ū*, MnBr *oa* OIr *áis aes, óis oes* (Wb) 'age' W *oes* OCo *huis* MlCo *oys* MnCo *ūz* G *Ēsus, Aesus* (GN), W *oed* 'age' MlBr *oet, oat, ouat* MnBr *oad* Lat *aeuum* 'lifetime' Gk *aἰών* Goth *aiws*, OIr *caech* 'one-eyed' W *coeg* 'empty', *coeqddall* 'purblind' OCo *cuic* gl luscus uel monophthalmus Lat *caecus* 'blind' Goth *haihs* 'one-eyed' Skr *kēkara-s* 'squint-eyed', OIr *tóis-renn* (Wb), *táis* (Ml) 'dough' W *toes* Br *toaz* OHG *theismo, deismo* OE *þǽsma* 'leaven' Gk *σταίς* 'wheaten flour made into dough', W *hoedl* 'life-time' MlBr *hoazl* MnBr *hoal* OBrit *Deae Setloceniae* MlIr *gar-séle* W *hoedledd* Lat *saeculum* 'lifetime, age' (*-kul-* < *kl* < *tl*), W *coel* 'belief, omen' OW

coılou gl auspıcııs, *coıhaucc* gl augur OCo *chuıllıoc*, fem *cuıllıoges*
OBr *coel* gl haruspıcem   OE *hǽl* 'lucky omen' ON *heıll* 'health,
luck' Goth *haıls* 'healthy' (also a greetıng) Lat *caelum* 'sky' (OIr *cél*
'augurıum' borr from W), W *coed* 'wood' OCo *cuıt* MlCo *coys cos*
Br *koat* G *Καιτόβριξ*, *Cetobrıcca, mons Uocetıus* Goth *haıþı* 'open
land'   In W *ae* appears ınstead of *oe* ın *gwaew* 'spear' (now wr
gwayw, for *gw*- v § 34,3) G *γαῖσος* OBr *guugoıuou* gl spıculıs, and
ın *gwaed* 'blood' OCo *guıt* MlCo *goys* Br *goad* V *goed*

§ 15   IE *oı* (Lat *oe* > *ū*, Gk *oı*, Gmc *aı*, Skr *ē*) appears ın
G as *oı*, ın Ir as *óı, áı* (both already ın Wb), later *oe, ae* (only ın
absolute ınıtıals ın Wb), wıth later development as IE *aı*, ın Brıt
ıt became *ū* (cf § 85) and then *u*, whıch developed lıke *ū* ın § 13
Ir *óın, oen* one' W Co *un* Br *unan* OLat *oıno(m)* Lat *ūnus* Gk
οἴνη Goth *aıns* Skr *ēnam* 'hım', Ir *oeth* 'oath' OW *anutonou* gl
perıurıa MnW *anudon* 'perjury'   Goth *aıþs*, OIr *coım* 'lovely, dear'
W *cu* Co *cuf* OBr *cum*- (ın names) MlBr *cuff* MnBr *kuñv* Goth
haıms 'vıllage' OHG *heım* 'home' OE *hǽman* 'to sleep wıth'   Gk
κοιμάω 'to put to bed', W *hud* 'magic' Co *hus* (OCo *hudol* gl magus)
Br *hud* ON *seıþr*

§ 16. IE *eı* (Lat *ī*, Gk *ει*, Gmc *ī* Skr *ē*) gave pr C *ē* and
developed ın Neo-Celtıc ın the same way as *ē* ın Latın loan-
words, ın Ir ıt remaıned as *ē* before palatal consonants but
elsewhere by the end of the 7th cent became *ıa* (dıphthong), ın
W ıt gave the dıphthong /*uy*/ (wr *wy*), OCo *uı*, MlCo *oy*, MnCo *ō, ū*,
Br *oue* (/*ue*/, dıphthong, occasıonally two syllables), *oe, oa*   Ir *fıad*
'ın presence of' W *gŵydd* /*gŭyd*/ presence' MlBr *a goez* 'openly'
MnBr *ac'houez* Gk *εἶδος* 'appearance', Ir *tıagu* 1 go', 2 sg *tégı*
W *mordu y* sea-voyage' (formerly also 'movement of the sea')
Gk *στείχω* 'I walk', Ir *scıath* 'shıeld' W *ysgwyd* Br *skoed* 'écu'
(< **sqeıto*-) Lat *scūtum* (< **sqoıto*-), Ir *rıad*- 'rıde', 3 sg pres *rét, dé-
rıad* two-wheeled charıot' G *rēda* 'cart' W *gorwydd* horse' G *para-
uerēdus* spare horse' Ir *réıd* 'smooth' W *rhwydd* 'easy' MnBr *rouez*
'thın-sown' OHG *rītan* 'to rıde', W *buıyd* food' OCo *buıt* gl cıbus
uel esca MlCo *boys bos* MnCo *būz* OBr *boıtolıon* gl escıferıs MnBr
boed boued derıvate of the root **gʷeı*- 'lıve' (Ir *bıad* neut 'food'
ıs dısyllabıc, perhaps ınfluenced by *bethu* 'lıfe', where *e* ıs from a
dısyll group, cf W *bywyd*), Ir *dıa* 'god', g *dé*, OW *duıu-tıt* 'god-
head' MlW.*duyu-aul* 'dıvıne' W *meudwy* 'hermıt' (lıt "servant of
God") G *Deuognata* (for subsequent devel of *uyu* ın Brıt v §154,1)

Lat *dīuus* 'god(like)' Skr *dēvá-s*, Ir *cia* 'who' W *pwy* Co *pyw* Br *piou*, v § 154, § 373

IE *w* and *j*.

§ 17 IE *w* (Lat *u* /*w*/, Gk *F*, Gmc *w*, Skr *v*) gave G *w*, Ir *f*-, medially *v* (wr *b* > *bh*), between vowels (already in the 7th cent) nil, Brit *gw*, -*gw*- (whence later -*w*-), in finals -*w* In sandhi Ir *f*- and Brit *gw*- undergo lenition (> Ir nil, Brit *w*) W *w* is pronounced as Eng *w*, Br *gw*- before back vowels as *g̣o* or *g̣u*, before front vowels as *g̣u*, Br *w*- as *v* (in Léon, in Tréguier *gw*- = *g̣u*, *w*- = *u̯*), medial *w* is written *o* or *ou* in Br , but becomes *v* under certain circumstances

Exx initially Ir *fen* 'waggon' W *gwain* OBrit -Lat *co-uinnus* 'war-chariot' ON *uagn* waggon', cf Lat *uehō* 'I carry' Gk *ὄχος* 'waggon' Skr *vahāmi* 'I carry, go', Ir *find* 'white' § 6, 1, Ir *fír* 'true' § 11 Before a rounded vowel *w* disappears W *gŵr* /*gūr*/ § 6, 3, Ir *folcaim* W *golchi* etc § 3, 4, Ir *fiar* 'crooked' W *gŵyr* Br *gwar goar* 'courbe, tortu' (-*wa*- and -*oa*- are phonetically the same and represent IE *ei*) OE *wír* wire'

wr- and *wl*- regularly gave Ir *fr*-, *fl*-, and W *gwr*-, *gwl*- In spoken Welsh the *w* frequently disappears A pronunciation *rᵘ*, *lᵘ* is suggested by OCo and MlBr *ru*, *ro*, *lu lo* in Co writing *w* frequently disappears, and in MnBr dial of Léon *w* is lost, Ir *fracc* 'woman' W *gwrach* hag' OCo *gruah* MnCo *gwrah* MlBr *groach* MnBr Léon *grac'h*, elsewhere *groac'h*, W *guraig* 'woman, wife' OCo *grueg*, *greg* MlCo *gurek* MnCo *gwrēg* MlBr *gruec*, pl *groagez* MnBr Léon *grek*, elsewhere *groek*, *grouek*, Ir *froech* heather' W *grug* (Demetian dial *gwrîg*) Anglo-Co *griglan*, Ir *fliuch* 'wet' OW *gulip* MnW *gwlyb* (colloq *glyb*) OCo *glibor* gl humor MnCo *glēb* OBr *rogulipias* gl oliuauit MlBr *gloeb glueb* MnBr Léon *gleb* Trég *gloeb* Lat *liquidus* (*w* lost before *l*)

For *sw*- v § 24, 4, *k'w*- § 50, *skw*- § 25, 3, *dw*-, *dhw*- became *d*-, Ir *dau* 'two' § 13, 3, but cf OBrit *Δουηκαληδόνιος*, Ir *dall* 'blind' W *dall* Co Br *dall* Goth *dwals* 'foolish', *bhw*- Ir *biu* 'am' MlW *bi*- § 485

§ 18. Intervocalic *w* Ir *ahél*, *aial* 'breeze' W *awel* OCo *auhel* gl aura MlCo *awel* Br *avel* Gk *ἄελλα* 'storm', OW *Litau* gl Latio MnW *Llydaw* 'Brittany' G *Letauia* Skr *prthivī* 'earth' (**plthawī*), W *ewythr* etc (with umlaut) § 13, 4

ow, ew appear in Ir as *ō* and also as *ū*, OW *ou* MlW *eu* MnW *eu* /əy/, in finals *au* /ay/, Co *ow*, OBr *ou* /ow/ MlBr *ou* MnBr *aou* /äw/ or /ow/, in post-tonic sylls MnBr *ou* /u/, the dial of Vannes has the diphthong *eu* /ŏu/   Exx   Ir *lóathar* gl peluis, *lóthur* gl canalis, *lothor* gl alueus MlBr *louazr* 'trough' MnBr *laouer* G *lautro* gl balneo   Gk λοετϱόν λουτϱόν 'bath', plur ending of *u*-stems OW -*ou* MlW -*eu* MnW -*au* Co -*ow* OBr -*ou* /ow/ MlBr -*ou* MnBr -*ou* /u/ G *Lugoues* 'tutelary gods of shoemakers'   IE *-owes*, MlIr *crú* 'blood' MlW *creu* Co *crow*   Gk ϰϱέας 'flesh' Skr *kraviš* 'raw meat' (Lat *cruor* 'blood'), Ir *oac* 'young' W *ieuanc* OCo *iouenc* MlCo *yowynk* Br *iaouank* G *Iouincillus* *-jewnk'o-*, *-jewenk'o-* (or *-jow-*), Lat *iuuencus* Goth *juggs*, with umlaut W *newydd* etc   § 13,4, Ir *núna* 'famine' W *newyn* Co *nown* Br *naoun*   Goth *nauþs* 'need'   Occasionally IE *ow, ew* appears as *aw*, W *naw* Co *naw* Br *nao* 'nine' (but Ir *nói*)   Lat *nouem* Goth *niun* Skr *náva*, W *llawen* 'happy', but OCo *louen* MlCo *lowen* MlBr *louen* MnBr *laouen*, W *llawer* 'many' Co *lower* OIr *lour* 'enough' MlIr *lór* (*l-* from *r-* through dissimilation, cf Ir *ro-fera* 'it suffices', Thurneysen, ZCP 13 105)

IE *iw* Ir *beo* 'living', *bethu* 'life' W *byw*, *bywyd* Co *byw bew* Br *beo* *-g^uiwo-s*, to Lat *uiuus*

IE *āw* developed in W as *ow*, giving *eu* /əy/, *au* /ay/, but in Br (and Co ?), the long *ā* developed intō /o/ and *e* W *breuan* 'handmill' OCo *brou* Br *breo* Ir *bró bráo*, g *broon* 'millstone'   Skr *grāvan-* (Goth *k^uairnus* Eng *quern*), W *haul* 'sun' OCo *heuul* MlCo *heul*, *houl* Br *heol*   Gk ἠέλιος, ἥλιος Lat *sōl*   (In Br *āw* > *eo*) — IE *ēw* G *Briua* 'bridge' ON *brú* OSl *b(i)rūvi*, IE *iw* Ir *li* etc § 11 IE *eiw* Ir *dia* etc § 16

w after a disappearing vowel   OBrit *Cuno-uali* W *Cynwal* Ir *Conall*

§ 19   Medially after consonants *w* became in Ir *v* (wr *b*), remained as *w* in Brit , very rarely has it been lost or coalesced with the prec consonant   For -*sw*- (Ir *v*, wr *b*, W /x/, wr *ch*) v   § 24,4 *dw* Ir *fedb* 'widow' etc § 6 1, Ir *medb* 'intoxicated', *Medb* MnIr *Meadhbh* W *meddw* Br *mezo, meo, mezvi, meoi* 'to get drunk'   Gk μεϑύω 'to be drunken', Ir *bodb* (MnIr *badhbh*) 'scald-crow', also 'a war-goddess in the form of a scald-crow' G *Ateboduus Boduo-gnatus* OE *beadu* 'battle'   — -*gw*- § 35,4, -*ngw*- § 37,4, -*k'w*-   Ir *ech* § 5,1, -*sqw*- § 54, -*tw*- Ir *cethir* 'four' § 5,1

rw Ir *tarb* 'bull' MnIr *tarbh* W *tarw* Co *tarow* Br *taro, tarv* pl

tırvı G *Taruos* GN　Lat *taurus* Gk ταῦρος, Ir *berbaım* 'I boil' W.
berw 'boiling' vn *berwı* Br *bero berv*, vn *bırvı*　Lat *ferueō*, Ir *marb*
'dead' § 7,2, Ir *meırb* 'flabby, weak' MnIr *meırbh* W *merw* 'insipid'
OHG *maro*, *marawēr* 'mellow'　— *lw* Ir *selb* 'possession' MnIr
sealbh, *seılbh* W *helw* G *Lugu-selua*, OIr *delb* 'figure' MnIr *dealbh*,
deılbh W *delw* — *nw* Ir *banb* MnIr *banbh* § 8,2 d , W *llanw* 'tide,
flow' Br *lano, lanv* Co *lanwes* 'fullness'　Skr *prnō-tı* (beside *prnā-tı*)
'fills'　Originally the prefix which gave Ir *co n-* W *cy-* ended in *m* ,
in the following examples *-m w-* became *w*　Ir *coır* 'fit, correct'
W *cywır* OBr *Keuuır-gar* G *Couırus, Dumno-coueros*　Other in-
stances of this are W *cywaın* 'to carry', *cywaıth* 'companion', *cywely*
'bedfellow', *cywlad* 'bordering country'　In other cases, however,
we find Ir *v* (wr *b*), W *ngw*　Ir *cobsud* 'firm' (　*fossad*) W *cyng-
wastad* 'equable' (　*gwastad*), Ir *coıbnes* 'affinitas' (　*fıne*), MlIr
cobled, coıbled 'feast' (　*fled* W *gwledd*), MlW *cyngwasgar* 'scattering',
cyngwydd 'presence' (　*gŵydd*)

> **Note 1**　For the pronunciation of W *-ı* Br *-o* v § 16 1
> **Note 2**　In W *ı* (wr *f*) is occasionally substituted for *w* *gwddɉ = gwddw*

§ 20 IE *ɉ* (Lat *ɉ* Gk *h-*, ζ-, Gmc *ɉ*, Skr *y*, in many languages
it disappeared between vowels, coalesced with a preceding con-
sonant or became *ıɉ* after a consonant) was retained in G , mostly
retained in Brit , but medially under certain conditions became *đ*
(whence Br *z*), in Ir *ɉ* disappeared throughout

Initially　OIr *huısse* 'fitting' **ɉustıɉo-s*, cf　Lat *ɉūstus*, OIr
óac 'young' § 18 , W *ıau* 'yoke' § 35,3 , W *ıwıch* etc § 3,2, OIr *hét*,
ét 'zeal, jealousy' W *addıant, addıad* 'longing' G *Iantu-marus, Ientu-
marus, Adıatunnus Adıetuanus*　Skr *yátatē* 'strives, takes pains',
yatná-s 'effort', Ir *ıcht* 'race, people' MlW *ıeith* 'people, language'
MnW *ıaith* 'language' Br *ıez*　OHG *gıht* 'statement', *gehan* 'to state'
Lat *ıocus* 'joke', Ir *aıg* 'ice', g *egu* W *ıa* OCo *ıeɉ* 'ice', *ıeın* gl frigus
MlCo *yeyn yen* 'cold' Br *ıen*　OE *gıcel, ıs-gıcel* E *ıcıcle* , W *ıas* 'a
seething, violent heat or cold, thrill'　Gk ζέω 'boil' OHG *gesan* 'to
ferment' Skr *yasatı* 'bubbles, seethes'

> **Note 1**　Zupitza, ZCP 2 191, assumes that *ɉ* + vowel can give Ir *ı* or *ı*
> The foll exx can be cited in favour (1) OIr *hícc* 'healing' W *ıach* 'healthy'
> Co *yagh* Br *ıac'h*　Gk ἄκος 'a cure' Skr *yaśas* 'honour', (2) OIr *hith* gl puls
> OW *ıot* gl pulsum MlW *ıwt* MnW *uwd* (SW dial *ıwd /ɉūd/*) porridge' OCo
> *ıot* gl puls Br *ıod* 'pap' Lett *ɉaut* 'to mix dough' Skr *pra yāutı* 'to stir up'
> cf Lat *ıūs* "broth", (3) Ir *ıcht* v supr
> **Note 2**　In W *uwd /ɉu-/* has become */yw-/* but it still remains in the

SW dial *iwd*, in compound proper names whose first element in OW was *Iud-*, *ju-* has in Ml and MnW become *i-*, *Iudgual Idwal*, *Iudris Idrys Idris*, *Iudnou Idno Iudhail Ithael Ithel* (< *Iddhael*) *Iudic Iddig* (cf *Idd-awg* OBr *Iudoc*), MlW *Iddas* 'Judas' (Lat borr), cf § 77, 3, otherwise this *ju* has become W *u*, as in *udd* 'lord', *Morgetiud Maredudd, Gripiud Grippiud Griphiud Gruffudd* (cf *Griffri*) *Eliud Eludd, Moriud Morudd*

§ **21.** IE *j* between vowels **(1)** Ir *aue* > *ua, naue* > *nue*, W *caradwy* v § 13, 4 *āj* is represented in the comparative Ir *máo* 'greater' W *mwy* (also MlW *moe*) Co *moy* Br *mui*, posit Ir *mór* etc § 9, 3 *ōju-* could be assumed in W *wy* 'egg' pl *wyau* OCo *uy* MnCo *oy* MnBr *vi*, pl *viou* V *ui* OHG *ei* ON *egg* (Lat *ōuum* Gk *ᾠόν*), but this leaves unexplained Ir *og* (*s*-decl), pl *ugai* MnIr *ubh*, g *uibhe*

(2) IE *ij* (also IE *is-* § 24, 3, *ip-* before vowels, and *ej*) appear in non-final sylls (esp before *a*) as W *ae* (OW *ai*, MlW *ay*) Co *oy*, *oe, oa* Br *oa, oua* Ir *gaim-red, gem-red* 'winter' (*e* < *i-a*, cf § 146, *gam* is re-formed after *sam* 'summer') OW *gaem* MnW *gaeaf* OCo *goyf* Br *goañv* G *Giamillus, Giamon* (abbrev name of a month) Lat *hiems* Gk *χιών* 'snow' (*χειμών* 'winter'), hence regularly W *cyn-haeaf* 'harvest', but OCo *kyniaf* is from **kintu-gjamo-*, not **-gijamo-*, — OW *dair, dayr* 'earth' MnW *daear* (SW dial *dâr* for *daer* cf MlW *daerawl*) Co *doar, doer, dor, dowr* Br *douar*, — Ir *trian* 'a third' OW *trean* MnW *traean*, — Ir *riathor* gl torrens OW *reatir* gl torrentum MnW *rhaeadr* 'waterfall' Lat *rī-uus* 'brook' Sk *raya-s* 'river' OE *rīþ* 'river', — Ir *grian* 'sand' W *graean* 'gravel' Br *grouan* After a labial, W *wy* Ir *smér* MnIr *sméar* 'blackberry' W *mwyar* (Gwent dial *mŵar*) OCo *moyr-bren* gl morus MnCo *mōr* Br *mouar* 'black-berries' Cf Ir *biail* 'axe' OW *bahell, lau-bael* MnW *bwyall, bwyell* MnCo *boell, bûl* MlBr *bouhazl* (with unetymological *z*) MnBr *bouc'h-al* OHG *bīhal, bīal*

(3) Under certain circumstances the *i* in the group *ij* (from IE *ij* or *ej*) remained unchanged, the *j* then as a rule giving *d* in Brit Apparently the position of the accent partly accounted for this, probably *i* before *j* remained when accented or following the accent (giving later *y* or *e*) There is however no complete and satisfactory explanation In the following cases, too, *j* was lost after unchanged *i* Ir *in-diu* 'today' W *he-ddiw* (from *heddyw*) OCo *heþeu* MlCo *hethew* MlBr *hiziu* MnBr *hirio* Lat *diū* 'by day', W *rhyw* 'kind, sex some' pl *rhai* 'some' (indef pron)

(4) Examples of *d* W *trydydd* fem *trydedd* 'third' Lat *tertius*

Goth *þridja* Skr *trtīya-s*, W *newydd* etc § 13,4, abstract nouns in
W *-ydd*, *-edd*, and nouns denoting agent in *-ydd* etc , Ir *damnae*
'material' MnIr *damhna* W *defnydd* MlBr *daffnez* MnBr *danvez* Trég
danve, W *mynydd* § 3,2, Ir *bíu* 'am' W *byddaf* Co *bethaf* MlBr
bezaff MnBr *bezann* Lat *fīō*, Ir *sni-* 'spin' W *nyddu* Co *nethe* Br
neza to Lat *neō* Gk *νέω* 'I spin', Ir *scé* 'hawthorn' pl *sciad* W
ysbyddad(en) Co *spethes* ('briars, brambles') Br *spezad* ('goose-
berries') < **sqhuṛja-t-* to Lith *skujà* (g pl *skùj̨ų* according to Kur-
schat, but now *skujj̨ū*) 'the needles of trees', Ir *clé* 'left' MlW *cledd*
Br *kleiz*, Ir *fo-chla* 'north' W *go-gledd* Goth *hlei-duma* 'left' Lat
ch-uius 'unfavourable', Ir *die*, *dia* 'day' W *dydd* etc § 6,2, W
rhydd 'free' Goth *freis*, accus *frijana* Skr *priyá-s* 'dear'

(5) W , Co , Br *i* before a vowel goes back to *īj* in the follow-
ing Ir *scian* 'knife' W *ysgien* Lat *sacēna*, *scēna* 'the pickaxe of
the pontifex', Ir *sion* 'foxglove' OW *fionou* gl rosarum MnW *ffion*
'foxglove' Lat *spionia* a kind of grape-vine' (relation to MlBr
foeonnenn 'privet' MnBr *feon, freon* 'jonquils' not clear), Ir *lía*
'more' W *lliaws* 'many Br *lies* to Gk *πλέων* ON *fleiri* 'more'

Note In W (but not in Co and Br) *d* appears in some instances in
cases other than those mentioned under (3) and (4) Ir *cré* 'clay' f *g criad*
W *pridd* MlCo *pry* MnCo *pri* Br *pri* Lat *crēta (ī < ēje ?)*, plur termination
of *i*-stems MlW *guladoedd* 'countries' (< *-ejes) —

§ 22. IE *j* after consonants interchanged from an early period
with *ij* Ir had generally *ij* only, Brit had partly *ij* (v § 21,4),
partly *j* Before retained vowels *j* which did not become *ij* remained,
before a disappearing final it was lost (after causing umlaut or
epenthesis of the preceding vowel), occasionally it became *d* For
the treatment of Ir *ij* before finals v § 94

sj gave Brit *d* (with epenthesis) W *haidd* Br *heiz* 'barley'
Skr *sasyá-m* 'seed', W *eiddo* 'his' Skr *asyá gj* Ir *laigiu* 'smaller'
MlW *llei* MnW *llai* Gk *ἐλάσσων dj* W *gwraidd* 'roots' OCo *grueit-
en* gl radix MlBr *gruizyenn* MnBr *grisienn* Lat *radius* 'staff', Ir
cride 'heart' MnIr *croidhe* W *craidd* 'centre' **k'radjo-* (Co *cres creys*
Br *kreiz* V *kreis* seem to come from an old loc **kr̥d-su*), cf Lat *cor*
Gk *καρδίā* OHG *herza bj* W *cnaif* 'shearing, fleece' MnCo *kneu*
Br *kreoñ* V *kaneo* Gk *κναφεύς* 'a fuller' *tj* Ir *saithe* f 'swarm'
W *haid* f Br *hed* m **satjā*, cf Lat *satiō* 'a sowing', W *rhaid* 'ne-
cessity' Co *reys, res* Br *red* Lat *ratiō* 'reckoning, account, reason'
Goth *raþjō* 'number, reckoning' (all possibly borr from Lat) *rj* .

Ir *coire* 'eauldron' W *pair* OCo *per* Br *per* to ON *huerr* Skr *čarú-š*
lj Ir *aile* 'other' MIW *eil* MnW *ail* Co *yll, eyll* Br *eil* Lat *alius*
Gk ἄλλος, W *caill* 'testicle' Br *kell* G *callhomarcus* 'colt's foot' *nj*
Ir *grán-ne* 'a grain' W *gron-yn* *mj* Ir *duine* 'man' W *dyn* Co Br
den § 28

Retention of *j* before a remaining vowel Br *grisien* 'root', but
W *gwreiddyn* with loss of *j* before *y*, W *heidio* 'to swarm', Ir *cailech*
'cock' og g *Caliaci* W *ceihog* OCo *cheiioc* MICo *kullyek* Br *kilheg*
/*kil'ek*/ In Br *j* coalesces frequently with the preceding consonant
sj > *š, kj, xj* > *j, tj, dj* > *š, ž, lj* > *l', nj* > *ń*, v § 180,3 In W *j*
drops after certain consonant groups *treiglo* for *treiglio* 'to roll',
teimlo 'to feel' In MIW *j* is very frequently omitted in writing,
and it is also not pronounced in Mn SW dialects MIW *offeirat*
'priest' MnW *offeiriad* SW colloq *'ffeirad*, MIW *ceilawc* MnW
ceiliog SW colloq *ceilog* The MnW standard literary forms always
have the *j* in such cases

rj before a retained vowel became *rd* Ir *Ériu* W *Iwerddon*
'Ireland', Ir *airim* 'I plough' W *arddaf*, vn MIW *erddi* cf Goth
arjan 'to plough', W *morddwyd* 'thigh' OCo *morboit* (1 *mordoit*) gl
femur uel coxa MIBr *morzat* MnBr *morzed* OHG *muriot*

IE *s (z̃, þ)*

§ 23 IE *s* (Lat *s*, intervoc *r*, Gk *h*, lost, assim , *s*, Gmc *s*, by
Verner's Law *z* > *r*, Skr *s, š*) in C partly remained as *s*, partly
became *h*, or was lost or assimilated to a sonant Between *s* and *h*
a loosely articulated *s* is probably to be assumed, and this may
well have existed in G and OBrit though still represented in writ-
ing by *s* Retained *s* is pronounced in MnIr as *s*, but when palat-
alized as *š* (before a palat labial initially as *s* Arran /*sb'ân*/ 'show !'
taisbéan, /*sm'ēr*/ 'blackberry' *sméar*, /*s īr*/ 'it is true' *is fíor*) Ir *h*
from *s* does not vary in timbre, *x'* however occasionally appears

For final *s* v § 87 In the following paragraphs *s* will be
treated in three groups (*s* with vowel, *s* with explosive, *s* with
sonant), *s* before voiced stops, § 27

§ 24 (1) Initial *s* before vowels remains in Ir , but can undergo
lenition (> *h*) in the sentence Lenited *s* (= *h*) is written *s* in OIr ,
but in later OIr *s* begins to appear, and this is used in MnIr (*sh*
in Latin script) In Brit also originally it doubtless remained as
s, lenited to *h*, but early in the Roman period the alternation *s-*
h- was given up, and *h-* predominated, very few words retain *s*

Exx Ir *sen* 'old' § 5,1, Ir *sam* 'summer' W *haf* Co *haf* Br *hañv* OHG *sumar* Gk ἡμέρᾱ 'day' Skr *samā* 'year', Ir *salann* 'salt' § 2, Ir *sesc* 'dry, sterile' MnIr *seasg* W *hysb*, f *hesb* Br *hesp hesk* (*sisqu-, *sisqwo-) Av *hišku*- 'dry', OBrit *Sabrina* W *Hafren* OE *Sæfern* MnE *Severn*

(2) In Ir *amal* 'as, like' and other proclitics, the lenited form has been generalized, v § 113   The most important examples of retained *s* in Brit are   W *sil* 'race, progeny' = *hil* § 11, Ir *secht* 'seven' W *saith* Co *seyth* Br *seiz*   Lat *septem* Gk ἑπτά Goth *sibun*, Br *se* 'this' § 369,3, Ir *suide* 'seat' (*sodjo-), *for-ud* 'bench' (*upo-pro-) W *sedd* 'seat' (*sed-), *gor-sedd* 'mound, throne'   to Lat *sedeō* 'I sit', W *sawdd* 'depth, subsidence', *soddi* 'to sink', Ir *súgim* 'I suck' W vn *sugno* MlBr *sunaff* MnBr *suna*, W *sugn* 'suction, sap' Br *sun* 'juice' Lat *sūcus* 'juice', *sūgō* 'I suck' OE *súcan* 'suck', Ir *sáer* W *saer* 'craftsman' § 30, Ir *saltraim* 'I trample' W vn *sathru* OBr *saltrocion* gl graciles MnBr *saotra* 'to soil' V *sautrein* 'to trample, to soil' OHG *salo* 'dark-coloured, soiled' Goth *saldra* scurrilitas'

(3) Medially between syllabic vowels *s* in Neo-Celtic became *h* In Ir this *h* entirely disappeared, in Brit after a lost vowel it remained as a rule in the earliest period and then coalesced with a preceding consonant, otherwise it eventually disappeared completely   Ir *brú* (g *bronn*) 'paunch, womb' < *bhrusŏ, cf OHG *brust* 'breast', Ir *tige* 'houses' § 301, Ii *eo* salmon', g *iach* MlW *ehawc* MnW *eog* OCo *ehoc* MlBr *eheuc*, *ehoc* MnBr *eol* Lat -G *esox*, Ir *Eogan* W *Owain* G *Esugen(us)* W *wyt* 'thou art' < *esi + pronoun § 479

es, *is* before *a*, final *ā* and unaffected *o* (*e*) developed in the same way as *ij* in non-final sylls § 21,2 Ir *iarn*, *iarann* 'iron' W *haearn* OCo *hoern* MlCo *horn* Br *houarn* OBrit *Iserninus* G *Isarnus*, *Isernodero*, *Ysarnodori* gl ferrei ostii Lat *aes* 'copper' Skr *ayas*, W *claear* 'lukewarm' Co *clor*, *clour* 'gentle' Br *klouar* 'lukewarm, gentle' Gk χλιαρός (χλ- instead of *ll*- through the influence of a medial -*s*-, which had become -*h*-), W *mwyalch* 'blackbird' OCo *moelh* gl merula Br *moualc'h* Lat *merula*, — Ir *siur* 'sister' W *chwaer* OCo *huir* MnCo *hoer*,*hor* Bi *c'hoar* *swesōr,*swesor- cf Lat *soror*, the W pl is *chwiorydd* (with *i* for *uy*, cf *miar-en* beside *mwyar*), *i* also alternates with *ae*, OW *guiannuin* 'Spring' MlW *gwaeanhwyn*, *gwaeannwyn*, later *gwannwyn*, *gwanwyn* MnW *gwan-*

wyn OCo *guaintoin* (from **guiantoin*) to Skr *vasantá-s* 'Spring'
Gk *ἔαρ* Lat *uēr* In W *đ* has developed in *oedd* 'was' Co *o* Br *oa*
*esāt, cf Lat *erat*

-*īs*- Ir *fíu* 'worthy' W *gwiw* Br *gwiou* merry' G *Uisu-rix*,
Bello-uesus Sego-uesus **wēsu-* to Skr *vásu-š* 'good'

-*s*- after *w*-diphthongs, v § 13, 2   After *j*-diphthongs Ir *gae*
'spear' MnIr *gaoi* W *gwaew*, *gwayw* (§ 34, 3) OCo *hoch-wuyu* gl
uenabulum MlCo *gew* G -Lat *gaesum* G -Gr *γαῖσος*

s after lost vowel in the superlative OW *hinham* 'oldest'
MnW *hynaf*, MlBr *querhaf* dearest' (§ 323), in the subjunctive
MlW 3 sg pres *canho* 'he may sing', 3 sg ipf *carhei* 'he would
love' (§ 453 n 1), in denominative verbs like OBr *etn-coil-ha-am*
'I take the auspices', Ir *sár-aig-im* 'I insult' W vn *sar-ha-u*, in the
equative, as MlW *trymhet*, *duhet* The *h* coalesces with voiced stops
and spirants (§ 203) W *tecaf* 'fairest' (for *teg-haf*) OW *diguedham*
'last' MnW *diwethaf*, MlW *bytho* 'he may be' (for *bydd-ho*) The
retention of medial *h* in MnW depends upon the accent (§ 128)

(4) *sw* initially gave Ir *s*, lenited to *f*, Brit /*xw*/, medially Ir /*v*/
(wr *b*), Brit /*r*/ Ir *siur* 'sister', *mo fiur* 'my sister' etc v (3) above,
Ir *sé* 'six', *seser* 'six persons', *mór-feser* 'seven persons' (*mór-feser*
with *h* from *f*), Ir *Sadb* cf G *Suadu-genus* to Lat *suāuis* 'pleasant'
Gk *ἡδύς* 'sweet' OE *swéte*, W *chwegr* 'mother-in-law' OCo *hweger*,
W *chwegrwn* 'father-in-law' OCo *hwigeren* Lat *socrus*, m *socer*, Gk
ἑκυρά, *ἑκυρός*, Ir *feb* f 'excellence' (d *feib*, also 'as'), *febas* MnIr
feabhas, OIr (*febtu*) g *febtad* (gl substantiae) W *gwych* 'fine, splen-
did' **weswā*, **weswo-s* to Ir *fíu* etc In reduplicated forms *f* MlIr
sephainn he played', cf OIr *no-d-seinn* 'who sounds it (the trum-
pet)' — For *s* in 2 pl pronouns in Co Br v § 357 — For *sj* v § 22

§ 25. (The groups *s* + explosive or explosive + *s*) (1) There
is no sure evidence of *ss* *sp* gives initially Ir *s*, len to *f*, Brit *f* Ir
seir 'heel', acc dual *di pherid* W *ffêr* 'ankle' OCo *fer* gl crus to
Lat *spernō* 'I despise' Skr *sphurámi* 'I kick, tread', — Ir *sion* § 21,5,
— Ir *sine* 'teat', *bó tri-phne = bó trí sine* 'a cow with three teats'
MlIr *sine Seain* gl uuula MHG *span-varc* 'sucking pig' ON *speni*
'nipple', — Ir *selg* 'milt' Br *felc'h* Gk *σπλήν* 'spleen', — Ir *sonn*
'stake' W *ffon* 'stick' to Gk *σφήν* 'wedge' ON *spánn* 'chip' OE *spōn*
'chip of wood' Medially, -*sp*- gave W *ch*, Co *h* MlW *ucher* 'even-
ing' OCo *gurthuher* (wr -*wer*) Lat *uesper* Gk *ἕσπερος*, it devel-
oped as -*ps*-

ps gave Ir *s*, W *ch*, Co *gh, h,* Br *c'h*   W *crych* 'curly' G *Crixus,*
Crixsus Lat *crispus* (*sp* < *ps*), MlW *gwychi, gwchi* 'wasps' OCo
guhi-en gl uespa OBr *guohi* gl fucos (whence was borr OIr *foich*
gl uespa) **wops-*, cf Lat *uespa* OHG *wafsa*, Ir *ós, uas* 'above,
over' MlW *uch* MnW *uwch* Co *ugh* Br *uc'h*, Ir *uasal* 'high' W *uchel*
Co *huhel* Br *uc hel, huel* G *Uxello-dunum*   Gk ὕψι, ὑψηλός 'high',
Ir *lassar* 'flame' W *llachar* 'bright' to Gk λάμπω

(2) *sq, sk'* appear in Ir as *sk*, in Brit partly as *sk*, partly as
(transposed *ks* >) /*xw*/ (initially), /*x*/ (medially), before initial *sk*
an inorganic vowel has regularly developed in W   Ir *scáth* 'shadow'
MlW *isgaud, cy-sgawd* MnW *cy-sgod* OCo *scod* MnCo *skēz* Br *skeud*
Gk σκότος 'darkness' Goth *skadus* 'shadow', — MlIr *scaman* 'lungs'
MnIr *scamh, scamhán, scamhóg* (cf for meaning E *lights* 'lungs'
Russ *ljógkoje* 'lungs', lit "lights") W *ysgafn* 'light', *ysgyfaint* 'lungs'
(SW colloq *sgefen*) Co *scaff* 'light' OCo *sceuens* 'lungs' Br *skañv*
'light', *skevent* 'lungs' ON *skammr* 'short' — Ir *sciath* 'shoulder,
wing' (*th* by analogy with *sciath* 'shield') MnIr *sciath* 'wing' W *ys-*
gwydd 'shoulder' OCo *scuid* MnCo *scouth, scoth* Br *skoaz*, — Ir *sciath*
'shield' etc § 16, — Ir *scian* 'knife' § 21,5 Medial W *gurysg* 'stalks'
to *gwraidd* etc § 22, Ir *mescaim* 'I mix' W vn *mysgu* Br *meski*
*mik'-sk'-, cf Lat *misceō* Gk μίσγω, Ir *nasc-* 'bind' Br *naska*
-dhsk'-, cf Skr *náhyati* 'he binds', Ir *sescenn* 'bog' MnIr *seisceann,*
seisc 'sedge' W *hesg* 'sedges' OCo *heschen* gl canna, arundo Br
hesk 'sedge' ON *sef*, Ir *losc-* 'burn' W *llosgi* Co *losky* Br *leski*
(umlaut) **luq-sk'-* cf Armen *lucanem* 'I kindle' (*c̓* < *sk'*, to Lat
lūcēre 'to light' etc), Ir *fáisc-* 'squeeze' W *gwasgu* Br *gwaska*
(IE alternation *ō a,* pres suffix *-sk-*) cf Skr *vāhatē* 'squeezes'

Transposed Ir *scend-* 'spring' W *cy-chwynn-af* 'I start' (MlW
'I rise') Lat *scandō* 'I mount' Gk σκάνδαλον 'trap, offence', MnIr
scéith 'act of vomiting' W *chwydu* 'vomit' MnCo *hweža* Br *c'houeda*
ON *skíta* 'excrete' Lat *scindō* 'I split' (IE altern *t d*), MnIr *ciotach*
'left-handed' W *chwith* 'left' (altern *k   sk*) Lat *scaeuus* Gk σκαιός
'left', MnIr *scoiltim* 'I split' W *hollt* 'split' MnCo *felža* (umlaut) Br
faouta (/*xwo-*/ > /*xo-*/ > W *ho-*, Co Br *fo-*) Goth *skalja* 'tile' ON
skel 'scale', Ir *scél* 'story' W *chwedl* Co *whethl*, MlW *cy-chwedl* MlBr
que-hezl MnBr *kel* (**kom-sketlo-*, cf Ir *cuiscle* 'a great story') Medial
Ir *basc* 'necklace' W *baich* 'burden' MlBr *bech* MnBr *beac'h* Lat
fascia 'bandage', *fascis* 'bundle'

The rules governing the transposition are not known Its oc-

currence is exceptional initially and (particularly) medially. Initially it presumably gave an unrounded /x/ which later became rounded and fell together with /xw/ from IE *sw*

(3) IE *sk^u* and *skw* were not transposed. Ir *scé* W *ysbyddad* etc. § 21,4, Ir *sesc* W *hysb* ete § 24,1, Ir *cosc* 'correction' W *cosb* 'punishment' **kon-sk^u-*, cf Lat *inseque*, Ir *aithesc* 'answer' W *ateb* G *Atespatus* **ati-* + **sek^u-*

(4) IE *qs, k^{u}s, k's* gave Ir *ss*, Brit /x/, *h* Ir *oss* W *ych* § 4, W *llechwedd* 'slope' G *Lexoum, Lixoum* Gk *λοξός* 'slanting', W (MIW) *achel, echel* 'axle' Br *ael* (/x/ > /h/ > nil) Lat *axis*, Ir *sé* 'six' (*sessed* 'sixth') W *chwech, chwe* Co *whegh, whe* Br *c'houec'h* **swek's*, Lat *sex*, Ir *mo, mos-* 'soon', MIW *moch* Lat *mox*, Ir *dess* 'right' W *deheu, deau* (SW colloq *deche*) Co *dyghow, dyow* Br *dehou* G *Dexsiua* Lat *dex-ter* Gk *δεξιός*, Ir *coss* § 3,3 (W *coes* is a Lat loanword), Ir *ess-* (preverb), *a, ass* (preposition) v § 431,10 Initial Ir *serb* 'bitter' W *chwerw* Co *wherow* Br *c'houero* Lat *seresco* 'I grow dry' Gk *ξερός, ξηρός* 'dry' Skr *kšāra-* 'biting, sharp', /rw/ from /r/, cf (2) above

(5) IE *st* in conjunction with a vowel gave Celt *ts* (wr Gaul *D*, presumably also ogam *Z*), in Neo-Celt this *ts* became *ss*, initial *s* (leniting in Ir by analogy) Ir always has the transposed form, but occasionally initial *t* occurs (hardly always due to IE alternation) In Brit , besides the transposed form and initial *t*, in a few cases *st* remains An inorganic vowel has developed in W before initial *st*, and this appears in OBr but did not prevail in that period In MnW *ss* is never used, only *s*, in MnBr medial and final *s* from *ss* have often become *z* Exx Ir *ser* (Thurneysen, ZCP 19 200) W *seren* 'star' Co *steren* Br *steren* G *Dirona, Sirona* a goddess's name Lat *stella* Gk *ἀστήρ* OHG *stern*, W *safn* 'mouth' OCo *stefenic* 'palate' MIBr *staffn* MnBr *staoñ* V *stan, san* (n = ñ) OBr *istomid* gl trifocalium Gk *στόμα* 'mouth', Ir *sál* 'heel' W *sawdl* MIBr *seuzl* MnBr *seul* **stātlā*, Ir *sellaim* 'I look at' W vn *syllu* Co *sylly* Br *sellout* (*ll* < -*lpn*-) Gk *στιλπνός* 'glistening', — Ir -*táu* 'am' W *taw* 'that it is' Lat *stāre* 'to stand', — Ir *tiagu* 'I go', *techt* 'going' W *taith* 'journey' Br *tiz* 'haste', W *sarn* § 12, *ystarn* 'pack-saddle'

Medial Ir -*sissiur* 'I stand' Lat *sistō*, Ir *foss* 'servant' § 3,4, Ir *fossad* 'firm' W *gwastad* 'level' Br *goustad* to the root **sthā-* 'stand' compounded with **upo*, Ir *huisse* § 20, Ir *casachtach*

'cough' W *pas* 'whooping-cough', *peswch* 'cough' MnCo *pāz* Br *pas* .
OE *hwósta*, Ir *glass* 'green' W *glas* 'blue, green' Br *glas* G *glastum*
a plant-name MHG *glast* 'gleam', Ir *táis* 'dough' § 14, Ir *bissi ega*
'icicle' W *bys* 'finger' OCo *bis*, *bes* Br *biz* (OCo *bisou* Br *bizou* 'ring',
whence Fr *bijou* 'jewel') ON *il-kuistir* 'foot-twigs' = 'the toes', Ir
brissim 'I break Br *biesa* 'to rumple' OHG *brestan* 'to burst', W
ias § 20, Ir *ross* 'wood, promontory' W *rhos* 'moor' MlBr *ros* 'hill'
Skr *prastha-s* 'plateau', Ir *is* 'is' § 479, Ir *Oengus*, *Fergus* OW
Ungust, *Gurgust* (*Llan-rwst*, *Glyn Grust*) OCo *Ungust* OBr *Uorgost*,
Uurgost cpds of **g̑ustu-* 'choice', cf Lat *gustus* 'taste', and *do-roi-gu*
§ 34, 2, Ir *feis*, *fess* 'feast', *ban-fheiss* 'wedding-feast' MnIr *bainfheis*,
bainis W *guest* 'feast' Br *ban-ves* 'feast' ON *uist* 'food', Ir *cluas*
'ear' W *clust* ON *hlust*, MnIr *los* 'tail, point or end' MlIr *loss* W
llost 'tail, spear' *arllost* 'spear-shaft' *llosgwrn* 'tail' (by analogy with
asgwrn bone'), *llostlydan* 'beaver' (ht "broad-tailed") Br *lost* 'tail'
ON *hóstr* 'harpoon', *lustr* 'cudgel' to *hósta* 'strike', Ir *driss* gl uepres,
dris-ten-ach gl dumetum (cf *fín-tan* gl uinetum, *ros-tan* gl rosetum)
W *drysi* 'briers' OCo *dreis* gl uepres Br *drez* 'brambles' with *st*-
suff , to Gk *δρίος* 'thicket' For the *-st-* suffixes cf *k^ʷst* in W *nos*
'night', *pst* in W *llys-* 'herb', combination of *-st-*suffix with an
r-suffix in Ir *aimser* 'time' MnIr *aimsear* (to Ir *amm* MnIr *am*
'time') W *amser* OCo *anser* MlBr *ampser* MnBr *amzer*, the same
suffix-comb in G *Epostero-uidus*, *Epotsoro-uidus* In some forms of
the passive and deponent *st* is retained in Ir before *r* *cíchnaigistir*
'striderat', *míastir* 'will be judged', *mestar* gl iudicari

The rules governing the transposition are not known   For
t + t cf § 63

(6) IE *ts* Ir *criss* girdle' MnIr *crios*, MlIr *fochrus* 'girdle' MnIr
fochras 'bosom' (to the vb *focridigedar* gl accingat) W *crys* 'shirt',
gwregys (for **gwe-grys*) 'girdle' OCo *kreis* gl camisia, *grugis* gl cingulum Br *krez* 'shirt', *gouriz* 'girdle' V *grouiz* (*gur-* before the accent
> *grw-*) **qrd(h)-su-*, cf Russ *čérez* 'girdle', Ir *nessam* 'nearest' W
nesaf Co *nessa* Br *nesa* Osc *nessimas* 'proximae' Umb *nesimei* 'proxime' to Skr *náhus* 'member of same race' (*h < dh*, cf *naddhá-s*
'bound'), Ir *ís* 'under' W *is* lower' IE **pēd-su* 'at the feet', cf
OSl *podŭ* 'under'

§ 26 (Combinations of *s* with sonants or with sonants and
explosives) (1) An *s* between a sonant and an explosive is lost
Ir *arco* § 7, 2 Ir *tart* 'thirst' OHG *durst* In the groups *nsk*, *nst*

however the *n* dropped very early so that the *s* remained Ir *cosc*
W *cosb* § 25, 3, Ir *maistre*, v (2) below An explosive between a
sonant and *s* dropped, and the group developed as sonant + *s* ,
similarly an explosive disappeared before *s* + sonant Frequently
too an explosive between *s* and a sonant dropped

(2) *spr* probably fell together with *sr* MnCo *frau* Br *frao*
'crow' Goth *sparwa* 'sparrow', W *ffrwst* 'haste' Goth *sprautō*
'quickly' — *skr* OIr *scret* 'cry' — *str* gave initially Ir *sr* (with anal
lenition), medially remained, initially and medially Brit *str* Ir
srath 'valley bottom, river-field' W *ystrad* 'valley' Br *strad* 'bottom'
*strato- to Lat *sternō* 'I spread out', OBr *strouis* gl straui MnBr
V *streuein* 'to scatter' Goth *straujan*, Ir *sruith* 'old, venerable'
*str-u-ti- to OSl *starŭ* 'old' (OW *strutiu* gl antiquam in Juv prob
due to Ir scribe) Besides *str-* there can also be initial *tr-* Ir *sreod*
'sneeze' W *ystrew, trew* (SW *untrew*) MlBr vn *streuyaff* MnBr
strevia **striw-* to Lat *sternuō* 'I sneeze' (*er* can be from *ri*), Ir *trét*
'herd' Gk στρατός 'camp, army' OSl *tratŭ* 'army' , W *trin* 'battle'
Lat *strēnuus* 'active' Gk στρῆνος 'strength' Medial Ir *maistre*
'churn' MnIr *maistir* 'a churning' **mn̥qstriyā* § 12, 3

(3) *sr-* in Ir remains initially, undergoing lenition to *hr* (now *rh*,
voiceless *r*) The same initial mutation took place in Brit , where *sr-*
became *str-*, and *hr-* became *fr-*, later the mutation was given up,
and either *str-* or *fr-* was generalized Ir *sruth* 'stream' etc §4,
Ir *sruaim* 'river' OBr *strum* gl copia (lactis) Gk ῥεῦμα ON *straumr*,
OCo *stret* gl latex MlCo *streyth* stream' Gk ῥόθος 'a roaring' OHG
stredan 'to bubble', OIr *srennim* gl sterto **srenk-nā-mi*, cf Gk
ῥέγκω, 'I snore', Ir *srón* nose' W *ffroen* 'nostril' MlBr *froan*
MnBr *fron* < **sroknā*, cf Skr *srkvan-, srákva-* 'corner of the mouth'
(Herbert Petersson, Fran filologiska foreningen i Lund Sprakliga
uppsatser IV, 1915, p 127)

Medially -*sr*- gave -*rr*- Ir *errach* 'Spring' (with loss of *w*-,
§ 224, 5) to Gk ἔαρ After a long vowel it is *r* Ir *fáir* 'sunrise,
east' W *gwawr* 'dawn' Br *gwerelaouenn* 'morning star' (lit "dawn-
light", *e* < *o* in a proclitic word) Skr *vasar-* 'early', *vāsará-s* 'matu-
tinal', Ir *mír* 'piece' orig "piece of meat", with -*ro*- suffix to IE
*mēms-, *mēs-, cf Lat *membrum* 'limb' (*br* < *sr*), *membrāna* 'mem-
brane', Ir *nár* 'modest, bashful', Hitt *nahšara-š* 'reverent' (Gotze &
Holger Pedersen, Muršilis Sprachlahmung, p 61) Possibly *r* from
sr was pre-Celt , cf Lat *uēr* 'Spring' ON *uār* — For forms com-
pounded with Ir preverb *ess-*, v § 431, 10

(4) *rs* gives C *rr* Ir *carr* § 7,2, Ir *err* MnIr *earr* 'tail' (with *r*, Ir *erball* MnIr *earball* 'tail' *ball* 'limb') Gk ὄρρος 'tail, rump' OHG *ars* 'buttocks', Ir *tarr* 'lower part, belly', Ir *torrach* MnIr *torrach, tarrach* 'pregnant' MlW *torr* MnW *tor* '(animal's) belly' *tor y llaw* 'palm of the hand', *torrog* 'pregnant (animal)' OBr *tar* gl uentrem MlBr *torr, tor* MnBr *tor* (with long closed *o*) 'paunch' (MnBr *teur*) Gk ταρσός 'flat of the foot' (Windisch, Lit Zentralblatt 1909, 1403, -*rts*-), Ir *fo-ceirr* 2 sg pres subj of *fo-cerd-* 'throw', *orr* 3 sg pres subj of *org-* 'kill'

(5) IE *spl* gave Ir *sl*, Brit *stl* Ir *sliasat, sliasait* 'thigh', *sliss* 'side' MnIr *slios* W *ystlys* **splig'h-stu*-, to Gk πλίσσομαι 'I step out', πλιχάς 'groin' Skr *plēhatē* 'moves' (IE altern *sp p*) — *skl* is not represented — *stl* is kept in Brit, has given *sl* in Ir W *bustl* 'gall' OCo *bistel* MlCo *bystel* Br *bestl* Lat *bīlis*, Ir *giall* 'hostage' W *gwystl* OCo *guistel* Br *goestl* 'pledge, surety', W *cynqwystl* 'pledge' G *Congeistlus* MN

(6) IE *sl* gives initially Ir *sl*-, lenited to *hl* (also MnIr *lh* with voiceless *l*) A similar variation took place in Brit originally (*sl* > W *ysl, hl* > W voiceless *l*, Co and Br voiced *l*), but the distinction was set aside early, and one or other of the forms was generalized (the W voiceless *l* becoming subject to lenition to voiced *l* by analogy) Exx Ir *sluag* 'host' *teg-lach* 'family' W *llu* 'host', OW *telu* MlW *teilu* later *teulu* retinue' MnW *teulu* 'family' OCo *luu* MlCo *lu*, OCo *teilu* 'family' G *Catu-slugi* (for -*slogi*) OSl *sluga* servant', — Ir *slemun* smooth' W *llyfn* OBr *limn-collin* gl tilia, *gur-limun* gl dehinti MlBr *di-leffn* 'hard' Lat *lima* 'file' ON *slim* slime' — Ir *slat* 'rod' W *llath* *yslath* Br *laz* OE *læþþa* 'lath' OHG *latta* (IE altern *sl l*)

Medially *sl* became *ll* (in W voiceless *l*) Ir *coll* 'hazel' W *coll-en* OCo *col-widen* gl corilus OBr *limn-collin* gl tilia Lat *corilus* OHG *hasal*, MnIr *dileacht, dilleacht* orphan' to Ir *slicht* family' Possibly *ll* was shortened after a long vowel Ir *tál* 'adze' **tōk'slo*-, OHG *dehsala* 'hatchet' OSl *tesla* axe' — For forms compounded with Ir *ess* v § 431,10

(7) IE *ls* Ir *all* 'cliff' Gk πέλλα λίθος OHG *felis* rock', Ir *mellaim* 'I deceive' Lett *mèls-t* 'to speak confusedly'

(8) IE *skn*- became *sn*- Ir *sned* etc § 6 2

(9) IE *sn* remained initially in Ir , undergoing lenition to *hn* (MnIr *nh* also, with voiceless *n*) In Brit it gave eventually *n* (< *hn*)

throughout Exx   Ir *snām* 'swimming' W *nawf* Br vn *neuñvi*
Skr *snā-mi* 'I bathe' Umbr *snata* 'umecta' Lat *nō, nāre* 'swim', Ir
sním 'I spin' etc § 21,4, Ir *snáthat* 'needle' MnIr *snáthad* W *nod-
wydd* OCo *notuid* MICo *nasweth* MnCo *nadzhedh* MlBr *nadoez* MnBr
nadoz to preceding word, cf Goth *nēþla* (IE altern *sn n*), Ir
snáthe 'thread' Br *neud* to preceding word (W *ysnoden* 'band,
ribbon' OCo *snod* gl uitta prob borr from E *snood*), Ir *snád-* 'pro-
tect' W *nawdd* 'refuge, protection', Ir *snad-* 'cut, carve' W *naddu*
OW *nedim* gl ascia MnW *neddyf, neddau* 'adze' (MlBr *ezeff* 'twibill'
— **an nezeff > an ezeff* — MnBr *eze, neze*), Ir *snigid* 'rains', *snechte*
'snow' W *nyf* 'snow' Lat *ninguit* 'snows', *nix* 'snow' Goth *snaiws*

   Medially Ir *huinnius* gl fraxinus MnIr *fuinnseog* W *onn-en*
OCo *onn-en* Br *ounn-enn* Lat *ornus* 'mountain ash' (*r < s*), Ir
crann 'tree' (*< *kᵘrsno-*) W *pren* Co *pren* Br *prenn* (*< *kʷresno-*)
Gk πρῖνος 'evergreen oak', Ir *bronnaim* § 13,2, g *bronn* § 24,3
(*bruinne* 'breast' W *bryn* 'hill') After a long vowel MnIr *fáinne
an lae* 'dawn of day' W *gwawn* 'gossamer' (Loth, RC 38 297) to
Ir *fáir* etc (3) above W *ceinach* 'hare' is formed with the ending
-ach from **cein < *k'asnī* OHG *haso*

   (10) *ns* appears in Celt as *ss s* (with compensatory lengthening
of the preceding vowel in Ir § 70,3) G *essedum* 'war-chariot' **en*
'in' and the root **sed-* 'sit' Ir *géiss* 'swan' Lat *anser* 'goose' Gk
χήν OHG *gans*, W *cesail* 'arm-pit' MnCo *kazal* Br *kazel* **qpk's-* to
OHG *hahsa* (without *n*) 'joint of upper part of horse's hind-leg' OE
hóh (without *s*), Ir *mí* month', g *mís* W *mis* OCo *mis* Br *miz* Lat
mensis, G acc pl *Lingonas, artuass* Ir *cona* Gk κύν-ας (IE *-ns*)

   (11) IE *sm-* remained initially in Ir , was orig subject to
lenition (v E J Gwynn, Hermathena, 20 63), but early gave up
the lenited form, in Brit it gave *m* Exx   Ir *smech* 'chin' (MnIr
smeig Sc *smig*) OE *már(e)* 'lip' Lith *smakrà* 'chin , Ir *smir* 'mar-
row' g *smera* MnIr *smior* g *smeara* W *mêr* (Bi *mél* with *l* under the
influence of Fr *moelle*) G *Smerius, Smertullus* OHG *smero* 'fat,
grease', Ir *smér* 'blackberry' etc § 21 2

   sm medially Ir *am* 'I am , *ammi* 'we are' § 479 numerous
examples of *-sm-* suffix Ir *béim* 'a blow' Co *bom* Br *bomm* V *boem,
bom* 'ridge between furrows' **bhei-smn* to Ir *benim* 'I strike', Ir
timme 'heat' W *twym* 'hot' OCo *toim* 'hot', *tun-der* 'heat' MlCo
tommans 'let him heat', *tommys* 'heated' MnCo *tubm* 'calidus' MlBr
toem MnBr *tomm* 'hot' v §30, Ir *femmuin* 'sea-weed' W *gwmon*,

gwymon Br *goumon* 'sea-wrack' Skr *vapatɪ* 'casts, sows', OW
ruɪmmeɪn gl uɪncula MnW *rhwym* 'bond' **reɪg'-smn* to Ir *-rɪg-*
'bɪnd', W *drem* § 7,1, Ir *céɪmm, léɪmm* § 8,2c *-msm-* ɪs perhaps
represented ɪn Ir *cumme* 'lɪke' **k'om-smɪɟo-* (prefix **k'om-* and a
derɪvatɪve of the numeral 'one', cf Gk fem *μία*) *-rsm-*, *-lsm-* ɪn
Ir *gorm, taɪlm* § 75,5

§ 27 (Voɪced *s* =z) IE *z* (a voɪced *s-* sound occurrɪng before
voɪced explosɪves) occurs ɪn Gaulɪsh wrɪtten *s*, but ɪn Neo-Celt gɪves
d OIr *medc* MIIr *medg* 'whey' MnIr *meadhg* W *maɪdd* (*dg > dɟ*)
MnCo *meɪth* OBr *meɪd* G -Lat **mesga* (deduced from Fr *mêgue*)
*mɪsgā to Gk *μίσγω* 'I mɪx' cf Skr *ā-mɪkšā* 'mɪlk curds', Ir *Tadc*,
Tadg MnIr *Tadhg* G *Morɪtasgus, Tasgɪus, Tasgɪllus, Tasgetɪus*, Ir
bedg 'leap', *dorrubɪdc* gl ɪaculatum esse MnIr *béadhgaɪm, bíodhgaɪm*
'I start, rouse' (vowel lengthened owɪng to *dh*) W *beɪddɪo* 'dare', Ir
odb W *oddf* § 3 1 (< **osth-bh-*, to Skr *ásthɪ* 'bone') *dd* gave OIr
MIIr *t*, MnIr *d*, Brɪt /*þ*/ Ir *net* 'nest' MnIr *nead* W *nyth* OCo *neɪd*
MnCo *neɪth* Br *neɪz* Lat *nīdus* (loss of *z* wɪth compensatory leng-
thenɪng) OHG *nest* from the preverb **nɪ-* and root **sed-* 'sɪt', Ir
cet permɪssɪon MnIr *cead* Lat *cēdō* 'I yɪeld'Av *syazɪl-, sɪzd-* 'recede'
(IE altern *k'ɟ k'*), Ir *sétɪm* 'I blow' MnIr *séɪdɪm* (**sweɪzd-*) W
vn *chwythu* Co *whythe, whethe* Br *c'honeza* (**swɪzd-*) OSl *zvɪzdatɪ,
swɪstatɪ* 'to whɪstle', Ir *gat* 'wɪthe MnIr *gad* Lat *hasta* 'spear-
shaft, lance' Goth *gazds* 'goad'

Inɪtɪally Ir *tenge* MnIɪ *teanga* 'tongue MIW *tafawt* MnW
tafod OCo *tauot* MlCo *taɪcs, taɪas* Br *teod* Lat *dɪngua > lɪngua* ON
tunga Av *hɪzɪā-* (*h < s*) *zd-* has therefore gɪven ɪnɪtɪally OIr ,
MnIr *t*, medɪally OIr *t* MnIr *d*

§ 28 In certaɪn cases between a *k-*sound and a vowel, where
other languages have *s* Gk has *τ* (after orɪgɪnal tenuɪs), *ϑ* (after
orɪgɪnal aspɪrata) The orɪg sound from whɪch these consonants
are derɪved ɪs generally consɪdered to be IE *þ*, whɪch gave Gk *τ,ϑ*,
Celt *t, d* Ir *art* 'bear' W *arth* G *Deae Artɪonɪ* Lat *ursus* Gk *ἄρκτος*
Skr *ṛkša-s*, Ir *tɪnaɪm* 'I vanɪsh' OBr *tɪnsot* gl sparsɪt Gk *φϑίνω*
'waste away' *φϑίσις* phthɪsɪs' Skr *kšɪndmɪ* 'I destroy'

Ir *ɪn-dé* 'yesterday' W *doe* OCo *doy* MnCo *de* MlBr *dech* MnBr
deac'h Lat *herɪ* Gk *χϑές* OHG *gestaron* Ir *du* 'place' (dat
dúu, dun, g , also acc and dat , *don*) Gk *χϑών* 'earth' Lat *humus*
Skr *kšam-* Lɪth *žeme*, therefrom ɪs derɪved a word meanɪng 'man'
Ir *duɪne* W *dyn* (*y* ɪs the umlaut form of *u*, from earlɪer *o*) Co ,
Br *den* cf Lat *homō* Goth *guma*

IE _p_.

§ 29. IE _p_ (Lat , Gk _p_, Gmc _f_, Arm _h-_, lost, _-w-_, Skr _p_) was
in Celt treated differently from all other IE explosives It became
throughout a spirant, first a bilabial _f_, an echo of this is found in
the development of _sp_ and in the _w_-diphthong resulting from _op_
before _n_ (§ 32) Before _s_ (§ 25) and _t_ (§ 31) _f_ became /_x_/, elsewhere
it became _h_, which disappeared entirely The same applies to IE _ph_

Initially Ir _athir_ 'father' G _Ateronius_ Lat _pater_ Gk _πατήρ_
Goth _fadar_ Arm _hair_ Skr _pitā́_, MIr _iasc_ 'fish' Lat _piscis_ Goth
fisks, — Ir _én_ 'bird' W _edn_ OCo _hethen_ MlCo _ethen_ OBr _etn-coilhaam_
'I take the auspices' MlBr _ezn_ 'bird' MnBr _evn, ein_, OW _eterin_ 'bird',
pl _atar_, MnW _aderyn, adar_ MnW _adain_ 'wing' OBr _atanocion_ gl ali-
geris, _attanoc_ gl uolitans to Lat _penna_ 'feather' Gk _πτερόν_ OHG
fedara, Gk _πέτομαι_ 'I fly' Skr _pátāmi_ Lat _petō_ I seek', cf also W
ehedeg (eh-ed-eg) 'to fly', OIr _hil_ 'many' Gk _πολύς_ Goth _filu_ Skr
puru-š, OIr _hith_ 'corn' W _ŷd_ OCo _yd_ MlCo _ys, eys_, pl _esow_ Br _ed_
Skr _pitú-š_ 'food', Ir _arco_ I ask' § 7,2, Ir _ís_ § 25,6, OIr _ibim_ 'I
drink' W _vn_ _yfed_ Co _eve_ Br _eva_ Skr _piba-ti_ 'drinks' Lat _bibit_
MlIr _orc_ 'pig' Lat _porcus_ OHG _farah_, Ir _ulcha_ 'beard , _ul-fota_ 'long-
bearded' Gk _τύλιγγες_ 'curly hair', OIr _hiress_ 'belief' cpd of
root *_sthā-_ 'stand' with prefix Ir _air-_ G _are-_, to Gk _περί_, cf
Gk _ἐπί-σταμαι_ I understand, believe', Ir _úr_ green' W _ir_ Lat
pūrus 'pure Before consonants W _rhyd_ 'ford' OCo _rid_ OBr _rit_
G _Augusto-ritum_ Lat _portus_ harbour' OHG _furt_ ford', Ir _lán, lam_
§ 12,2, Ir _lethan_ § 7,1

§ 30 (IE _p_ between vowels) _-ap-_ Ir _caera_ 'sheep' MnIr _caora_
W _caer-iwrch_ 'roebuck' *_qapero-_, cf Lat _caper_ 'he-goat' Gk _κάπρος_
'wild-boar', Ir _saer_ artifex' MnIr _saor_ W _saer_ *_sapero-_, to Lat
sapiō 'I understand,' _up-_ initially gave pr C _w_ Ir _fo-_ 'under' G _ue-_
OW _guo-_ MlW _gwo-, gwa-, go-_ MnW _gwa- go-_ Co _go-, gwa-_ Br _gou-,_
gwa- *_upo_, cf Lat _s-ub_ Gk _ὑπό_ Goth _uf_, Ir _for-_ over' W _gor-, gwar-_
Co _gor-_ OBr _guor-_ MnBr _gour-_ G _uer-_ *_upor_, to Lat _s-uper_ Gk
ὑπέρ Goth _ufar_ Skr _upári_

_-ep-_ before the final syllable Ir _té_ 'hot' (nom pl _téit_) Lat
tepens 'warm' Skr _tapant-_, Ir _niae_ 'nephew', g _niath_ W _nai_ OCo
noi Br _ni_, pl _nied_ Lat _nepōs_ 'grandson' OHG _nefo_ 'nephew' (W
nai goes back to *_nepōt-, -ō-_ in final syll $> \bar{u} > i$) _epe-_ before the
final syll fell together with the IE diphthong _ei_ Ir _iar n-_ 'after'
(monosyll), _an-iar_ from the west', _s-iar_ 'westwards' *_epero-m_ cf

Goth *afar* 'after' Skr *apara-* 'later, westwards' to Gk *ἀπό* 'from', thus also Ir *téit*, pl of *té* 'hot' *epe-* before a non-final syll gave Ir *e* Ir *timme* 'heat' W *twym* 'hot' etc § 26,11 from **tepesmıjā*, **tepesmṇ*

§ 31 (*p* before *s* and explosives) *ps* v §25 — *pt* gave G *ft* > *xt*, and this has remained in Ir , in Brit *x* coalesced with the preceding vowel giving a diphthong or a long vowel Ir *secht* 'seven' MlW *seith* etc § 24,2 cf G *sextametos* 'seventh', Ir *necht* gl *neptis* W *nith* OCo *noit* (influenced by masc *noi*) OBr *nith* gl nepta MnBr *niz* ('? G *Neptacus*, with *pt* = *ft*) Lat *neptis* 'grand-daughter' OHG *nift* 'niece' Skr *naptī* grand-daughter', Ir *richt* 'form' W *rhith* **prptu-*, cf Gk *πρέπω* 'am conspicuous' Arm *erewim* 'I appear', *eres* (*-ps-*) 'face', — Ir *cacht* servant' W *caeth* 'slave, captive' OCo m *caid*, f *caites* MlBr *quaez* 'captive' MnBr *keaz* 'unlucky, wretched, dear' G *Moenia-coeptus* ('? *Moenicaptus*) Lat *captus* 'captive' OHG *haft*, — Ir *óchtar*, *uachtar* 'upper part' W *uthr* 'wonderful, tremendous' **ouptro-* to Goth *iup* 'upwards' Ir *ós*, *uas* < **oup-su* § 25,1

§ 32. (*p* medially before sonants) *-pn-* became *-n-*, after *o*, *-wn-* Ir *ten* 'fire', *tene* W *tân* Co *tan* Br *tan* Av *tafnah-* 'heat' Ir *suan* 'sleep' W *hun* Co Br *hun* **sopno-s*, cf Lat *somnus* Gk *ὕπνος* Skr *svápna-s*, Ir *cuan* haven' ON *hofn*

Note Thurneysen ZCP 13 106 thinks that *-pr-*, *-pl-* gave Celt *-br* *-bl* Ir *accobor* 'desire Lat *cupiō*] desire

§ 33 (*p* after sonants) *rp* has been supposed to give G *rr*, but the alleged exx may all be questioned We have simply *r* in Ir *cethir* 'a quadruped cattle' **kʷetuor-ped-s* and in Ir *cairem* 'shoemaker' W *crydd* OCo *chereor* Br *kere*, *kereour* to Gk *κρηπίς* shoe' Lat *carpisculum* 'a kind of shoes'

-lp- gave *l* Ir *cilornn* gl urceus OIr (Juv) *cilurnn* gl urnam MnW *celwrn* 'pail' Br *kelorn* Lat *calpar* 'wine-cask' Gk *κάλπη*, *κάλπις* 'urn', Ir *col* sin, blame' W *cŵl* Lat *culpa*, Ir *molad* 'praise' W *mawl*, vn *moli* Br *meuli* Gk *μέλπω* 'I sing' *μολπή* 'song' — IE *mp* gave (lenited) *m* Ir *amires* disbelief' v OIr *iress* § 29 (cf Arm *amparišt-* 'irreligioso', Pers *parast* 'worshipper', Marstrander, Ériu 5 251), *amulach* 'beardless' (cf *ulcha* § 29)

The Uvular and Palatal Voiced Aspiratae and Mediae.

§ 34 **(1)** IE *gh* (Lat *h*, Gk *χ*, Gmc *g*, Skr *gh*, *h*), IE *g* (Lat , Gk *g*, Gmc *k*, Skr *g*, *ǰ*), IE *g′h* (Lat *h*, Gk *χ*, Gmc *g*, Skr *h*) and

IE g' (Lat , Gk g, Gmc k, Skr ǯ) all gave primitive Celt g In Neo-Celt g remains initially, but undergoes lenition (becoming in Ir /ǥ/, pronounced in MnIr /ǥ/, but when palatalized /j/, in W and Co nil, in Br as a rule /x/, cf § 224,3) Between vowels g gave OIr /ǥ/ (wr g, MnIr gh), v further p 31 n 1,2, in Brit it disappeared or gave w Before consonants g disappeared in Ir with compensatory lengthening, but in Brit formed with the preceding vowel a diphthong ending in e, y, i After consonants g was retained in OIr (wr g or c, MnIr g), in Brit was spirantized or vocalized after d, r, l

(2) Exx initially Ir gabim 'I take' W gafael 'to take hold' Co gavel Lat habēre 'I have' OHG geban 'give', Ir gabul 'furca, patibulum' W gafl 'fork' Br gaol G -Lat gabalus 'gallows' OHG gibil 'gable' ON gafl OHG gabala 'furca Skr gabhasti- 'shafts', Ir gat § 27

W garan 'crane' OCo Br garan G tri-garanus (epithet of the god Taruos) Gk γέρανος OHG chranuh OE cran, Ir glenaid 'sticks fast' W vn glynu MlBr en-glenaff OHG chlinu 'I stick, smear' cf Lat glūten 'glue' Gk γλοιός 'anything sticky'

Ir géis § 26,10, Ir gam § 21 2

Ir gein 'birth' W geni 'be born, give birth' Br genel 'give birth' Lat gignō 'I beget' Gk γίγνομαι become OE cennan 'beget' Skr ǯanāmi 'I beget', Ir gnáth known' § 9 1, h do-roigu 'he has chosen' Gk γεύομαι 'I taste' Skr ǯušátē likes' (cf Oengus etc § 25,5)

(3) In Brit gw occurs irregularly instead of g Ir gae 'spear' W gwayw OCo hoch-wuyu Co geiu, len wev G -Lat gaesum G -Gk γαῖσος (but according to Thurneysen IFAnz 26 25 W qwaew is a cpd = Ir fogha 'a dart' OBr guugoinou gl spiculis) ON geirr 'spear' Gk χαῖος crook', Ir gelt-both gl pabulum gelim 'graze' W gwellt 'grass' Co gwels OBr gueltiocion gl fenosa MnBr Ouessant guelt, otherwise geot, reot Lat gula 'gullet' OHG kela 'throat', Ir gen 'smile' W gwên Gk γαιάω gleam, am cheerful', Ir geir 'tallow' W guér ON gorn Lat hira gut'

§ 35. (gh, g, g'h, g' between vowels) (1) ag- (> Brit a, age > Brit ae, agi > Brit ei) Ir atom-aig adigit me' W á 'goes' Co Br a, cf OW agit Lat ugō 'I lead' Gk άγω ON aka 'to drive', — Ir mag 'plain, open field' (im-maig 'outside', immach 'out, forth') MlW Ma- (-fa in place-names still, Guyn-fa) 'place' Co -fa G Arganto-magus perhaps to Skr mahī 'earth', whence W maes 'field' (early MlW ma-es) Co mes Br meaz, — Ir dag- good' W Co Br da

G *Dago-uassus*, Ir *aıg* 'ice' W *ıa* § 20, Ir *draıgen* 'blackthorn'
W *draen* (pl MlW *dreın* MnW *draın*) OCo *draın* (pl *dreın*) MlCo
pl *dreyn* MnCo *drēn* Br *drean* (pl *dreın*) G τέϱχνος 'twıg' OHG
tırn-pauma 'cornea sılua' (IE altern -*ēr*- -*ra*-), W *haeddel* 'plough
handle' MlBr *haezl* MnBr *heal* Gk ἐχέτλη, W *cae* 'hedge, field'
MlBr *quae* 'thorn hedge' MnBr *łae* 'hedge, enclosure' OHG *hag*
'town' MHG *hac* 'thorn-bush, enclosure', Ir *laıgen* 'lance' MnIr
laıghean W *llaın* 'blade' (MlW monosyll and dısyll), 'patch', pl
lleınıau to Gk λαχαίνω I hack, dıg up' *agȝ-* (> Brıt *eı*) Ir
laıgıu, lugu smaller' W *llaı* OBr *nahu-leı* gl nıhılo mınus Gk
ἐλάσσων Fınal *agu-* (> Brıt *aw*) MlW *llaw* 'small' OBr *lau* (v Ifor
Wıllıams, Y Beırnıad 7 187) Gk ἐλαχύς

(2) *og* before a dısappearıng fınal gıves Brıt *o* Ir *trog* 'chıldren'
W *tro* 'turn' Co *tro* Br *tɩo* 'turn, rɩnnet' W *go-dro* 'to mılk' OBr *guo-
troıt* gl demulgıtıs MlBr *gozro* 'to mılk' MnBr *goeıo* Gk τϱόχος
'course' Serb *trâg* 'footstep, posterıty', Ir *tuıge* 'straw, thatch' W *to*
'roof' Co Br *to* Lat *toga* 'garment' OHG *dah* 'thatch' Ir *mruıg*
'boundary, dıstrıct' W Co Br *bro* G *brogae* 'ager' *Allo-broges* Lat
margō 'margın' Goth *marka* boundary' Before -*u*-, *og* became
Brıt *ow* Ir *mug* 'slave, servant', g *moga* W *meu-dwy* 'hermıt' ("ser-
vus Deı") Co *mow-es* 'maıden' Br *maouez* woman' (Co *maw* youth,
servant' Br *mao* 'happy' G *Magu-rı* r) ON *mǫgr* 'son' Goth *magus*
'lad', *mawı* 'maıden' (*w* < *gw*) Before a retaıned vowel *og* gave
Brıt *ow* whıch developed lıke IE *ou* § 18 OBr *rogedou* gl orgus
W *rhewydd* (wıth umlaut) wanton', W *euod* 'worms ın sheep'
**oghı-* < **oghwı-*, Gk ὄφις 'snake' Armen *auȝ* (wıth IE *e*, Gk ἔχις
'adder' Skr *áhı-š* 'snake') Thıs change however dıd not occur ın
W *troed* 'foot' (monosyll), pl *traed* (dısyll ın MlW verse) OCo *truıt*
MlCo *troys*, pl *treys*, *trys* Br *troad*, pl *treıd* Ir *traıg*, acc *traıgıd* MnIr
troıgh G *uertragus* 'swıft-footed dog' Gk τϱόχος course' Goth
þragȝan 'to run'

(3) *ug* gave Brıt *ow* MnIr *ughaım* 'harness' OW *ıou* yoke'
W *ıau* OCo *ıeu* Br *ıeo, geo* (Co and Br *e* due to *ȝ* ? V *ıao*) G *Uer-
ıugo-dumnus* Lat *ıugum* Gk ζυγόν Goth *ȝuk*, W *go-leu, go-lau*
'lıght' Co *golow* Br *goulou*, W *lleuad* 'moon' ,Br *gwer-e-laouen* 'morn-
ıng star' § 26,3, G *Lugu-*, pl *Lugoues, Lugudunum*, OW *louber*
'lıght' MnW *lleufer* wıth IE altern *g* *q* to Lat *lūx* Thıs dıd not
occur ın Ir *luıge* 'oath' W *llw* Br *le* Goth *lıuqa* 'marrıage'

(4) *eg* before a dısappearıng fınal gave Brıt *e* W *lle* 'place' Co

le G *legasɪt* 'he placed' Gk λέχος 'bed' (Br *leac'h* 'place' ɪs from
a derived form **leghs-*, or to Gk λέσχη 'place of public resort' Pr
lɪscɪs 'camp', but *eg* gives *y* ɪn OW *guelɪ* 'bed' MnW *gwely* OCo
guelɪ MlCo *guely* Br *gwele*), Ir *graɪg* 'herd, stud', g *grega* W *gre*
OCo *gre-lɪn* gl lacus ("horse-pond") Br *gre* 'herd' Lat *grex*, g
gregɪs, MlW *he-u* 'to sow seed', *he-af* (Mn *hau, heuaf*) Lat *seges*,
Ir *fɪgɪm* 'I weave' W *gwe* 'web' OCo *guɪat* gl tela MnCo *gwɪa* 'to
weave' OBr *gueg* (ɪ e *gue-gureɪc*, gl textrɪx, according to Ifor Wɪll-
ɪams, BBCS 6 112) MnBr *gwea* 'weave' Lat *uēlum* 'cloth, saɪl',
eg gave Brɪt *ɪ* ɪn the word Ir *tech* 'house', g *tɪge, taɪge* MnIr *teach*,
g *tɪghe* OW *tɪg* MnW *tŷ* OCo *tɪ* MlCo *chy* MnBr *tɪ* OBr *bou-tɪg* gl
stabulum   Gk τέγος 'roof', plural OW *ɪn ɪr dol-te* gl ɪn fanɪs (*e = eɪ*,
cf OW *te-lu* etc § 26,6) MlW *teɪ* MnW *taɪ *tegɪa < *tegesa*, Ir
tɪge, *e* ɪs retained before *y* ɪn the derived form *teyrn* 'kɪng' (dɪsyll
ɪn MlW, cf MnW *Cyndeyrn*, dɪsyll wɪth accent on *ey*) OCo *Wen-
deern* OBr *Machtɪern* OBrɪt *Cato-tɪgɪrnɪ, Tegerno-mah* G *Thɪgernum
castrum* — *egw* gave Brɪt *ew* Ir *tɪug* 'thɪck' W Co *tew* Br *teo*
OHG *dɪcchɪ*

(5) *ɪg* Ir *dlɪgɪm* 'I deserve', *dlɪged* 'law' MlW *dlyaf, dylyaf* 'I
have a rɪght to', *dlyet, dylyet* 'merɪt' MnW *dylwn* 'I should', *dylêd
dled dyled* 'debt' Goth *dulgs* 'debt' OSl *dļgŭ*, Ir *lɪgɪm* 'I lɪck' W
vn (SW) *llyo* Br *leat* Lat *lɪngō* 'I lɪck' Gk λείχω, — MlIr *buorach*
gl lora MnIr *buarach* 'spancel' MlW *buruy*, MnIr *ceannɪach* 'fɪllet,
halter' W *penrhe* 'haɪr-lace, fɪllet' (but also MlW *penrwy*), Ir *cuɪm-
rech* 'fetter' Br *kevre* (but W *cyfrwy* 'saddle'), Ir *árach* 'fetter' Br
ere (but W *aerwy* 'collar, torque'), Ir *ɪndrach* MnIr *ɪonnrach* 'a tent
or plug to keep a wound open' OBr *anre* gl collyrɪo, Ir *scɪath-rach*
'strap of the shɪeld' MlW *ysgwyt-rwy* (Loth, RC 41 220, who de-
rɪves *-wy* from IE *-eɪ-*) compounds of root Ir *rɪg-* 'bɪnd', — Ir
brɪ 'hɪll', acc *brɪgh*, g pl *breg* W *bre* (fem), cf *fry* 'up' Co *bre* 'hɪll'
Br *bre* G *Admageto-brɪga* Goth *baurgs* 'town' cf *baɪrgs* 'mountaɪn',
related are Ir *Brɪgɪt* MnIr *Brɪghɪd*, g *Brɪghde*, OW *bryeɪnt*, later
braɪnt 'prɪvɪlege' (MlW *breenhɪn brenhɪn* MnW *brenɪn* 'kɪng' Co
brentyn bryntyn), OBrɪt *Brɪgantɪa* Skr *bṛhatī*, fem of *bṛhant-* 'hɪgh'

(6) Prɪmɪtɪve Celt *āg* (> OBrɪt *ōg*) before a lost fɪnal gave W
aw, Co Br /*o*/, before a retaɪned vowel Brɪt *ow*, *āgɪ* gave Brɪt *eɪ*
W *daw* 'he comes' Co *due* Br *deu* from **dōg(et)*, contracted from
*do-ag(et), W *deuaf* 'I come' **dōgam(ɪ) < *do-agam(ɪ)* (ɪn W forms
wɪth *-o-*, e g *down* 'we come', and Co and Br forms wɪth /*-o-*/, e g.

MlBr *deuaff* 'I come' the form which developed before an original lost final has been generalized), — Ir *bráge* 'neck, throat' MnIr *brághaid* OW pl *abal-brouannou* gl gurguliombus ('Adam's apples') MnW *breuant* 'windpipe' (OCo *briansen* gl guttur MlCo *bryangen* MnCo *branǯian* OBr *Brehant-Dincat* gl guttur receptaculi pugnae have *r* perhaps in the first syll) (with IE *o*) Gk *βρόχϑος* 'throat' MHG *krage* 'neck', Ir *bágim* 'I fight' W *bai* 'fault, blame' vn *beio* OHG *bágu* 'I fight' ON *bág-r* 'difficulty, obstacle', Ir *trág* 'beach', *trág-* 'to ebb' W *trai* 'ebb', vn *treio* to Lat *trahō* 'I draw'

(7) Prim Celt *īg* Ir *bríg* strength, virtue' W *bri* 'repute' Co *bry* 'worth' MlBr *bri* 'regard', Ir *rígain* 'queen' W *rhiain* 'maiden' to Ir *rí* 'king' etc § 11, Ir *di-gal* 'vengeance' W *dial* 'vengeance' Co *dyal* prefix *dē* with Ir *gal* 'valour

(8) *g* after diphthongs Ir *sluag* etc §26,6, Ir *tróg, truag* 'wretched' W *tru* Co *tru* 'alas' MlBr *tru* wretched' to Gk *στρεύγεσϑαι* 'to be worn out' (Windisch, Lit Zentralblatt 1909, 1403), Ir *tiagu* 'I go' W *mordwy* § 16, Ir *liag* 'spoon' MnIr *liach* W *llwy* OCo *loe* MnCo *lo* Br *loa* Lat *ligula* See (5) W *burwy, penwy, cyfrwy, aerwy*, cf *modrwy* 'ring' (*mawd* 'thumb' + *rwy*)

(9) *g* after a lost vowel — Ogam INIGENA Ir *ingen* 'girl' MnIr *inghean inghin* Sc *nighean* *eni-g'enā*, cf Lat *indigena* 'native-born', Ir *bairgen* bread' MnIr *bairghean* W Co Br *bara* *bharagen-* cf Lat *farrāgō* 'a mash', Ir *irgal* fem 'conflict' W *arial* 'vigour', W *anian* 'nature' *ndhi* + *g'en-, *g'nn-* 'to bear', cf MlW *adyan* 'progeny' (Loth, RC 39 63), Ir *tonngar* 'noise of waves' W *toniar* breaker, wave', Ir *cenngal* 'a pressing' MlW *pennyal* (Vendryes, RC 43 396), Ir *Mathgen* MN MlW *Madyein* G *Matugenus*

Note 1 Non palatalized *g* finally after a short vowel became /x/ in Ir *im-mach, tech arach*, Ir *indech* MnIr *inneach* 'woof W *anwe* (preverb Ir *ind-* W *an-* and the root of Ir *figim* W *gwe*; There are numerous exceptions in inflected words, due to analogy, cf *mag* beside *im-mach*

Note 2 The MnIr development of medial *g* varies greatly The main treatment is as follows lost (finally without compensatory lengthening Arran *šL'a* − *sleagh*, but cf Donegal *ə-mwiʃ'* = *amuigh* and *trix'* = *troigh*), *j* (Arran *ɛj*, Donegal *əj, oj* = *aghaidh* face), *w* or *v* (after a rounded vowel Arran *fəwl* 'damage by a trespassing cow' = *foghail*, Arran *u* 'egg' gen *iv'ə* Donegal *yv yf'* = *ubh* g *uibhe* OIr *og*)

In the South of Ireland *-g* is partly lost (esp after long vowels), partly becomes *g*

§ 36. IE *g(h)*, *g'(h)* medially before consonants disappeared in Ir with compensatory lengthening, *ı* and *e* becoming *ē*, *u* and *o* becoming *ō* > *ua*, before *ı*, *u* in the following syll *eo*, *eu*, *ıu* appear for *ē*, in Brit they became a *ʒ*-like sound (non-syll *e*, *y*, *ı*), which formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel, *ıg* giving the diphthong W *wy* /uy/ etc (just as IE *eı* did)

gr Ir *áı* 'massacre' W *aer* OW *haır* OBr *aır*, pl *aırou* Gk ἄγρā 'hunt', Ir *áırne* 'sloe' W *aeron* 'berries', *eırın* 'plums' (with umlaut) MlBr *ırın* MnBr *hırın* 'sloe' Goth *akran* 'fruit', Ir *fér* 'grass', g *feoır* MlW *gweır* MnW *gwaır* perhaps to Goth *wahsʒan* 'to grow', Ir *uar* 'cold' MnIr *fuar* (cf Ir *uacht* 'cold' (noun) MnIr *fuacht*) W *oer* OCo *oır* G *Ogron* abbrev name of month **ougro-*

gl Ir *ál* 'litter, brood' W *ael* Gk ἀγέλη 'herd', Ir *mál* 'prince, noble' MlW *mael* W *Maelgwn, Cynfael* OBr *Mael, Iudmael* OBrit *Maglocunus* Goth *mikıls* 'great', Ir *gıuıl* 'stuck', pret of *glenaıd*

gn Ir *áın* 'a driving', inf of *ag-* 'drive' Gk ἀγών 'assembly, contest', Ir *gráın* 'disgust', OIr *grande* 'horrid' MnIr *gránna* W *graen* 'grief' MlW *graendde* 'sad' to Ir *garg* 'rough' Gk γοργός 'frightful' In post-tonic syllables *-an* appears instead of *-aen* in Brit OBrit *Corbagnı* W *Nant-carfan*, *Llan-carfan*, OBrit *Curcagnı* OW *Cırcan*, Ir *becán*, *beccán* 'small' OW *bıchan* MnW *bychan* OCo *boghan* MlCo *byhon* Br *bıhan* V *bıhan* — *ogn* Ir *suanem* 'rope' (with *egn* Ir *sén* 'snare') W *hoenyn* (with umlaut *hwynyn*) 'snare' to Lith *segù* 'I stitch' Ski *saǯatı* 'clings to', — Ir *brón* 'sorrow' W *bruyn* Gk βρύχω 'I gnash', W *bruyn* 'rushes', *bruynen* OCo *brunnen* gl *uncus*, scirpus MlCo *bronnen* Br *broenn-enn* OE *brognena* gl frondium, *gıbrogne* 'uirgultum' — Ir *fén* 'waggon' W *gwaın* G *couınnos* uoeant quorum falcatis axibus utuntur ON *uagn* 'waggon', — Ir *culén* 'whelp, cub' W *colwyn* OCo *coloın* Br *kolen* **kolıgno-*, Ir *muırenn* 'ainm do mnaı' Coım (error for *-rén*) W *morwyn* 'maiden, virgin', pl *morynıon* OCo *moroın* MlCo *moren* *moran* **morıgnā* (OIr *muır-móıu* gl siren borrowed from Brit) Ir fut *ın dıgén* 'shall I make' of *do-gníu*, Ir *ad-gén* 'I know', *ad-géuın* 'he knows' (*-gnın-* 'know') W *adwaen* Co 3sg *aswon* — In the initial of the second member of a compound *gn* is often treated as a lenited initial Ir *ʃo-gnam* 'serve' MnIr *ʃoghnamh* Arran *fūnə* cf Co *go-nys*, *go-nes* 'to work' Br *gou-nıd* 'to gain' (but in W *gweını* serve' *gn* is treated as medial with umlaut of the *o* of the prefix, cf W *heını(f)* 'active', similarly Ir *dénum* 'do', *nı dénat* 'they do not') — In W

ad-na-bod MlBr *az-naout* 'know' cf G *Ate-gnatus, gn* followed a disappearing vowel

§ 37. (IE *g(h)* and *g'(h)* after a consonant) **(1)** *zg* gave Ir *đg*, Brit *đg > đ{dotless-j}*, *{dotless-j}* causing epenthesis and then disappearing (**mizgā > *medga > *medja* > W *maidd* § 27, or possibly *đy > gđ > jđ*)

(2) *rg* gives medially W *rj*, before a disappearing final *r* or *r* with a non-syllabic *y* or */u/* (wr *w*) or syllabic *a*, in Co and Br it gives */rx/* Ir *airget* 'silver' MnIr *airgead* W *arian(t)* OCo *argans* MlCo *arghans, arhans* Br *arc'hant* G *Arganto-magus, arcanto-dan* abbrev title 'mint-warden' Lat *argentum*, Ir *arg* ı bainne 'drop' W *eira* 'snow' MlW *eiry* (monosyll) MnW *eir-law* 'sleet' (-jo- stem, hence umlaut) OCo *irch* MnCo *er* Br *erc'h* **pargo-*, **pargjo-*, to Lat *spargō* 'I strew' Gk σφαραγέω 'I crackle', Ir *lorg* gl claua MnIr *lorg* 'a club' MlIr *lurga* MnIr *lorga* 'shin' OCo *lorch* gl baculus Br *lorc'henn* 'shaft' ON *lurkr* 'cudgel', Ir *lorg* gl trames 'track' MnIr *lorg* W *llwry, llwrw* (MlW *yn llwrw y benn* 'head foremost' MnW (SW) *lwr i ben*, *llw cefen* 'behind') Co *lergh, lyrgh* Br *lerc'h, war-lerc'h* 'after' (Co and Br forms with umlaut) Armen *olork* 'smooth', Ir *di-bairg* 'throw' '' W *buru* throw, cast', MlW *byryaf* MnW *burriaf*, W *bera* 'stack of hay or corn' OHG *berg* mountain' (? -rgn- in OCo Bi *bern*), Ir *ferg* 'anger' MnIr *fearg* MlW *qwery* (monosyll) 'active' OBr *guerg* gl efficax G *uergo-bretus* chief magistrate, with power over life and death' Gk ὀργή anger' Skr *ūrjā* 'great vigour'

(3) *lg* was treated in the same way as *rg* Ir *bolg* 'bag' MnIr *bolg* 'belly, bag' *bolgach* 'a boil stout-bellied' MlW *boly* (monosyll) 'bag, belly', pl *byly* MnW *bol bola* (disyll) 'belly', *boliog* 'big-bellied' Br *bolc'h* 'husk of flax' G *bulga* 'leather bag' Goth *balgs* 'skin' E *belly*, — Ir *colg* sword, beard of corn' OW *colginn* gl aristam MnW *col, cola* 'beard of corn', pl *colion colyn* 'a sting, hinge', with *a* MlW *caly* (monosyll) MnW *cal, calu* penis', pl *cahau* MnCo. *kal* penis' (with *h* lost) Br *kalc'h*, — W *gwala* 'enough MlBr *gwalch* MnBr *a-walc'h, gwalc'ha* to satisfy' Lat *uulgus* 'the common people', MlW *daly* (monosyll), *dal* 'to hold' MnW *dal dala, daliaf* 'I hold' Co *dalhen* 'a taking hold of' Br *dalc'h* 'possession, jurisdiction', *derc'hel* 'to hold' (with umlaut, *l > r* by dissimilation, part *dalc'het*) Lat *in-dulgēre* 'indulge in' Goth *tulgus* 'firm', — Ir *selg* § 25,1, — Ir *selg* hunt' MnIr *sealg, seilg* OW *in helcha* gl in uenando, *helgha-ti* gl uenare (ıpv) MlW *hely* (monosyll) MnW *hel, hela* 'hunt', *helwr* 'huntsman' OCo *helhwur* gl uenator MlCo *helhys*,

hellys 'hunted' MnCo *helfia* 'to hunt' Br *em-olc'h* 'to hunt', *di-elc'hat* 'to lose breath' Skr *sṛǯáti* 'sets free, darts'

(4) *ŋg* remained in OIr, but very early became *ŋŋ*, whence MnIr *ŋ* In Brit *ŋg* gave *ŋŋ* and *ŋ* earlier than in Ir, in Br in certain cases it reverted to *ŋg*, then becoming *ŋk*, in other cases *ŋ* disappeared in Co and Br All the Brit languages have lost *ŋ* (and *g*) in the group *ŋgw* Exx Ir *mong* 'mane', acc *moing* W *mwng* OBr pl *mogou* MnBr *moue* ON *makki* 'part of neck where mane grows' Dan *manke* 'mane', Ir *tongu* 'I swear' W *twng* 'swears', vn *tyngu* Co *to-* MlBr *toeaff* MnBr *toui* perhaps to ON *þing* 'judicial assembly', Ir *drong* 'troop' MnIr *drong* OBr *drogn* gl coetus, *drog* gl factio G *drungus* to Goth *driugan* 'to do military service', Ir *cum-ung* 'narrow' MnIr *cumhang* W *cyf-yng, yng, wng* (*ehang, e-ang* 'wide', with prefix **eks-*) Br *enk* Lat *angō* 'I compress' Gk *ǎγχω* *ŋgw* OIr *ingen* '(finger-)nail' MlIr *inga* MnIr *ionga*, plur *ingne* OW *eguin* MnW *ewin* OCo *euuin* Br *win* Lat *unguis* Gk *ǒvvξ* OHG *nagal* (a suffixal *w* in Celt and Lat), Ir *tenge* 'tongue' §27

The Labio-velar Voiced Aspirata and Media

§ 38. IE *gᵘh* (Lat *f, -w-, -b-* [before *r*], Gk *φ, ϑ*, Gmc *w, g*, Skr *gh, h*) fell together with IE *gh* and *g'h* IE *gᵘ* (Lat *w*, Gk *β, δ*, Gmc *kw*, Skr *g, ǯ*) initially (except before *u*) gave Celt *b*, falling together with IE *bh* and *b*, also medially after consonants, but between vowels and before consonants it gave Celt *g*

gᵘh initially Ir *guidimm* 'I pray' Gk *ποθέω* 'I wish' (with *π* for *φ* before *ϑ*), *ϑέσσασϑαι* 'implore', Ir *gonim* 'I wound', *guin* 'wound, killing' Gk *φόνος* 'murder', *ϑείνω* 'I strike' Skr *han-mi* 'I slay', Ir *gorim* 'I warm' MnIr *gor* 'heat, pus' W *gori* 'to brood, fester' Br *gor* 'heat, abscess' Lat *formus* 'warm' Gk *ϑέρος* 'heat' Goth *warms* 'warm' Skr *haras* 'ardour', *gharmá-* 'warmth, ardour'

Note In Brit *gw* appears for *g* cf § 34 3 W *gweddi* prayer' Ir *guidimm* (but according to Osthoff, IF 27 173 W *gweddi* is **wo-godimā*, cf for the preverb Ir *foigde* 'begging'), Ir *gorm* 'blue' W *gwrm* 'dun dark blue' OBr *Uurm haelon* with brown brows possibly to Lat *formus* Gk *ϑερμός* 'warm' (but cf Gwynn, Hermathena 20 65) Ir *griv* 'fire' W *gwres* heat' Br *groez groucz* **gᵘhrēnso- *gᵘhrenso* cf Skr *ghrqsa* 'blaze of the sun'

gᵘ initially W *bwyd* § 16, Ir *beo* § 18, Ir *bith* § 6, 1, Ir *bó* 'cow' § 13, 3, Ir *ben* § 8, 2e, Ir *bró* § 18, W *blin* tired' OBr *blin* gl remissa Skr *glāná-* 'weakened' Before *u* IE *gᵘ* appears as Celt *g*

Ir *guth* 'voice' Gk *βοή* 'a cry' Skr *gavatē* 'resounds' $g^u n$ Ir *mná*, g of *ben* 'woman'

§ 39. (1) IE $g^u h$ between vowels Ir *snigid* 'rains' W *nyf* 'snow' § 26,9, MlIr *daig* 'fire', g *daiged*, *dega* MnIr *doigh* 'pang' W *deifio* 'singe, scorch' Br *devi* 'burn' to Lat *fouēre* 'to warm', *febris* 'fever' Gk *τέφρα* 'ashes' Skr *dahāmi* 'I burn' In Brit -$g^u h$- might seem to have become -*b*- (cf g^u- § 38), lenited to -*v*-, as in W *nyf*, *nyfio* 'to snow', cf Loth, Mélanges Havet 237—240

(2) IE g^u between vowels Ir *nigim* 'I wash' Gk *νίζω* (*ζ* from *gj*) 'I wash' Skr *nēnēźmi*

§ 40. (1) IE $g^u h$ medially before consonants no certain example

(2) IE g^u medially before consonants Ir *uan* 'lamb' W *oen* (pl *wyn*) OCo *oin* MlCo *oan*, *on* MnCo plur *ean*, *ennes* Br *oan* pl *ein* Lat *agnus* Gk *ἀμνός* The Gmc forms however (OE *éanian* 'to lamb' Dutch dial *oonen* Swed Gothl *oyna* Dan Bornh *ona*) suggest IE $g^u h$

§ 41 IE $ng^u h$ W *llyngyr* '(intestinal) worms', sg *llyngyren* (SW dial *llynger* *llyngeren*) Br sg *lenker-enn*, *lenkern-enn* Lat *lumbrīcus*

IE rg^u OIr *borb*, *borp* 'foolish' MnIr *borb* 'rude' Armen *bark* 'violent, angry', MlIr *orbaind* 'grains' Lat *eruum* 'pulse' Gk *ὄροβος*, *ἐρέβινθος* 'vetch' OHG *araweiz* 'pea IE ng^u Ir *imb* 'butter' OW *emmeni* W *ymenyn* etc § 8,1a

The Dental Voiced Aspirata and Media.

§ 42. IE *dh* (Lat *f*-, -*d*-, -*b*-, Gk *ϑ*, Gmc *d*, Skr *dh*) and IE *d* (Lat , Gk *d*, Gmc *t*, Skr *d*) became Celt *d* Initially *d* is subject to lenition in Ir and Brit , becoming *đ*, this also took place medially between vowels Medially before consonants *d* is sometimes vocalized, after consonants *d* remained in Ir (wr partly *t* in OIr), in Brit it became *đ* after *r* The sound *đ* was in the earliest period written *d* — in OBr , OW , OIr and early MlIr In early MIW it was written *t*, then *d*, also occasionally *th*, the symbol *dd* appears in the 14th century and is now predominant In OCo it was written *d*, *t*, *th*, *þ*, *dh*, in MlCo usually *th* In MlBr and MnBr *đ* has become *z* (or been dropped) *đ* is retained in the dialects of Belle-Ile and Pontivy (Loth, Chrest p 379[2]) The symbol *dh* appears in MlIr and predominates in MnIr , *đ* and *g* fell together very

early ın Ir , and ınıtıally *dh* ıs pronounced *g* ın MnIr and Sc , *j* when palatalızed, for medıal *dh* cf § 43 Ir *dh* ıs represented ın Old Icelandıc by *þ* (ı e *đ*) OIcel *mınnþak* 'mıxture of meal and butter' from Ir *menadach* 'meal and mılk', OIcel *Dungaþr* from Ir *Donnchadh* Scandınavıan *d* ın old loan-words gave Ir *dh* MlIr *garda* 'garden' MnIr *gardha* Sc *garradh* W *gardd* from ON *garþr* Later ıt gave *th* Ir *Baethbarr* ıarla ON *Bǫþuarr* ıarl W *đ* ıs represented by Ir *th* ın Ir *maıthım* 'I forgıve, remıt', ınf *mathem* from W *maddau* 'to forgıve, gıve up'

Exx ınıtıally Ir *denım* 'I suck', *del* 'teat' MIW *dynu* 'to suck' MlCo *dene* Br *dena* Lat *fē-mına* 'woman', *fēlıx* 'fruıtful, lucky', *fellāre* 'to suck' Gk *θήσατο* 'he sucked' Goth *daddjan* 'to suckle' Skr *dhayāmı* 'I suck', Ir *draıgen* § 35,1, Ir *drong* § 37,4, Ir *deıch* § 8, 1c

§ 43. (IE *dh, d* between vowels) Ir *bodar* 'deaf' MnIr *bodhar* Arr /bɔwr/ Don /bōr/, compar /byrr'ə/ W *byddar* Co *bothar* Br *bouzar* Skr *badhırá-s*, Ir *guıde* 'prayer' MnIr *guıdhe* Arr /gov'ə/ Don /gȳ/, /gyə/ § 38, Ir *buıde, buıdechas* 'thanks' MnIr *buıdhe, buıdheachas* Arr /byjəxəs/ Don /bwıaxəs/ W *bodd* 'wıll' Co *both* cf OHG *gıbot* 'command' Skr *budhyatē* ıs aware, knows', W *bedd* 'grave' Co *beth* Br *bez* Lat *fodıō* 'I dıg' Goth *badı* bed' E *bed*, Ir *mıd* 'mead', g *meda* W *medd* Br *mez* Gk *μέθυ* Skr *mádhu*, Ir *buaıd* 'vıctory' MnIr *buaıdh* Don /buj/ W *budd* profıt' OBr *bud* gl bradıum MlDu *būte* MnDu *buıt* 'booty' ON *býtı* 'exchange', Ir *ruad* (Arr /rūə/) § 13,1, Ir *suıde* seat' MnIr *suıdhe* Arr /sȳ/ Don /sī/ § 24,2, Ir *crıde* 'heart' MnIr *croıdhe* Arr /krȳ/ § 22 For *dw* v § 19

Note 1 Ir *đ* - *þ* ıs ıare and ıııegular Ir *scıath* shouldeı-blade' W *ysgu ydd* etc ıs ınfluenced by *scıath* 'shıeld' § 25 2 Foı *đ* > *d* afteı a homorganıc sound ı § 209 210

Note 2 Loss of *đ* ın W Iı *mıd-* 'medıus' *medon* mıddle' *ınmedon* 'wıthın' Arı *mān* medıus' Don *mān* MIW *mywn* ın MnW *mewn* (SW *mıywn*) G *Medıolānum* Lat *medıus* Skı *madhya s* 'medıus (W -*wn* < -*uqno*- cf *an* -, -*agno* § 361 Cf also W *rhoı* besıde *rhoddı* gıve', ın Co and Bı the *đ* dısappeared throughout ın thıs verb, ı § 506n In Br *đ* has dısappeaıed ın all dıalects ın *daouaın* 'the two hands' (fıom *daou* 'two and *dourn* 'hand') *đ* > *r* ın Br *hırıo* today' § 21,3, *dırıou* Thursday' W *dydd Iau* cf also Bı *dıo* 'ıv v W *eıddew* (MIW *ıdo* =- *eıddıo* cf *euddıorwg*) MnCo *ıdhıo* Iı *edenn*

Note 3 The rhymes suggest that Co *fmald* tended to become voıceless But ıt can hardly have become *þ*, for Lluyd gıves *d* for MnCo

§ 44 (IE *dh, d* medıally before consonants) -*dr*- was treated lıke -*gr*- (§ 36) ın Brıt , ın Ir *d* gave OIr *t*, MnIı *d*, ın

compound formations -*d-r*- was treated like -*gr*- in Ir also, in
addition there is a later development to *rr* Exx Ir -*fitir* 'knows'
W *gŵyr* Co *gor* Br *goar* orig 3 plur **widri* < **widṛ* 'they know,
one knows', cf Skr *vidúr* 'they know', Ir *cretar* 'relic, holy' MlW
creir MnW *crair*, plur *creiriau* Br Trég (plur) *kreirio* Cf W
cadair § 77,1 In cpds Ir *áram* 'number' (to *ad-rími* 'reckons')
W *eirif*, Ir *árach* (**ad-rig*-) etc § 35,5 Later, Ir *co-tob-árrig* 'has
constrained you', from *rig*- 'bind' (-*rr* from anal restored *dr*)

Note. Ir *odor* MnIr *odhar* 'dun' must go back to a trisyllabic form, the
g sg fem *uidhre* has an analogical *u* just as *budhre* from *bodhar* 'deaf' Skr
badhira-s

-*dl*- (in a compound) Ir *áilgen* soft', *álgenigid* 'softens', cf
laigeniu gl minusculus For -*dl*- in W cf Loth, RC 38, 49

-*dn*- Ir *smuainim* 'I think' Gk μῦθος 'word' Goth *gamaudjan*
'remind' Before the accent in Brit *dn* became *n* in W *blynedd*
'years' (after numerals) Br *he-vlene, he-lene* 'this year' W *e-leni*,
Br *war-lene* 'last year' MlW *er-llynedd* MnW *y llynedd, llynedd*
pl **blidnijās*, dat sg **blidnijāi*, nom sg **bleidnnī* in Ir *bliadain*
'year' W *blwyddyn*, **blidnnī* in OCo *bliþen* MlCo *blythen, blethen*
Br *blizenn*

-*dm*- Ir *frém* 'root' MnIr *fréamh* W *greddf* 'instinct, nature'
(for **gwreddf*) vn *greddfu* 'to become ingrained' cf W *gwraidd* § 22
(J Morris-Jones, WG 160), W *deddf* ordinance', law' Gk τευθμός
In a compound, -*mm*- OIr *sammadar* I have commanded' (*con-
ad-m*-), to Ir *midiur* 'I judge' In reduplication *fo-di-dmat* 'they
will suffer', to Ir *dam*- suffer' (a vowel lost)

§ 45 (IE *dh* *d* after consonants) -*zd*- § 27 IE -*dd(h*-) Ir
cretim 'I believe' W vn *credu* Co *cresy* MlBr *cridiff* MnBr *kridi*,
kredi Lat *crēdō* Skr *śrad-dadhāmi* 'I believe'

rd Ir *cerd* 'art, handicraft' MnIr *ceárd, céird* 'trade, profession'
W *cerdd* 'song' (MlW 'craft, song') Gk κέρδος 'profit, cunning',
Ir *ord* 'hammer' OW *ord* MnW *gordd* OBr *or⟨d⟩* MnBr *horz* Armen
urn (< **ōrdhm*, acc of *ōrdh*-), Ir *bard* 'poet' W *bardd* Co *barth*
Br *barz* G *Bardo-magus*, Ir *ard* MnIr *árd* § 12,1 (-*rdhw*-)

ld retained in early OIr , later becoming *ll*, Brit *ll* Ir *meldach*
'pleasant' MnIr *meallach* Gk μαλθαχός 'soft' Goth *mildeis* 'mild',
MlIr *caill* § 12,1, Ir *coll* 'loss' W *coll* OCo *collet* Br *koll* Goth *halts*
'lame'

nd was still retained in OIr but in later OIr began to change

to *nn* (cf ON *bianak* < Ir *bendacht* 'blessing') Some forms of the
article had *nn* or *n* from *nd* in OIr (*inna, na, donaib*), *ind* stood
before vowels, *h*, lenited *f* (= nil), *s, l, n, r,* and occasionally before
lenited *b, m*, the *d* dropped before non-lenited consonants *in recht*
'the law', g *ind recto* etc , similarly the prefix *ind-* dropped its *d*
In Brit *nd* had become *nn* in OW and OBr Exx Ir *find* MnIr
fionn § 6,1 , Ir *scendim* MnIr *sgeinnim* W *cy-chwyn* § 25,2

The Labial Voiced Aspirata and Media

§ 46. IE *bh* (Lat *f*, -*b*-, Gk *φ*, Gmc *b*, Skr *bh*) and the rare
IE *b* (Lat , Gk *b*, Gmc *p*, Skr *b*) gave Celt *b* Initially *b* undergoes
lenition in Ir and Brit , giving *b*, medially between vowels it be-
came *ƀ* in both branches, also between vowels and sonants (with
certain further modifications) After sonants *b* is retained in Ir
(occasionally wr *p* in OIr , MlIr), in Brit it became *ƀ* after *r* and *l*
The sound *ƀ* was written *b* in OIr OW OBr , later *bh* in Ir , *w, u*
or *f* in Brit (MnW *f*, MnBr *v*) The modern pronunciation is in
Ir *w*, palatalized *v'*, in Brit *v* (whence occasionally Br *ρ*)

Exx for *bh* initially Ir *benim* 'I strike' MlBr *benaff* 'to cut'
OBr *bitat* gl resecaret, *etbinam* gl lanio OW *dubeneticion* gl ex-
sectis to Lat *perfines* 'perstringas' OSl *bi-ti* 'strike', Ir *berbaim* etc
§19 (related, with *t*-suffix, Ir *bruth* 'heat, wrath' OW Juv *brut* gl
animus MnW *brwd* 'hot, ardent' MlW pl *brydyon* OCo *bredion* gl
coctio MnCo *brižan* 'coquere' OBr *brot* gl zelotypiae MnBr *broud*
'hot' Lat *dē-frutum* 'must boiled down, syrup' ON *broþ* 'broth',
— Ir *berim* 'I carry' Lat *fero* (related, Ir *barn, bráth* § 12,2), Ir
brú § 24,3 , Ir *bláth* 'blossom' MlW *blawd* MnW (pl) *blodau* OCo
blodon MnCo *bležan* MlBr (with *m*-suff) *bleuzuen* MnBr *bleuñ-enn*,
bleuñv-enn to Lat *flōs* Goth *blōma* IE *b* appears perhaps in W
bustl 'gall' OCo *bistel* MlCo *bystel* Br *bestl* Lat *bīlis*, MlIr *bend*,
benn 'horn, peak' W *ban* MlBr *ban-* perhaps to Ml LowGerm *pint*
'penis', Co *banne, banna* 'a drop, at all (after neg)' Br *banne* Trég
bannec'h Skr *bindu-*

§ 47 IE *bh* and *b* between vowels Ir *gabim* § 34,2 , Ir *abann*
'river' W *afon* OCo *auon* Br *Pont-aven* OBrit *Abona* Lat *amnis* (*mn*
< *bn*), Ir *dub* 'black' MnIr *dubh* OW *dub* MnW *du* OCo *duw* MlCo
du Br *du* G *Dubis* to Goth *daubs* 'deaf' Gk *τυφλός* 'blind', *τῦφος*
'smoke, mist', Ir *luib* 'herb' MnIr *luibh* Goth *lubja-leis* 'poisoner'
OHG *luppi* 'poison, magic' OE *lyb* (related, Ir *lubgort, lugbort* 'gar-

den' OW plur *luird* gl horti MnW *lluarth* OCo *luworchguit* gl uir-
gultum MlCo *lowarth* 'garden' Br *liorz*), Ir *ibim* § 29 , Ir *treb* 'resi-
dence' § 60, Ir *tóib* 'side' MnIr *taobh* W *tu* Co *tu* Br *tu* to Lat
tíbia 'shin-bone' Lith *stáibis*

Note For *-b-* > *-m-* in Ir cf § 186,1 — In Brit *b* is lost after an *u*-
sound, a short *u* being lengthened and like IE *oi* and Lat *ū* becoming *u* —
In Ir *b* became *f* in certain circumstances *camaiph* = *cammaib* 'tamen' Sg
209 b 3, for the future endings v § 456—457 For *f* < *b* + *h* v § 203 final
b > *f* in Co v Stokes Trans Phil Soc 1869, 138 (cf § 43 n 3),

§ 48. (IE *b(h)* medially before a sonant) *-br-* Ir *dobur* etc
§ 4 , Ir *lobur* 'weak', *lobre* 'infirmitas' MnIr *lobhar* 'leprous', *lobhra*
'leprosy' OIr (Juv) *lobur* gl anhela (fem adj) W *llwfr* 'coward'
MlBr *loffr* 'leprous' MnBr *lovr* with Ir *lobaim* 'putresco' MnIr
lobhaim to Gk λώβη 'outrage, corruption', Ir *gabor* 'caper' MnIr
gabhar W *gafr* OCo *gauar* MlCo *gaver* OBr *mel-gabr* gl ligustra
MnBr *gaor*, *gavr*, plur *geor*, *gevr* G *Gabro-magus* to Umbr *habina*
'agnas', Ir *ribar* MnIr *riobhar* 'sieve' r *meala* 'honeycomb' W *rhefr*
'rectum' Br *reor* **rebhru-* cf OSl *rebro* rib' OE *ribb* ON *rif* For
-mbr- v § 49

-bl- Ir *mebul* 'shame' MnIr *meabhal* W *mefl* Co *meul*, v § 49 ,
-bn- Ir *domun* 'world' *domuin* 'deep' W *dwfn* etc § 4

§ 49. (IE *bh, b* after consonants) *-zb-* v § 27 *-rb-* OIr *orpe*
'inheritance' *com-arpe* heir , *com-arbus* 'heritage' MnIr *comharba*
'successor' OW *Urb-gen* MnW *Urien* G *Orbius, Orbaniacus* Lat *or-
bus* 'bereft (of parents or children)' Gk ὀρφανός Goth *arbja* 'heir'
Skr *arbha-s* little, boy', Ir *carbat* 'waggon, jawbone' MnIr *carbad*
(cf MlW *gorcharuaneu* 'jaws, gums' MlBi *caruan* 'gums MnBr
karvan 'jaw') G -Lat *carpentum* G *Carbantia* OBrit Καρβαντοριγον
perhaps to Lat *corbis* 'basket'

-lb- OIr *gulban, gulpan* 'beak' MlIr *gulba* (*n*-stem) OW *gilb*
gl foratorium, *gilbin* gl acumine MnW *gylf, gylfin* OCo *geluin* gl
rostrum OHG *kolbo* 'club' ON *kolfr* 'dart'

-mb- was retained in OIr , but the change to *mm* began in late
OIr The change took place in early OIr in prochsis, as in certain
forms of the verb 'to be' (*námmin duine* 'that I were not man', but
more frequently *-mb-*) and in the preposition *im* 'around', before
other prochtics *imm-* (*imm-a-chomalnad* 'for its fulfilment', *imm-e-
ruidbed* 'who had been circumcised'), but when accented *imb-* (*imb-i*
'about him') In Brit *-mb-* had already become *-mm-* in the OW -OBr

period (cf OW *emmeni* § 41), in Br this assimilation was crossed
by a later change *mm* > *mb* (*mp*), cf § 75 5   Exx   MlIr *commar*
'confluence of valleys, rivers and roads' W *cymer* 'confluence of
rivers' Br *kember* **k'om-* + IE root **bher-* 'carry', Ir *camm* 'bent'
MnIr *cam* W Co *cam* Br *kamm* G *Cambo-dunum*   Gk σκαμβός 'ban-
dy-legged', Ir *cum* 'vessel'W *cwm* 'valley' Br *komm* 'trough' G *Cum-
ba*   Gk κύμβη 'cup' Skr *kumbhá-s* 'pot, mug' *-mbr-* became *-br-* > *br*
in Ir *co-brith* 'help , *cobir*, g *cobra* **k'om-bhr̥ti-* **k'om-bhri-*, to the
root **bher-* 'carry', in Brit *mr, br* and *mbr* appear for it W *cymryd*
'take' MlBr *compret* Ir *cobrith*, W *hebrwng* 'send, escort' OCo *he-
brenchiat* gl dux MlCo *hembronk* 'will lead', *hembrynkys, hombronkys*
'conducted' MlBr *hambrouc* 'lead' MnBr *ambroug* 'accompany'   per-
haps to Goth *briggan* 'bring', Ir *abra* 'eyelid', plur *abrait* MnIr.
abhra, fabhra W *amrant* OCo *abrans* gl supercilium Br *abrant* 'eye-
lid' to Lat *frons* 'forehead', but all these forms can be due to
(very early) innovations, and must be so explained if Loth, RC
47, 160, is right in interpreting OBr *Cobrant-, Courant-* and *-cobrant,
-courant* (first or last member of several names of men) as 'helper
-mbl- perhaps in Ir *mebul* etc , if these words are related to Gk.
μέμφομαι 'I blame', μεμφωλή 'blame'

The Uvular and Palatal Voiceless Aspiratae and Tenues

§ 50. IE *q* (Lat , Gk *k*, Gmc *h*, -*g*-, Skr Sl *k*, č, Lith *k*) and
IE *k'* (Lat , Gk *k*, Gmc *h* -*g*-, Skr *s*, Sl *s*, Lith ŝ) became *k'* in
Celtic, and likewise the corresponding voiceless aspiratae (IE *qh* >
Skr *kh*, IE *qh* and *k'h* > Gk χ, Lat *h*) The resulting *k'* remained
initially in insular Celt , but is subject to lenition, in Ir to /x/ (*ch*),
in Brit to *g*, the same changes took place medially between vowels.
Before *t* it became in Ir and G /x/ (wi Ir *ch*, rarely *c*, G *c* or *x*),
in Brit the same spirant was vocalized, and with the preceding
vowel formed a diphthong The same development occurred before
s (*ks* > *xs* > Ir *ss*, Brit /x/, cf §25,4) Between vowels and sonants
in Brit it developed partly as between vowels, partly became
vocalized causing diphthongization, in Ir it was always vocalized
(lost with compensatory lengthening) *sk* has become *sg* in MnIr
and MnW , after *r* and *l* in Ir *k'* remains, in Brit it became /x/ (*ch*)
uk' gave Ir *g*, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding
vowel, remained in Co and Br and in finals in W , but medially in
W became *nh* (which remains immediately before the accent in
MnW , elsewhere *n*)

IE *q-* Ir *cinim* 'am born descend (from)' *cenél* 'kindred' W *cenedl* OCo *kinethel,* Ir *cét-* 'first' W *cynt* 'earlier' Co *kyns* Br *kent* G *Cintu-gnatus* "the first-born" Gk χαινός 'new' Skr *kaniṣṭhu-* 'the youngest' (here also Ir *cano, cana* 'wolf-cub, whelp' W *cenau* 'whelp' (formerly also 'offspring'), Ir *crim* W *craf* 'garlic' Gk χρόμυον 'onion' OE *hramse* 'wild garlic' Lith *kermǔše, kermušis*

IE *k̕* OW *calamennou* gl culmos MnW *calaf* 'stalk' Co *cala* 'straw' MlBr *colouenn* MnBr *kolô-enn* 'stalk' Lat *culmus* 'stalk, haulm' Gk χάλαμος 'reed' OHG *halm* 'haulm' OSl *slama,* Russ *solóma,* Ir *cét* '100' §8,1, W *clun* 'thigh' Co *clun* Br *klun* 'buttock' Lat *clūnis* 'buttock' Gk χλόνις Skr *śróni-ṣ* IE *k̕'w* with loss of *w* before C -*ū* from IE -*ō* Ir *cú* 'dog' etc § 9,4

Note For *g-* from *k-* in proclitics v § 108 § 122

§ 51. (IE *qh, q. k̕h, k̕* between vowels) **(1)** Ir *mǔh* 'smoke' W *mwg* Co *mok* Br *moug, moq* fire', *moqed* 'smoke' Gk σμύχομαι 'burn in a smouldering fire' Armen *mux* 'smoke' (with IE *q* OE *sméocan* 'to smoke'), W *rhwygo* 'to tear' MlBr *roegaff* Skr *likhāmi* 'I scratch' MHG *rihe* 'row, line' (with IE *q* Gk ἐρείχω 'I break'), W *oged* 'harrow' OW *ocet* gl raster Br *oged* Lat *occa* OHG *egida,* Ir *lóchet* 'lightening' W *llug* 'light', *am-lwg* 'obvious', *go-lwg* 'sight', Ir *lócharn, luacharn* 'light' W *llugorn* 'lantern' OCo *lugarn* Br *lugern* 'brightness' Lat *lūx* 'light', *lūcēre* 'to light', *lucerna* 'lamp' Gk λευχός 'white' Goth *huhaþ* 'light' Skr *rŏča-tē* 'shines', Ir *deich* 'ten' § 8,1c, Ir *fiche* 'twenty' § 6,3, Ir *froech* § 17, W *diog* § 9,1 — IE -*k̕'w*- occurs in Ir *ech* etc § 5,1

(2) Palatal /λ/ in Ir becomes *q* in an unaccented syllable OIr *hiressach* 'believing', pl *hiressiq* — Lenited *k* is always written *c* in OW and OBr, in MlW, MlCo and MlBr it varies between *c* and *g* (*c* finally), MnW has *g* always, MnBr frequently *k*, especially in final position For *k + j > j* in Br (*marc'hek* 'rider', pl *marc'heien*) v § 180

§ 52 (IE *qh, q. k̕h, k̕* before explosives) -*qkt*- Ir *do-sn-acht* 'he drove them', pret of *aq-*, W *aeth* 'he went' Co *eth* MlBr *aez* MnBr *eaz* — -*okt*- Ir *in-nocht* 'to-night' MlW *henoeth* (MnW *heno*), MnW *peu-noeth* 'every night', *trannoeth* 'on the following day' (with *j*-umlaut MlW *neith(i)wyr* 'last night' MnW *neithiwr* MnCo *nehuer* MlBr *neyzor* MnBr *neizeur*) Lat *nox*, g *noctis* Goth *nahts* Skr *nákti-ṣ* (W Co *nos* Br *noz* 'night' < *noqt-stu-*), Ir *ocht* 'eight' (*oktōu*) W *wyth* MnCo *eath* Br *eiz* (*ok'tō*, with Brit *ī*-umlaut).

cf Lat *octo* Gk ὀκτώ Goth *ahtau* Skr *aštāu* — *-ukt-* Ir *lucht* 'portion, load, people' W *llwyth* 'load, tribe' G *luxtos*, *Lucterius*, *Luxtnrios* with the original meaning 'part' to Lith *liž-ta* 'breaks', also probably Goth *lūkan* 'shut', and with different semantic development Gk λυγρός 'sad, mournful' Lat *lūctus* 'sorrow' — *-ekt-* Ir *recht* 'law' OW *cymreith* MnW *cyfraith*, *rhaith* Br *reiz* 'order, arrangement' G *Rextugenos* to Lat *rēctus* 'right' Goth *raihts*, MIW *llaith* 'wet' Br *leiz* to Ir *leg-* 'melt' ON *leka* 'to trickle' In Br *e* occurs in certain cases for *ei*, perhaps regularly after *j* and *w* Br *iez* § 20, Ir *fecht* 'turn, time, warlike expedition' MIW *gweith* 'time, turn' MnW *gwaith* Co *gweth*, *gwyth* Br *gwez*, *gweach* (*š* < *zj*, from the pl , *a-wechou* 'occasionally') to Lat *uehō* 'I carry' part *uectus* — *-ikt-* Ir *techt* 'go' W *taith* fem 'journey' Br *tiz* 'haste' to Ir *tiagu* 'I go', W *nithio* 'winnow' Br *niza* to Gk νικᾷ λικμᾷ 'winnows' Lith *niekó-ti* 'to winnow corn' (related, W *gwe-nith* 'wheat' MnCo *gwaneth* Br *gwi-niz*), Ir *mrecht-rad* 'uarietas' MnIr *breacht-ach* 'mixed, spotted' OW *brith* gl pictam, *-breithet* 'speckled' MnW *brith*, fem *braith* 'mixed, speckled' OCo *bruit* gl uarius Br *briz* 'spotted, stained' to OSl *mrk-nąti* 'obscurari', Ir *mlicht*, *blicht* 'milk' W *blith* to Lat *mulgeō* 'I milk' Gk ἀμέλγω Goth *miluks* 'milk' — *-kt-* after a long vowel MIW *doeth* 'came' Co *dueth* /doþ/ MlBr *deuz* /doz/ *dōkt- < *do-ag-t- After *r* Ir *ro-ort*, pret of *org-* 'murder', cf Ir *art* 'bear' with IE *kþ* § 28 In the group *-nkt-* the *n* disappeared Ir *téchte* 'fitting, right' W *teithi* 'characteristics, qualities' MIW *brenhin teithiawc* 'rex legitimus' ON *þéttr* 'close, tight' Lith *tánkus*, Ir *cumachte* 'power' (to *con-iccim* I can') W *cyfoeth* OCo *chefuidoc* gl omnipotens, Ir *crécht* 'wound' W *craith* 'scar' OBr *creithi* gl ulcera MnBr *creizenn*, *crezenn* perhaps Lith *krenkù* 'I curdle' (but here *-n-* is present-forming), Ir *cécht* 'plough' § 54

§ 53 (IE *gh, q, k'h, k'* medially before sonants) *-kr-* Ir *dér* 'tear' MnIr *deór* W *deigr*, *deigryn* pl *dagrau* Co plur *dagrow* OBr *dacr-lon* gl uuidus MlBr pl *dazrou* MnBr pl *daerou*, *daelou* (sing *daeraouenn*, *daelaouenn*) Lat *dacruma*, *lacruma* Gk δάκρυ Goth *tagr* OE *téar*, W *gwa-gr*, *go-gr* 'sieve', *gogryn(u)* 'to riddle' Br *gourner* 'sieve' to Lat *cernō* I discern' (*er* < *ri*) Gk κρίνω 'I separate', Ir *fo-chrus* (/x/ retained in a conscious compound) etc § 257, Ir *arro-chíuir* 'has vanished, perished', redupl perf of *ar-a-chrinim*

-kl- Ir *muinél* 'neck' W *mwnwgl* § 3, 2, W *huddygl* 'soot' Br *huzel* OE ON *sót* The explosive was retained in a conscious compound in Br *he-gleo* 'audible' W *hy-glyw* to Br *klevout* 'to hear'

-akn- Ir brén 'putrid' W braen MlBr breyn MnBr brein to Lat
marceō 'am weak' Lith mirk-tı 'to be soaked', Ir blén 'groin' W blaen
'tip, end' Co blyn MlBr blein 'sommet' MnBr blein 'bout' — -okn-
Ir srón etc § 26,3, W croen 'skin', plur crwyn OCo croin gl pellis
(with kn > kk § 73,2, Ir crocenn MnIr croiceann Co crohen Br
kroc'hen), — -ukn- W dwyn 'to bear' (pres dygaf) Co doen, doyn,
don Br doen to Ir to-ucc- — -ekn- Ir scén 'terror' to Ir scuchim
'I depart' W ysgogi 'budge' Br diskogella 'shake, disturb' OHG
gi-scehan 'to happen' — -ikn- perhaps in Ir Lén G Licnos —
-ūkn- and -īkn- fell together with -ukn- and -ikn- in Ir Ir tón
'podex' W tin Co tyn *tūqnā, to OHG dioh OE þéoh (E thigh), Ir
mén ı bél 'mouth' W min 'lip' Co myn, meyn Br min 'snout'
*mēkno- or *mēknā, to OHG mago 'maw' (cf Strachan, Trans Phil
Soc 1891—94, p 219) — -eukn- (-oukn-) MlBr sunaff § 24,2 (? k
restored in W sugno, cf OW dissuncgnetic gl exanclata)

§ **54** (IE qh, q k'h, k' after consonants) sk § 25,2 sqw
Ir sesc etc § 24,1 Dental + k Ir ruice shame' to Ir ruad 'red'

rk Ir cerc MnIr cearc hen Gk κέρκος ἀλεκτρυών cock or
hen', Ir marc 'horse' W march MlCo margh MnCo marh (MlCo
marrek 'horseman' with rr < /rx/) Br marc'h G Marco-durum OHG
marah OE mearh (fem OHG meriha OE miere), MnIr earc 'red,
speckled' W erch 'speckled' Gk περκνός 'dusky' Skr prśni-ś 'speck-
led' (MnIr earc 'trout, salmon' orc 'salmon' OHG forhana trout'
Gk πέρκη 'perch', probably rkk from rkn, cf § 73) Ir orc § 29,
W wrch § 3,2

lk Ir olc 'bad' Lat ulciscor 1 take vengeance' Gk ὀλεκω 'I
destroy', W talch 'fragment gist' OCo talch gl furfures Russ
tolóči 'to pound', toloknó '(oat)meal prepared by grounding in a
mortar', Ir folcaim etc § 3,4

nk Ir éc 'death' etc § 8,1b, Ir écen 'necessity' MnIr éigean
MlW anghen MnW angen, pl anghenion Co Br anken 'anguish'
Gk ἀνάγκη 'necessity', Ir géc 'branch' MuIr géag W cainc, pl MlW
cangheu MnW cangau OSl sąkŭ 'twig' Skr śankú- 'prop, peg' (re-
lated, Ir cécht 'plough'), Ir oac 'young' MnIr óg § 18 See further
§ 70

The Labiovelar Voiceless Aspirata and Tenuis.

§ **55** IE k^u (Lat qu, Gk π, τ, Gmc hw, f, -w-, -q- Skr k, č) and
IE k^uh (Lat f, Gk φ, ϑ, Skr kh) both gave Celt k^u, there are no
clear instances of k^uh in Celt The sound k^u was kept till the period

of the ogam inscriptions, but later became k^c in Ir , developing as
k^c in § 50 For after-effects of the labialization (Ir *coire, cruim* etc)
v § 179, 1 In certain cases the labialization was lost in Brit , and
the consonant developed like the k-sounds of the two other series,
§ 50 This occurred before u MIW *cw* 'where, whence, whither'
Lat *ne-cu-ter* 'neither of the two' OE *hú* 'how' Skr *ku-ha* 'where',
cf Ir *cu* etc § 50 Also after u Ir *buachaill* W *bugail* etc § 13, 1
(similarly delabialization in Gk βου-κόλος, cf αἰ-πόλος 'shepherd',
Lat *colō* 'I cultivate' [*ko-* < $k^u e$-], *inquilīnus* 'sojourner') Further,
when k^u became the final consonant before the general disappearance
of final syllables W *ac* 'and' Lat *atque*, W *nac, nag* Lat *neque*
§ 86, for G -*c* 'and' in *eti-c* and Ir infixed -*ch*- 'and' v Thurneysen,
ZCP 16 287, 13 299, Br *a-raok*, W *rhag* etc § 9, 2 Skr *prāk* 'be-
fore, forward', neuter of the stem *prāñc-* 'turned forward' Lat *lon-
ginquus* 'far', *propinquus* 'near' Lastly k^u lost its labialization when
doubled and before s and t MIW *machteith* 'maid' OCo *mah-theid*
gl uirgo MICo *maghteth, maghtyth* Br *matez* 'servant-girl' to Ir
macc 'son', Ir *ingen macc-dacht* 'grown-up young girl' OIr *ro-mac-dact*
gl superadulta (double k^u), beside OW *map* 'son' W *mab* Co *mab*
Br *mab, map*, W *gwlych* 'liquid Br *glec'h* 'steeping', beside W
gwlyb etc § 17 (double k^u or $k^u s$) — When the labialization was not
lost, IE k^u gave Brit p , which is subject initially to lenition to b,
the same change occurring medially between vowels sk^u > MIW
sp, MnW *sb* rk^u and lk^u gave Brit *rf, lf* nk^u gave Co and Br *mp*,
similarly in W finals, but medially W *mh* (which remains in MnW
immediately before the accent, otherwise becoming *m*)

Initially Ir *cia* 'who ?' W *pwy* Co *pyw* Bi *piou* cf Lat *quī,
quis* Gk πότερος 'which of two', τίς 'who' Goth $h^u as$, Ir *cethir*
'four' W *pedwar* etc § 5, 1, W *pell* 'far' Co Br *pell* Gk τῆλε, Aeol
πήλυι, Ir *casachtach* 'cough' W *pas* etc § 25, 5, Ir *crenim* 'I buy'
W vn *prynu* Co *prenne, perna* Br *prena* Gk ἐπριάμην 'I bought'
Skr *krīnāmi* 'I buy', Ir *creth* 'poetry' W *prydydd* 'poet', *peri* 'to
make, cause' Skr *karōmi* 'I make'

§ 56 (IE k^u between vowels) Ir *sechur* 'I follow' Lat *sequor*
Gk ἔπομαι, Ir *sech* 'praeter' OW *hep* 'without' W *heb* Co *heb* Br
hep Lat *secus* 'inferior, otherwise' (root *sek^u- 'follow'), Ir *in-
cho-sig* '(which) it signifies' OW *hepp* 'inquit' MIW *heb* MnW *eb*
Lat *in-seque* 'say !' Gk ἔννεπε, W *pobi* 'to bake' Co *pobas* Br *pibi*,
part *pobet* Lat *coquō* 'I cook' Skr *pačāmi* (IE p—k^u gave Lat and

Celt $k^u - k^u$), OW *modreped* gl materterae MnW *modryb* 'aunt',
plur *modrybedd* OCo *modereb* 'matertera, amita' OBr *motrep* MlBr
mozrep MnBr *moereb* Skr *mātṛkā* 'grandmother', Ir *fliuch* 'wet' W
gwlyb etc § 17

Note The lenited sound was written p in OW OBr, in MlW Co,
MlBr it varies between p and b MnW it is always b, in MnBr frequently
final p For $/r/$ in Ir q occurs in unaccet sylls when palatalized cf
incho *siq* above

§ 57 IE $k^u s$ in Celt coincided with IE qs and $k's$, cf § 25,4
Similarly IE $k^u t$ with IE qt and $k't$, § 52, Ir *nocht* 'naked' OW *noid*
($d = \not{p}$) MnW *noeth* Co *noyth* Br *noaz* Lat *nūdus* ($\smile$ *$noq^u ed(h)os$)
Goth *nak^uaþs*, Ir *snechte* 'snow' § 26,9

§ 58. IE -$k^u r$- developed in Ir like IE -kr- (§ 53) Ir *ciuir*
'I bought', redupl perf of *crenim* 'I buy'

§ 59 (IE k^u after sonants) Ir *forcenn* 'end' W *gorffen* Co
gorfen MlBr *gourffenn* cpd of Ir *cenn* 'head' W *pen* etc

nk^u OIr *cóic* five MnIr *cuiq* OW *pimp* MlW *pymp* MnW
pump Co *pymp* Br *pemp* (OW *pimphet* fifth' [$mph = m^h$] MlW
pymhet MnW *pumed* Co *pympes* MlBr *pempet*) Lat *quinque* Gk
τέντε (IE $p - k^u$ became Lat and Celt $k^u - k^u$) W *ymennydd*
'brain' (*m* instead of *mh*, the MlW form *emhennyd* occurs) OCo
impinion MlCo *empynnyon* Br *empenn* cpd of the prefix *en- with
W *pen* etc (in Ir the prefix is *eni- *inchinn* brain'), Ir *leicim* 'I
leave MnIr *leigim* (with short vowel) Lat *linquō* Gk λιμπάνω, λείπω

The Dental Voiceless Aspirata and Tenuis

§ 60 IE t (Lat Gk t, Gmc $\not{p}$, d, Skr t) and IE th (Lat f,
Gk ϑ, Skr th) gave Celt t which remains initially in insular Celt,
being subject to lenition in Ir to $\not{p}$ (th), in Brit to d The same
changes occur medially between vowels ($>$ Co s § 263), also in W
before sonants but in Co occasionally, in MlBr always, it be-
came a spirant which in MnBr has been vocalized or lost, in Ir it
disappeared with compensatory lengthening IE tt in Celt coin-
cided with st In Ir t remains after p, k r and l, nt became d, with
preceding compensatory lengthening In Brit t after IE p k and
r became $\not{p}$ (th), it remained after l and n in Br and finally in W,
but medially in W ll, nt became voiceless ll and nnh (nnh in MnW
immediately before the accent nn after the acct, elsewhere n)

The sound $\not{p}$ became h early in Ir Evidences of the old pro-
nunciation $\not{p}$ are ON *Duffþakr* from Ir *Dubthach*, W *byth* from Ir

bith, this probably predominated in early OIr The pronunciation
h predominated by the beginning of MIIr After the change *þ* > *h*
in Ir , medial W *þ* is represented by Ir *t* Ir *dretill* 'pet' from W
drythyll 'well-fed, high-spirited'

Initially IE *t-* Ir *tana* 'thin' W *tenau* Co *tanow* Br *tanao*,
tano Lat *tenuis* Gk *ταυυ-, ταναός* 'long' OHG *dunni* 'thin' OE
þynne Skr *tanú-š*, — Ir *trib*, *treb* 'abode' W *tref* OBr *treb* Osk
triibúm 'domum' Goth *þaurp*, Ir *tri* 'three' W *tri* Co *try* Br *tri*
Lat *trēs* Gk *τρεῖς* Goth *þreis*, Ir *tlaith* 'tender, weak' W *tlawd*
'poor' Gk *τλῆ-ναι* 'suffer, endure', Ir *tnúth* 'passion, jealousy' .
possibly to Lat *teneō* 'I hold' Skr *tanō-ti* 'extends', OW *tnou* W
tyno 'plain, meadow' MIBr *tnou, tnaou* 'valley' MnBr *traouñ* 'the
lower part, below' (v § 71,3)

§ 61. (IE *th, t* between vowels) (1) Ir *lethan* 'broad' etc §7,1,
Ir *cath* 'battle' W *cad* Co *cas* G *Catu-riges* OHG *hadu-*, W *dafad*
'sheep' OCo *dauat* MlCo *daves, dauas* Br *dañvad* lit "tamed beast",
cf Gk *ἀ-δάματος* 'indomitable' Lat *domitus* 'tamed' — *-tw-* Ir
cethir 'four' § 5.1 — For *-tj-* > *ž* in Br v § 180,3

(2) In OIr *th* disappeared in proclitics, thus *laa* 'day' dat *láo*,
lóu beside *laithe*, G *lat*   OSl *lěto* 'summer' , it became proclitic
in such expressions as *laa m-brátha* 'doomsday' Subsequently the
shorter form predominated (MnIr *lá*)

(3) Finally in unaccented position in Ir *þ* became *d* Ir *tocad*
§ 70,3, Ir *biad* § 16 — In MnIr *d* from *þ* has been treated in the
same way as *d* from IE *d dh* Its pronunciation varies in the different
dialects

(4) For modifications of Ir *þ* in contact with homorganic
sounds v §§ 209—211

§ 62 (IE *th, t* medially before sonants) *-tr-* Ir *criathar* 'sieve'
OW *cruitr* (MnW *crwydro* to wander' *crwydr* 'a wandering') OCo
croider MnCo *krodar* (MlCo *croddre* to sieve') MlBr *croezr* MnBr
krouer **qreitro-*, cf Lat *cribrum* (with suff *-dhro-*) OE *hridder*,
hriddel, Ir *tarathar* 'auger' OW *tarater* MnW *taradr* Co *tardar* MlBr
tarazr MnBr *tarar* Gk *τερετρον* Lat (with *-dhr-*suff) *terebra* Ir.
arathar § 2, — Ir *nathir* 'natrix, serpens', g *nathrach* W *neidr*, pl
nadredd, *nadroedd* Co *nader* OBr *natrolion* gl regulosis MlBr *azr*
MnBr *aer* 'serpent' **natrik-* (Ir , Co , Br), **natri* (W), cf Lat
natrix Goth *nadrs*, W *modryb* MlBr *mozrep* MnBr *moereb* § 56

-tl- Ir *dál* 'assembly' OW *datl* gl foro, *datlocou* gl fora MnW
dadl ('debate') OBr *dadl* gl concio MnBr *dael* 'dispute' IE root

*dē- 'cut, divide', Ir *scél* § 25,2 , W *hoedl* MlBr *hoazl* etc § 14 , Ir *sál* 'heel' § 25,5 , Ir *anál* W *anadl* MlBr *alazn* etc § 2, W *banadl* 'broom' OCo *banathel* MlBr *balazn* MnBr *balan, banal*, Ir *cenél* 'kindred' W *cenedl* (BBC *kenetyl, t = d*) OCo *kinethel* § 50

-tn- Ir *én* 'bird' W *edn* etc § 29, W *llwdn* 'young (of animals)' MlBr *lozn, loezn* MnBr *loen* cf (without *n*) Ir *loth* 'foal'

-tm- MlBr *bleuzuen* flower' MnBr *bleuñ-enn* cf (without *m*) Ir *bláth* etc § 46

§ 63 For *st, pt, kt* v § 25,5, § 31, § 52 For Br *ʃ* from *ktj* (*gweach*) v § 180,3 *t* + *t* had become *t't* in IE (Lat *ss, s*, Gk *στ*, Gmc *ss*, Skr *tt*) This gave C *st*, which developed like IE *st* W *ffrwst* § 26,2 , Ir *forbas, forbais, forfess* oppression, siege' W *gormes* 'oppression' OBrit -Lat *ormesta* 'miseria from the root found in Ir *midiur* 'I judge' with prefixes Ir *jo* + *ro* W *gor-*, Ir *ro-fess* 'scitum est', *fiuss* 'knowledge' W *gwŷs* 'it is known', *gwŷs* 'a summons' MlBr *gous* 'it is known' cf Lat *uīsus* 'seen Gk *ἴστωρ* 'knowing' OHG *ge-wiss* 'certain' Skr *vitti-* 'consciousness', Ir *tóisech* 'chief' (Ogam TOVISACI), *túus* 'beginning' W *tywys* 'lead', *tywysog* 'prince' from *to-* and IE **wid-* 'know'

§ 64 (IE *th, t* after sonants) (**1**) *rt* Ir *gort* field' W *garth* 'enclosure' Br *garz* hedge , cf Ir *lub-gort* etc § 47 Lat *hortus* 'garden' Gk *χόρτος* court-yard , Ir *nert* 'strength W Co *nerth* Br *nerz* G *Nerto-briga*, Ir *fertas* shaft W *gwerthyd* 'spindle' OCo *gurhthit* gl *fusus* OBr plu *guirtitou* gl *fusis* MlBr *guerzit* MnBr *gwerzid* to Lat *uertō* 'I turn'

(**2**) *lt* Ir *alt* bank shore' MnIr *allt* 'cliff side of a glen' W *allt* 'hillside' (also formerly 'bank', *(g)allt y mor* 'sea cliff' BBCS 3 127) OCo *als* gl *litus* Br *aot, aod* bank' Lat *altus* 'high', — Ir *altain* razor' OW *ctinn* MnW *ellyn* OBr *altin* (gl ferula) MlBr *autenn* MnBr *aotenn* Goth *falþan* fold' (cf Dan *folde-kniv* 'clasp-knife'), — Ir *molt* 'wether' W *mollt* OCo MlCo *mols* Br *maout* (whence Fr *mouton*), Ir *scoiltim* § 25,2, W *gwellt* § 34,3

-ltr- gave W *thr* Ir *altram* 'nurture', *altru* 'foster-father' W *athro* 'teacher' OCo *altrou* gl uitricus MnCo *aultra* 'susceptor, god-father' OCo *altruan* gl nouerca MnCo *aultruan* 'susceptrix, god-mother' OBr *eltroguen* gl nouerca MlBr *autrou* MnBr *aotrou* 'sei-gneur, monsieur to Ir *al-* 'nourish (The usual pl form in W is *athrawon*, but *alltrawon* 'sponsors, guardians' occurs in MlW , cf MlW *elldrewyn* stepmother', also MlBr *ytron* 'lady' MnBr *itron, itroun*)

(3) *nt (mt)* Ir *dét* 'tooth' etc § 8,1, Ir *hét* 'zeal' etc § 20, Ir *tét* 'string' MnIr *téad* W *tant*, pl *tannau* Skr *tántu-š*, Ir *sét* 'road' W *hynt* OCo *cam-hinsic* gl iniustus, *eun-hinsic* gl iustus OBr *doguo-hintiliat* gl inceduus MlBr MnBr *hent* 'road' Goth *ainamma sinþa* 'one time' OE *sīþ* 'journey, time (once, etc)' Goth *sandjan* 'send', — OW *hanther (nth = nh)* 'half' W *hanner* Co *hanter (t* retained before *r)* OBr *hanter-* MnBr *hanter* **sntero-*, cf Gk ἅτεϱος 'the other of two', — Ir *Brigit* W *braint, brenin* etc § 35,5, Ir *bráge* etc § 35,6 — With IE *mt* Ir *cét-* OW *cant* 'with' W *gan* OCo *cans* MlCo *gans* Br *gant* Gk κατά, related to Lat *cum*, Ir *cét* 100' W *cant*, pl *cannoedd*, etc § 70,1

-ntr- gave W *thr* Ir *eter* 'between' MnIr *eidir* OW *ithr* Co *yntre* Br *entre, etre* V *itre* (the loss of *-n-* in Br is due to accent, the final *-e* may be due to the influence of *dre* 'through') Lat *inter*, W *mathru* 'trample' Br *mantra*, part *mantret* 'abattu de douleur, stupéfait', W *ewythr* 'uncle' § 13,4, Ir *cutrumme* 'similis' MlW *cythrymet (-et = ed*, LlH 285 29), cf OW *cithremmet* gl bilance libra MlW *yn gythrymet (-et = ed*) 'evenly, exactly'

-ntl- gave W *thl* W *cathl* 'song' (Juv *centhliat, centhliat* gl canorum, which represent *ceithliad 'songster', of which the pl is found in *gor-cheithleit* 'supreme songsters', v BBCS 4 56) Br *kentel* 'lesson' Ir *cétal* song' *forcital* 'teaching, lesson' to *can-* 'sing'

The IE Sonants

§ 65 The sonants *r, l, n, m* in Celtic had two sounds, nonlenited (*ṛ, Ḷ N, M*) and lenited (*r, l n, m*) In Brit this difference was in part given up, and in part so increased that different graphic symbols were used to represent them The increase took place with *L l, R r* in W and with *M m* in all the Brit languages[1] A similar but lesser increase occurred in the case of Ir *M m*, resulting in lenition being denoted in writing In the case of *R L N r l n* the old sounds have been retained to this day, with dialectal variations (especially in *R r*), though they have never been distinguished orthographically But the existence of the difference in OIr is proved in particular by the fact that the article assumed a different form before *r, l, n* in accordance with the rules for lenition (*ind* when the following initial was lenited, *in* when it was not) nom *in rect* 'the

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[1] For traces of the difference between initial *R, L, N* and *r, l, n* in Br v Parry-Williams RC 35 320 Loth RC 35 468—470

law', g *ind recto*, nom *in lie* 'the stone', g *ind liacc*, nom masc *in
nuae-thintud sa* 'this new translation', nom fem *ind nóibe* 'the
holiness' In OIr and MIIr gemination may denote the unlenited
sound The non-lenited sounds *R L N* in Irish occur (1) in absolute
initials, when syntax does not require lenition, (2) after *s*, (3) in
gemination and in certain combinations with dentals (§ 66, 68, 71),
(4) in finals (*-ll, -nn*) if the last (unaccented) syllable of a word
begins with *-r-, -l-, -n-*

§ **66** IE *r* (Lat , Gk Gmc , Skr *r*) gave Celt *R* and *r* Ini-
tially *R* became in W voiceless *ṛ*, written *rh*, which can be lenited
to *r*, medially *R* and *r* fell together (but *R* after *n* became *r* *an-
rheg* 'gift', *an-rhaith* booty', lit ' un-right", but *an-ras* 'graceless-
ness' to *gras* 'grace') In Co and Br the difference between *R*
und *r* disappeared In Ir *R* *r* owing to palatalization gave *R, R'*
r, r' But *R'* has lost its palatalization and become *r'*, which initially
fell together with *r* Medially and finally *R* mostly became *r*, but
some traces remain of the distinction between *R* and *r* (For de-
tailed descriptions see VKG 1 142) In Scotland *R* and *r* kept
apart

In MnIr and Sc *R* occurs (1) in absolute initials (subject to
lenition), *rí* 'king', *mo rí* (Skye), *mo ŕí* (Kerry) 'my king', *ə ŕí* (Dési)
'O king' (2) after *s* MIIr *srian* bridle' Arr *śriən* Don *sreən* Kerry
with *sR-*, (3) in old gemination, OIr *foirrce*, *fairggæ* 'sea' MnIr
fairrge Arr and Don *farəg'ə* (but with single *r* Ir *aryet* MnIr *air-
gead* Arr *aŕəg'id* Don *aŕəg'əd*), (4) after *n* or *l*, MnIr *anró* 'misery
(with *R*), Dési *d'awṛə = deallradh* brightness', (5) before dentals,
MnIr *áirde* 'higher, height' Arr *eṛhd'ə* Don *ord'ə* Kerry *īl d'i*,
MnIr *áirne* 'sloe' Arr pl *aRN'ī* Don *ārN'ə* Kerry *āRN'i* For
further details v VKG 1 142ff

§ **67** Exx of IE *r* in Celtic Ir *rath* 'grace' W *rhad* Skr
rāta- 'given', Ir *gáu* 'cry', *gáire* laughter' W *gawr* 'shout', W
gawr 'word' Ir *gairm* cry W Co Br *garm* Gk *γῆρυς* 'voice' Lat
garrulus 'talkative', Ir *dair, daur* oak' W *dár* OCo *dar*, W *derwen*
Br *derv-enn* (pl *dero*) Gk *δόρυ* 'wood' Goth *triu* 'tree' Skr *dāru*
'wood' Consonant groups with *r* are given under the other elements
For Celt *rr* v § 26, 3—4

§ **68** IE *l* (Lat , Gk , Gmc *l*, Skr *r, l*) appears in Celt as *L*
and *l* In W initially and medially *L* became voiceless *l*, written
ll, which can be lenited to *l* In Co and Br the distinction between

L and *l* was given up In Ir owing to palatalization *L*   *l* gave *L*,
L'   *l*, *l'*   (For details of pronunciation v VKG I 145)

In MnIr and Sc *L*, *L'* occur (1) in absolute initials (subject
to lenition), Arr *Lȳ* 'calf' (*laogh*), *mo lȳ* 'my calf', *Ná L'an* 'do not
follow' (*ná lean*), *l'an* 'followed' (*do lean*), (2) after *s*, Arr *sLat* 'rod'
(*slat*) (len *hlat*, with the article *əN tlat*) Don *sLat* (len , instead of
hl-, voiced *l*, with the article *tl-*), Arr *kyℨL'ə* 'vein' Don *kuℨL'ə*
(*cuisle*), (3) in old gemination, or later gemination from *ld(Ld)*, *dl*,
tl, *ln(LN)*, Arr and Don *kapəL* 'horse' MlIr *capull*, Arr *kaL'uw*
(*do cailleadh*) 'he died' Don *iaL'* 'he lost' to MlIr *coll* 'loss', Arr
koLə 'sleep' Don *koLuw* MnIr *codladh* OIr *cotlud*, (4) after *r* or *n*,
Arr *kū̆RL'ə* 'counsel' Don *kŏrL'ə* MnIr *comhairle*, (5) before dentals,
Arr *moLt* 'wether' Don *mɔLt* (*molt*)

W *l* occurs in much the same circumstances (1) and (2) *llaw*
'hand', *dy lau* 'thy hand', initially IE *l* and *sl* gave W *l*, *llath* 'yard',
dwy lath 'two yards', but after *s* in W *l* remains voiced, *bas-le* 'shallow
place', (3) Celt and Lat *ll*, *ld*, *-lt-* gave W *l*, *coll* 'loss', *callor* 'caul-
dron' < Lat *caldārium*, *cangell* 'chancel' < Lat *cancellus*, (4) *iarll*
'earl', *Caerlleon* 'Chester', MlW *erllynedd* 'last year' MnW *y llynedd*
§ 44, *y llong* 'the ship' (the art *y* is from *yr*), *mor llon* 'so happy', *yn
llawn* 'full' (*y* usually causes lenition in a fem noun, *mor* and *yn*
usually cause lenition), (5) *mollt* 'wether' but in later forms and
compounds *l* remains, *deildy* 'arbour' lit "leaf-house"

§ 69 Exx of IE *l* in Celt W *llau* 'hee', *lleuen* 'louse' OCo
lowen MnCo *lūan*, pl *low* Br *laouen* OHG *lūs*, Ir *lesc* gl piger
W *llesg* 'weak' ON *lŏskr* 'dull', Ir *cuil* gl culex W *cylion* 'gnats,
flies' OCo *kelionen* gl musca Br *kelien-enn* 'fly' Lat *culex* Con-
sonant groups with *l* are given under the other elements For the
sources of *ll* v § 26, 5—7 and cf § 72 In Ir *ll* appears for *l* according
to the rule in § 65, 4 *Conall* W *Cynwal* OBr *Cunouah* (g), Ir *fan-
nall* 'swallow' W *guennol* — Before original *i* in final syllables *l*
became *l* in W in unaccented syllables Ir *biail* W *bwyell* (OW
bahell, *lau-bael*) Br *bouc'hal*, Ir *fedil* 'enduring' W *gweddill* 're-
mainder' (whence Ir *fuidell*, but cf ZCP 14 392), W *sefyll* 'to
stand' Co *seuel* 'to rise' Br *sevel* 'to erect' Lat *stabilis* 'steady'
Cf the Lat loanwords W *Ebrill* 'April', *ufyll* 'humble' § 84, 2

§ 70 (The nasal diphthongs) (1) Only the nasals *n* and *m*
occurred independently in IE , but in the individual languages in
the groups nasal + explosive there existed in addition to *m* (before

p and *b*) and *n* (before *t* and *d*) an *n* (before *k* and *g*) In prim Celt
the nasal was generally assimilated to the following explosive W
cant '100' Lith *šimtas*, W *nant* 'valley' OCo *nans* G *nanto* Skr
natá- 'bent', *námati* 'inclines', numerous cpds with the prefix
**k'om* Lat *cum* G *Contoutos, Condāte*, Ir *con-delg* 'comparison',
con-gnam 'help' The sound *n* was written *n* in Celt usually, but
cf G *Εσκιγγορειξ* etc (in inscriptions with Gk letters), there is
a special ogam symbol for *ng* In MnIr and MnW *n* is usually
written *ng*, but *n* before *c* in MnW , e g *cainc* 'branch', also before
g in *Bangor /Bangor/, dangos /dangos/* 'to show'

(2) The various nasal + explosive groups have been treated
above Probably W *nh, nh, mh* from *nk, nt, mp* (IE *nkʷ*) passed
through the intermediate stage *nx, np, mf* (with bilabial *f*) This
stage remains in the case of the original groups *ntr, ntl* (W *mathru,
cathl*), with loss of the nasal (OW *hanther* half', *pimphet* 'fifth'
probably represent *nh, mh* or *nh, mh*) Final IE *-n* in Co and Br
caused spirant mutation of a following *k-, t-, p-* (V *me halon* 'my
heart', *me zad* 'my father , me fen* 'my head' = W *fy nghalon, fy
nhad, fy mhen*) So probably the development *nk, nt, mp > nx,
np, mf* was common Brit , medially also *x, p, f* must have occurred
in Co and Br , the spirants later becoming explosives, and remaining
as spirants only after loss of the nasal The change to explosives
undoubtedly took place also in W , where the development of *nk,
nt, mp* was (1) *-nx-, -nx* (2) *-nh-, nx* (3) *-nh-, -nk* etc

(3) When a nasal is lost before an IE explosive and before *s*
there occurs in Ir compensatory lengthening, the resulting nasal
vowel becoming a long non-nasal vowel *an* and *en* (*n*) became *ē*
géiss 'swan', *cécht* 'plough', *cét* '100 At first it became half-long,
and the long vowel did not develop before certain consonant groups
esnid 'ingraft' (3 pl pres *in-snadat*) Similarly a short (shortened)
vowel occurs in unaccented sylls Ir *oac* 'young', *comrac* 'battle'
W *cyfranc* — No lengthening took place in the case of *o* and *u*
Ir *co-cad* 'battle' (*cath*) MnIr *cogadh*, Ir *tocad* 'luck' MIW *tynghet*
'fate' MnW *tynged* Br *tonkadur* Gk *τυγχάνω* 'I hit', *τύχη* 'luck,
fortune', Ir *co-tlud* 'sleep' MnIr *codladh* (MIIr pret *con-tuil*)
Goth *þulan* 'endure' — IE *in* seems to have given OIr half-long,
MnIr short vowel Ir *léicim* 'I leave' MnIr *leigim* Lat *linquō*
§ 59 That loss of the nasal did not cause full lengthening of the
preceding vowel is supported by the fact that in Brit the vowel

developed as a short vowel W *cam* 'step', *teithi* 'qualities', Br
kazel 'arm-pit' § 8, 2 c, § 52, § 26, 10

Note There are some difficult Ir words *coic* 'five', *con-icc* 'can', etc ,
v VKG 1 151, Pokorny, KZ 47 165 (contradicted by Thurneysen, KZ
59 11), IF 35 339

§ 71. (IE *n* as a separate sound) (1) IE *n* (Lat , Gk , Gmc ,
Skr *n*) divided into *N* and *n* in Celt This doubleness is really re-
tained in Ir only, and owing to palatalization they became four
sounds in Ir , *N*, *N* ' *n, n'* (For detailed descriptions v VKG I
152)

(2) *N, N'* are found in MnIr and Sc (a) in absolute initials
(subject to lenition to *n, ń*), Arr /*N'ad*/ 'nest' (*nead*), /*mo ńad*/ 'my
nest', (b) after *s*, Arr /*šN'ardə*/ 'snow' (*sneachta*) Don /*šN'artə*/, len
Arr /*f'l'ińaxde*/ 'sleet' (*flichshneachta*), Don /*tarkišN'ə*/ 'contempt'
(*tarcuisne*), (c) in old gemination or in later gemination from *nd,
dn, tn*, Arr /*baN'ə*/ 'milk' (*bainne*) Don /*bwaN'ə*/, (d) after *r*, Arr
/*kắrNắn*/ 'heap' (*carnán*) Don /*kārNan*/ Cf such MIr forms as *co
fernnu, carnd* etc , (e) before dentals, Arr /*myN't'əŕ*/ 'family,
followers' OIr *muntar*, acc and dat *muntir* MnIr *muinntear,
muinntir* Don /*muiN't'ərə*/ 'related' (*muinnteardha*), Arr /*p'ŕiNsə*/
'prince' (*prionnsa*) /*mắNLə*/ 'modest' (*mánla*)

(3) After most consonants lenited *n* has become *r* in Scotland,
Man and North Ireland Arr /*grȳ*/ 'love' (len /*gr-*/) Don /*grĩ*/ 'good
looks' (*gnaoi*), Arr /*krū*/ 'nut' (len /*ɹr-*/) Don /*krõ*/ = *cnú, cnó*, Arr
/*mrą̄*/ (len /*wr-*/) = *mná*, g of *bean* woman' This does not happen
after /*h*/ (*sh, th*) nor medially after *gh, dh* In Scotland the *r* is
nasalized, and many dialects retain *n* The change *n > r* occurs
also in Br OBr *gruiam* gl suo MIBr *gruyat* 'to sew MnBr Léon
griat Trég *grouiañ* (but V *gouriat*) W *gwnio* After *k* and *t* in
MIBr *n* still remains *knech* MnBr *kreac'h* 'hill', *cnouenn* MnBr
kraouenn 'nut', pl *kraouñ* (but V *keneu* 'nut' W *cneuen, cnau* Ir
cnú), *tnou* 'valley' MnBr *traouñ* § 60

§ 72. Exx of IE *n* in Celt Ir *ní* 'not' W *ni* Co *ny* Br *ne*
Lat *nē* 'lest' Skr *na*, Ir *gin* 'mouth' g *geno* W *gên*, *genau* OCo
genau MICo *ganow* Br *genou* MIBr *guen* 'cheek' G *Genaua* Lat
gena 'cheek' Gk *γένυς* 'chin'

Non-syll groups with *n* are treated under the other elements
Exx of *rn* W *carn* 'hoof' OCo *ewin-carn* Br *karn* G *κάρνον*
'trumpet', W *carn* 'handle of a sword, of a knife' MnCo *karn* 'manu-

brium', Ir , W *carn* 'heap of stones' (with different vowel grade)
Lat *cornŭ* 'horn' OHG *horn*, Ir *fern* 'alder, mast' MnIr *fearn, fearnóg*
W *gwern* 'alders, swamp, meadow', *gwernen* 'alder' OCo *guernen*
gl alnus, *guern* gl malus Br *gwern-enn* 'alder', *gwern* 'mast' G
Uerno-dubrum

IE *ln* Ir *dall* 'blind' etc § 17, Ir *sellaim* etc § 25,5 Instances
in OIr of unassimilated groups of *l* and *n* are explained by loss of
vowel between these sounds Later in OIr they became assimi-
lated OIr *inna builnni* 'the stripes' MIIr MnIr *builie* 'a blow'
Lat *uulnus* 'wound', OIr *tolnaid* 'artificer' *tollaidib* gl fabris, *no-
d-chomalnadar* Wb 'who fulfils it', *dian-d-comallamar* Ml 'if we
fulfil it' derivative from *comlán* 'full'

For the origin of *nn* v § 26,9 — In MnCo *nn* became *dn*
MlCo *banne, banna* 'drops' MnCo *badna*, MlCo *ran* 'part' MnCo
radn

§ 73. (Gemination of an explosive due to assimilated *n*) An
explosive + *n* gave (presumably immediately before the accent)
Ir *cc, tt, pp* (MnIr *k* and *g*, *t* and *d*, *b*), Brit /r/, /p/, /f/

(1) Ir *fracc* 'woman' Sc *frag* 'a kind wife' W *gwrach* 'hag'
MlBr *groach* MnBr *grac'h* 'old woman' Lat *uirgō* 'maiden'

(2) Ir *brecc* 'speckled' MnIr *breac* W *brych* Br *breac'h* 'pock'
-*no*- participle beside the -*to*- participle Ir *mrecht*- § 52, Ir *crocenn*
etc § 53 (primitive Celt *krokno*-), Ir *cnocc* 'hill' MnIr *cnoc* OBr
cnoch MlBr *knech* MnBr *kreac'h* W *cnwch* joint, knuckle ON
hnakki 'neck'

(3) OIr *gataim* I steal' MnIr *goidim* Lat *pre-hendo* 'I seize'
Gk χανδάνω 'I hold' (W *genni* 'to be contained')

(4) Ir *brat* 'mantle' MnIr *brat* W *brethyn* 'woollen cloth' OBr
brothrac gl taxam MnBr *broz, brouz* 'woman's clothes' V *broh*
MlIr *áitt, áit* 'place' *pōthni-* to Skr *pāthas* 'place', *panthā-s* 'way'

(5) Ir *opunn, t-op* 'sudden' MnIr *obann, tobann* Gk ἄφνω

Note The rule here given has been frequently contested e g by Thur-
neysen JF 44 371 but it seems very difficult to do without it

§ 74 (IE *m* as a separate sound) IE *m* (Lat , Gk , Gmc ,
Skr *m*) divided in Celt into *M* and *m* *M* remained in all neo-Celt
languages as an ordinary European *m*, geminated *MM* became *bm*
in MnCo Lenited Celt *m* remained in OW , OBr and OIr (wr
m), it was a loose *m* or a nasalized *v* It is still a nasalized *v* or *w*
in Scotland, in Ireland (where *v* or *w* depends on palatalization or

non-palatalization) the nasalization is transferred to a neighbouring vowel or lost In certain circumstances lenited *m* has disappeared with transfer of nasalization to the preceding vowel The prevailing MnIr symbol *mh* is comparatively late In MlW , MnW and Co lenited *m* became *v* (now wr W *f*) Br has *v*, medially sometimes non-syll *o*, medial len *m* has transferred its nasalization to the preceding vowel (wr MlBr generally *ff*, MnBr *ñv*, *oñ*, where *ñ* is merely a mark of the nasalization of the vowel)

Non-lenited *m* occurs (1) initially (subject to lenition) MnIr *mac* 'son', *do mhac* 'thy son', W *mab, dy fab*, Co *map, the vap*, Br *map, da vap*, (2) after initial *s* MnIr *sméar* 'blackberry', (3) in orig gemination, MnIr *céim* 'step' W *cam* etc , (4) in Ir after *r*, *l, n* if no intermediary vowel has disappeared (in Brit it is lenited), v § 75,4, (5) before *b* and *p*, Ir *cimbid* 'prisoner' MnIr *cimeach*, W *pump* '5' etc v § 59

§ 75 (Exx of IE *m* in Celt) **(1)** Initially Ir *mil* 'honey', g *mela* MnIr *mil*, g *meala* W *mêl* Co Br *mel* Lat *mel* Gk *μέλι*, Ir *methel* 'party of reapers' W *medel* 'reaping (-party)' OCo *midil* gl messor OW *anter-metetic* gl semiputata MlBr *midiff* reap' MnBr *midi, medi* Lat *metō* 'I reap'

mr-, ml- were at first retained in OIr but later became *br-, bl-*, this change occurs in Brit from the earliest period Ir *mruig* W Co Br *bro* G *Allobroges* § 35,2, Ir *mrecht-rad* W *brith* etc § 52, Ir *mraich, braich* 'malt' W *brag* OCo MlCo *brag* Bi *bragez* 'germe des grains' G *bracem* (acc) 'genus farris' Lat *marcēre* 'to be weak', — Ir *mláith, bláith* 'smooth, gentle' MlBr *blot* MnBr *blod*, W *blawd* 'meal' OCo *blot* OBr *un-blot* MnBr *bleud* cf Skr *mlā-ti* 'weakens, withers'

(2) intervocalic *-m-* the superlative ending Ir *-am* OW *-ham* MnW *-af* Co *-a, -e* MlBr *-aff, -af, -a* MnBr *-a*, Ir *clam* 'leprous' MnIr *clamh* W *claf* 'sick' OCo *claf* MlBr *claff* MnBr *klañv, klañ* Gk *κλαμαρός* 'weak' Skr *klāmati* 'is fatigued', — Ir *sam, samrad* 'summer' MnIr *samh, samhradh* W *haf* Co *haf* Br *hañv* § 24,1 W *dafad* 'sheep' etc § 61, W *dof* tame' MlBr *doff* MnBi *doñ* cf Lat *domō*, Ir *om* 'raw' W *of* to Lat *amārus* 'bitter', Ir *cruim* W *pryf* etc § 7,1, Ir *dám* W *daw* etc § 9,1, Ir *lám* W *llaw* etc § 12,2, Ir *cóim* W *cu* § 15

Note 1 A possible example of lenited *m* in Gaulish is *το Κέμμενον ορος* = *mons Ceuenna Cebenna*

Note 2 Lenited *m* disappears in monosylls in W after *w* and *u*, in

Br after *o, o, u,* and sometimes after non-rounded vowels (nasalization remaining) It also disappeared in W in final unacc sylls after *i* OW *erchim* MlW MnW *erchi* 'bid and numerous such verb nouns In Co and Br it disappeared in final position after all unaccented vowels

The group *-mw-* became *w* in prim Celt Ir *coir* W *cywir* etc § 19, *-mj-* became *-nj-* Ir *duine* W *dyn* § 28 This did not occur in later compounds, such as W *cyfiaith* 'of the same language', *cyfwerth* 'of equal value'

(3) (IE *m* medially before sonants) OIr *com-ram* 'combat' (**ƙ'om-reidhmu-s*), MlIr *com-rád* 'conversation' MnIr *comhrádh* Don /kǭrā/, *-mpl-* OIr MlIr *com-lan* full' W *cyflawn*, Ir *am-les* 'disadvantage' MnIr *aimhleas* W *afles* (Ir *less* 'advantage' W *lles* OCo *les* gl commodum represent a derivative of the IE root **p-l-* seen in Gk πολύς etc)

-mn- W *safn* 'mouth' etc , W *usgafn* 'light' etc § 25,5,2 , Ir *damnae* etc § 21,4 , Ir *slemun* etc § 26,6

(4) (*m* after sonants) *rm* MlIr *coirm, cuirm* beer MnIr Sc *cuirm* W *cwrw* (MlW *cwryf, cwrwf*) OCo *coref, coruf* MnCo *kor* G κοῦρμι Lat *cremor* thick juice obtained from grain', in composition Ir *for-mat* envy' MnIr *formad* W *gorfynt* Br *gourvent, gourvenn* cf Gk ὑπερ-μενής overweening' — *lm* MlIr MnIr *calma* 'brave' W *celfydd* skilful' OBr *celmed* gl efficax

Note 3 Perhaps *m* was limited in G also *Bormo, Boruo, ceruēsia* beer', perhaps related to κοῦρμι

nm OIr *menme* mind' MnIr *meanma* W *menw-yd* Skr *manma* OIr MnIr *ainm* name' OW *anu* pl *enuein* MlW MnW *enw* Co *hanow* Br *hano*

(5) The chief source of Celt *MM* (apart from the later development from *mb*) was IE *sm* v § 26,11 Ir *gorm* W *gurm* etc (§ 38n) and Ir *tailm* 'sling' g *telma* W *telm* 'snare' MlBr MnBr *talm* sling' V *talm* 'coup (de tonnerre) Gk τελαμόν 'strap' have an *-sm-*suffix

In MnCo *mm* became *bm* MlCo *lam* leap', *lammas* sprang' MnCo *lebmal* 'to leap' MlCo *cam* crooked' MnCo *cabm* (*m < mm < mb*), MlCo *hemma* 'this' MnCo *hebma* A change *m > mb* occurs in Br under certain circumstances, thus before *s* MlBr *amser, ampser* 'time' MnBr *amzer*, cf *kamps* 'alb' < Lat *camisia*, MlBr *-mp* in 1 pl endings of verbs and prepositions MnBr *-mp -mb*

-m + m- in compounds was simplified in prim Celt to *m* Ir *cuman* 'memory', *cumnech* mindful' MnIr *cuimhneach* W *cof* 'memory' MlCo *cof* MnCo *cor* MlBr *couff* MnBr *koun* pref **ƙ'om-*

with root **men*- 'think' In new formations this did not occur Ir
commus 'power' to *con-midethar* 'he governs'

II. The Latin borrowings in Celtic.

§ 76. A large number of Latin words were borrowed in Britain
during the Roman occupation, and very many of these words found
their way to Ireland In addition there are two classes of later
borrowings, learned borrowings found in literary works and Latin
words borrowed through French and English These two classes
do not, except to a small extent, fall within the aims of this work
whose main object is the earlier history of the Celt languages The
old popular Latin borrowings in many respects afford more perspic-
uous material for phonological history than the native vocabulary,
especially as regards chronology of sound changes They are also
valuable for the study of Lat and Romance, for example as evid-
ence of quantity in Lat words

Note The Vulgar Latin known to the Celts did not vary considerably
from Class Lat The following points may be noted Lat *n* was lost before
s with compensatory lengthening a long vowel in the syll immediately
preceding the Lat accent was shortened the ending *ulus* after a cons be-
came *-lus*, the diphth *ae* was mostly monophthongized

The Lat. short syllabic vowels

§ 77. The short vowels were treated as a rule exactly like the
native sounds

(1) Lat *a* remained unchanged (MIIr *cathair* 'chair' W *cadair*
MlBr *cadoer* Lat *cathedra*, MnIr *arc* 'coffer' W *arch* 'arch, coffin'
Co pl *arghov* Br *arc'h* Lat *arca*) But it was changed in Brit
before *j* (MlW *breich* MnW *braich* fem 'arm' OCo *brech* MlCo
breqh Br *breac'h* Lat *bracchium*), before lost *i* (W *saint* Co *syns*
MlBr *sent* Lat *san(c)ti*, W *lleidr* < **latri* < Lat *latrō*), before re-
tained *i* (W *cebystr* rope halter Lat *capistrum* but Br *cabestr*),
before retained *i* (W *Ebrill* Br *ebrel* Lat *Aprilis*)

(2) Lat *o* remained (Ir *corn* horn W Co Br *corn* Lat *cornū*,
Ir *corp* 'body' W *corff* Co *corf* Br *korf* Lat *corpus*) But it was
changed in Brit before *j* (Ir *stoir* 'history' W *ystyr* 'meaning' MlBr
ster Lat *historia*), before lost *i* (W *esgyb* 'bishops' MlBr *esquep*
< **escopi* < Lat *episcopi*) before retained *i* (OIr *mulenn* 'mill'
W Co *melin* Br *melin milin* Lat *molina*) Before certain conson-

ant groups *o* sometımes gıves W Br /*u*/, cf § 3,2 (OIr *son* 'sound'
W *sŵn* Co *son* Br *soun, son* Lat *sonus*, W *pwn* 'burden' Lat *pon-
dus*, W *swllt* 'shıllıng' (MIW 'treasure' also) OCo *sols* gl pecunıa
Br *saout* 'cattle' Lat *solıdus*), ın non-fınal sylls , W /ə/ W *ffyn-
non* 'fountaın' OCo *funten* MICo *fenten, fynten* Br *feunteun* Lat
fontāna (Co and Br /*o*/ ın the fırst syll ıs due to assımılatıon) Lat
o becomes *a* ın some cases W *carraı* 'thong' (OW *corruuı*) Br
korre-enn Lat *corrıgıa*, OIr *accuıss* 'cause' W *achos* Lat *occāsıo*

(3) Lat *u*, cf IE *u* § 4 In W ıt becomes *o* before lost fınal
-*a* (W *ffo* 'flıght' Co *fo* Lat *fuga*), *y* befoıe loṣt foll *ɉ* (W *cŷn*
'chısel' < *cunıus Lat *cuneus*, *dılyw* 'deluge' Lat *dıluuıum*), *û*
before labıals ın some cases (OIr *humal* 'humble MIW *ufyll* OCo
huuel Br *uvel* Lat *humılıs*, W *achub* 'to ṣeıze, save' OBr *acupet*
gl occupat Lat *occupō*) In hıatus W *cystrawen* 'ṣyntax' Lat
construendum (-*ue*- > *-*uwe*- > *awe*-), *rheuın* 'ruın' Lat *ruīna*
(-*uī*- > *-*uwī*- > *-*awı*- > -*euı*-), *pydew* 'well' Lat *puteus* (-*eus*
> *-*euus* > -*ew*), *ystıyw* 'trıck' Lat *ınstruō* cf ZCP 7 464 Lat
ɉu- W *Iddew* Jew' Co *Ethow*, *Yethow* Br *Iuzeo* V *Uzeo* Lat
Iudaeus, cf § 20 n 2

(4) Lat *e* remaıned (Ir *cell* 'church' W *cell* 'cell' Br *kel(l)* 'stall
ın a ṣtable' Lat *cella*) But ıt waṣ changed ın Brıt before *ɉ* (MIW
teırthon ague Br *tersıenn* Lat *tertıāna*), before naṣal + const
(W *tymp* 'tıme of chıldbırth' Lat *tempus*, cf § 5,2) In some cases
ıt has become *a* (W *sarff* ṣerpent' Co *sarf* Lat *serpens* Ir *kalaınd*
'calends' W *calan* MIBr *qualan* Lat *calendae*) Note W *gosber*
'vesperṣ' Bı *gousber* Lat *uesper*

(5) Lat *ı*, cf § 6 1 (Ir *cepp* 'block, ṣtump' W *cyff* 'stock'
MIBr *queff* MnBr *kef* Lat *cıppus*, MIIr *ınıt* 'Shrove-Tueṣday' W
ynyd Br *enet* carnıval' Lat *ınıtıum*) It becomeṣ W *e* before lost
fınal *a* *cest* paunch' Lat *cısta* Lat -*ıg*- Ir *fcíl* 'feaṣt, holıday'
W *gŵyl* Co *gol* Br *goel* Lat *uıglıa* foı *uıgılıa*, Ir *sén* 'luck' W
swyn 'charm, sıgn Co *sona* 'to bleṣṣ' Lat *sıgnum*

The Lat. long vowels

§ 78 (1) Lat *ā*, cf IE *ā* § 9,1 (Ir *cáıse* 'cheeṣe W *caws* OCo
cos OBr *cos-mıd* gl ṣcrum MIBr *queus-uez* whey' Lat *cāseus*, Ir
altóır 'altar' MIW *allawr* MnW *allor* OCo *altor* MICo *alter* Br *aoter*
Lat *altāre*), the oldeṣt Ir borrowıngṣ have *ā*, a later classs have *ō*,
the latest have *ā* Immedıately before the accent ıt became *a* W

creadur 'creature' OCo *croadur* Br *krouadur* Lat *creātūra*, W *pechadur* 'sinner' Co *pehadur* Lat *peccatōr-em* (MlBr *pechezr* MnBr *pec'her* Lat *peccātor*), Ir *dia sathairnn* 'Saturday' W *dydd Sadwrn* MnCo *de zadarn* Br *sadorn* Lat *Sāturnus*, W *magwyr* 'wall' OBr *macoer* (MnBr *moger*) *macēria < Lat *mācēria* Lat *-āg-* W *pau* 'country' Co *pow* OBr *pou* in PN Lat *pāgus*, W *caul* 'rennet' (*ceulo* 'to coagulate, curdle') Br *kaouled* 'curds, clots' < **cāgl-* Lat *coāgulum*

(2) Lat *ō* became Ir *ō* (> *ua*), Brit *u* (cf Brit *ō* < IE *w*-diphthongs § 13, 1) MlIr *scuap* 'besom' W *ysgub* 'sheaf' (*ysgubell* 'besom', *ysgubo* 'to brush') MnCo *skibia* 'to sweep' Br *skub* 'sweeping' (*skuba* 'to sweep', *skubell* brush') Lat *scōpa* In two instances at least Lat *ō* developed like IE *ā*, *ō* in Brit MnIr *nóin* 'noon' W *nawn* Lat *nōna* W *awr* OBr *ann-aor* (§ 9, 2) Br *eur* Lat *hōra* In hiatus OW *Jouan(n)* W *Ieuan* OBr *Iouuan* Lat *Iōhannēs* (*-ōa-* > **-ova-*) Lat final *-ō*, cf IE *-ō* § 9, 4 W *lleidr* § 77, 1

(3) Lat *ū* usually gave Brit *u* Ir *ū* (cf IE *oi* § 15) Ir *múr* 'wall' W *mur* Br *mur* Lat *mūrus* Only in very rare cases did it develop like IE *ū* W *cib* 'coffer (MlW) husk Br *kib* 'axle-cap, shell' Lat *cūpa*

(4) Lat *ē* mostly fell together with *ē* from IE *ei* § 16 Ir *céir* W *cwyr* OCo *coir* MnCo *kor* Br *koar* Lat *cēra*, W *pwys* 'weight' Co *poys, pos* heavy' Br *poez, pouez* 'weight' < **pēs-* Lat *pensum* In rare cases it gave *i* Ir *disert* 'hermitage' W *diserth* Lat *dēsertum*, W *disgyn* 'to descend' Co *dyskynnough* 'descend ye' Br *diskenn* 'to descend' Lat *dēscendō*

(5) Lat *ī* normally like IE *ī* § 11 OIr *fín* 'wine' W *guin* OCo *guin* MlCo *guyn* Br *guin* Lat *uīnum*

The Lat. diphthongs

§ 79 (1) Lat *au* gave Ir *ō* and in the oldest Brit borrowings developed like Brit *ou* § 18 Ir *ór* 'gold' MlW *eur* MnW *aur* Co *our* Br *aour* Lat *aurum*, Ir *Pól* OW *Poul* MlW *Peul* (with /ey/, cf *Peulan*) Lat *Paulus* Mostly it gave Brit *aw* (Ir *ă*) Ir *cál* 'cabbage' W *cawl* broth' (MlW 'cabbage') OCo *caul* Br *kaol* Lat *caulis* It was also kept in OIr learned borr *augtor* 'author' Lat *auctor* (W *awdur* < *au(c)tōr-em*)

(2) Lat *ae* gave W *oe* (cf IE *ai* § 14) in *bloesg* 'thick of speech'

Lat *blaesus*, *Groeg* Lat *Graeca* Otherwise it was treated in Celt as a short *e* Ir *pridchim* 'I preach' (*d* = /d/) MnBr *prezeg* 'to speak, sermon' Lat *praedicō*, OIr *precept* 'to preach' W *pregeth* 'sermon' Co *pregoth* Lat *praecepta*

(3) **Exx** of Lat *oe* are rare It seems to have fallen together with *ē* in Ir *pén, pian* 'pain' Lat *poena* (cf Co pl *ponow* Br *poan*, but W *poen*)

Lat *w* and *ʝ*.

§ 80 (1) Lat *w* was treated like IE *w* § 17ff Ir *fín* etc § 78,5, Ir *féil* etc § 77,5, cf W *gosber* § 77 4 Medial W *ciwdod* 'people' MlBr *queudet* 'town' Lat *ciuitātem* Lost before Brit *ō* MlW *priawt* 'one's own' MnW *priod* OCo *qui-priot* gl sponsus MlCo *pryes* Br *pried* Lat *priuātus*

(2) Lat *ʝ* W *Iau* 'Jove', *dydd Iau* 'Thursday' Co *(de)yow* MlBr (*dez*) *yaou* Lat *diēs Iouis*, Ir *Enair* 'January' (< Vulgar Lat *Ienuarius*, cf Schuchardt, RC 5 492) MnIr *Eanair, Geanair* W *Ionawr* MnCo *Genvar* Br *genver*, *genvour* Lat *iānuārius* (the *g*-forms are late) Intervoc Ir *óine* a fast' MnIr *aoine* (also 'Friday'), Ir *cétoin* 'Wednesday' 'first fast" MnIr *Ceadaoin*, Ir *áin didin* 'Friday' "last fast", *dardoen* 'Thursday' 'between the two fasts' MnIr *Diardaoin* Lat *iēiūnium*, MnIr *maor* 'steward, bailiff' OW *mair* gl praepositus W *maer* mayor OCo *mair* gl praepositus MlBr *maer* MnBr *mear* mayor' Lat *maior*

Lat. *h, s, ʝ*

§ 81. (1) Lat *h* was silent at the time of borrowing and so does not appear Ir *abann* 'scourge' W *afwyn* 'bridle, rein' (for Co *avond* v RC 48 37) Lat *habēna*

(2) Lat *s* is mostly retained Ir *sacc* 'sack' W *sach* OCo *sach* Br *sac'h* Lat *saccus*, W *sarff, swllt* § 77,4,2 MlIr *asan* 'ass (female)' W *asyn* (male) Co *asen* Br *azen* Lat *asinus* In very few cases it gave Brit init *h-* (cf § 24,1) W *hwyr* 'evening, late' Lat *sērus* Ir *sesra* OW *hestaur* 'sextarius' MlW *hestawr* MnW *hestor* 'two-bushel measure' Lat *sertārius* — Lat *sk* remained (with prosthetic W *ə*) OIr *scol* W *ysgol* OCo *scol* Br *skol* 'school' Lat *schola*), *ks* gave Ir *ss*, later *ks*, /xs/, in W *ʝ + s*, in Co, Br also *w + s* (MlIr *cross* 'cross' W *crwys* OCo *crois* MlCo *crous* MlBr *croes, croas* MnBr *kroaz* Lat *crux* from W *crwys* an anal sg *croes* fem was formed, W *coes* Lat *coxa* W *pais* 'coat, petticoat' OCo *peis*

gl tunica, *peus* MlCo *pous, pows* 'coat' Lat *pexa*), *st* remained
(with prosthetic W *ə ystof* 'warp' Lat *stāmen*), similary *sp* §83, 4c,
mit *ps* was treated as *s*, all other *s*-groups remained

(3) Lat *f*- was apparently treated as *hw*- at the earliest period
in Ir, serving as a len form with *sw*- as non-len form, hence the
correspondence Brit *f*- Ir *s*- in borrowings Possibly the same ex-
planation serves for MlW *Chwefrawr* 'February' MnW *Chwefror*,
Chwefrol MnCo *Huevral* Br *c'houevrer* Lat *Februārius* Exx of
Ir *s*- OIr *seib* 'bean' W *ffa* (plur) MnCo *fāv* MlBr *faff* MnBr
fav, fao Lat *faba*, OIr *senester* gl catarecta W *ffenestr* 'window'
OCo *fenester* MlBr *penestr, prenestr* MnBr *prenest* Lat *fenestra* —
Otherwise *f*- is retained MnIr *feagha* 'beech' W pl *ffawydd* (*ffaw*
+ *gwŷdd* 'trees') OBr *fau, fou* (in PN) MnBr *fao-enn fav-enn*
Lat *fāgus* Medial Ir *oifrend* 'mass' W *offeren* Co *oferen* Br *ofe-
renn* Lat *offerenda*

The Lat. voiced explosives

§ 82. (1) Lat *g* (a) Ir *gem(m)* 'gem' W *gem* Lat *gemma*,
W *gefell* 'twin' Br *gevell* Lat *gemellus* (b) Ir *saiget* MnIr *sai-
ghead* arrow' W *saeth* Co *seth* Br *saez, seaz* Lat *sagitta* Lat *og,
ug* before a vowel gave Brit *ou* cf § 35 2 Ir *srongell* MnIr *sroghall*
'whip' W *ffrewyll* Lat *flagellum*, Ir *pólaire* 'writing tablet' MlW
peullawr OW pl *poullor-aur* Lat *pugillāris* Lat *āg*, ∇ § 78, 1
(c) Lat *-gr-* OW *Aircol* MlW *Aercol* Lat *Agricola* Lat *-gl-*,
-gn-, ∇ § 77, 5 Lat *-rg-* Ir *margaréit, margreit* 'pearl' MlW *mery-
erid* MnW *mererid* Br *Marc'harit* FN Lat *margarita*, MlW *llara*,
llary (monosyll) 'gentle', W *llari-aidd* (disyll) Lat *largus*

(2) Lat *d* (a) Ir *dúr* 'hard' W *dur* 'steel' Br *dir* Lat *dūrus*
(b) W *ffydd* 'faith' Co *fyth, feth* Br *feiz* Lat *fides* (c) Lat *-dr-*
MlIr *cathair* etc § 77, 1, the *d* was lost before the Brit accent Ir
corgas MnIr *corghas* 'fast' W *y Garawys, y Grawys* 'Lent' Br *Lo-
raiz* Lat *quadrāgēsima* Lat *-rd-* OIr *ord* MlIr *órd* 'order' W
urdd Br *urz* Lat *ōrdō* Lat *-ld-* W *callawr, callor* 'cauldron' OCo
caltor MlBr *cauter* MnBr *kaoter* Lat *caldāria*, W *swllt* etc § 77, 2
Lat *-nd-* W *calan* etc § 77, 4, Ir *coinneal* W *cannwyll* OCo *can-
tuil* MlBr *cantoell* MnBr *cantol* Lat *candēla*

(3) Lat *b* (a) Ir *bachall* crook' W *bagl* Lat *bac(u)lus*, whence
MnIr *bachlach* 'shepherd' MlW *baglauc* 'having a crook' MlBr
baelec 'priest' MnBr *belek* (b) Ir *scribaim* 'I write' MnIr *sgríobhaim*
W *ysgrif* 'script' Co *scryfas* he wrote' Br *skriva* 'to write' Lat

scrībō   (c) Lat -br- OIr lebor 'book' MnIr leabhar W llyfr Co
levar Br levr, leor Lat liber, acc librum Lat -rb-, -lb- W barf
'beard' OCo barf, baref Br baro Lat barba, OIr barbár 'barbarian'
MnIr barbarach 'foreigner' Lat barbarus, MlW syberw 'proud'
(disvll) MnW syber 'neat' Lat superbus, in later Ir borr , b > v
MnIr balbh 'dumb, stammering' Lat balbus Lat -mb- Ir colum
'dove' W colom-en OCo colom Br koulm V klom Lat columba

The Latin voiceless explosives.

§ 83. (1) Lat k (a) Ir cert 'right' W certh MlBr querz MnBr
kers 'possession' Lat certus (b) Ir bachall etc § 82,3 , Ir muin-
chille 'sleeve' W maneg 'glove' Co mancy Br maneg Lat manica
(c) Lat -kt- after short vowels Ir lacht 'milk' W llaeth OCo lait
MlCo leyth, leth MlBr luez MnBr leaz V leah Lat g lactis, Ir
maldacht 'curse' W melltith Co molleth MlBr malloez MnBr malloz
Lat maledictiō Lat -nkt-, cf IE -nkt- § 52 OW Suith MN , MlW
seith Pedyr 'St Peter' Lat sānctus (the MlW form has an affected
vowel), W pwyth 'stitch Lat punctum But W sant 'saint' Co
sans Br sant are from a Lat san(c)tus Lat -kr- Ir cosecraim,
coisricim (a learned borr) MnIr coisreacaim 'I consecrate' W cysegr
'sanctuary' Lat consecrō Lat -rk- Ir arc 'chest' W arch 'arch,
coffin' Co pl arghov Br arc'h Lat arca Lat -lk- MlIr calc, cailc
'lime' W calch Lat acc calcem Lat -nk- Ir caingel 'chancel'
W cangell MlBr cancell locus (Loth, Chrestomathie p 113) Lat
cancellus (W canghellor 'chancellor' Lat cancellārius) Lat -kk-
Ir accuiss § 77,2 , Ir secc 'dry' W sych Co segh Br seac'h Lat
siccus

(2) Lat qu Traces of the labial articulation occur Ir corgas
§ 82,2 Usually it is treated as k Ir cucenn 'kitchen'W cegin OCo
keghin Br kegin Lat coquīna

(3) Lat t (a) Ir tennaim 'I press, tighten' W tynnaf 'I pull'
Co tynn-, tenn- Br tenna Lat tendō (b) Ir cuithe W pydew (4) be-
low In later Ir borrowings intervoc -t- is treated as in Brit OIr
not 'mark' MnIr nod W nod MnCo noz Br nod Lat nota (c) Lat
-tr- W lleidr Co lader MlBr lazr MnBr laer Lat latrō Ir Cothraige
'St Patrick', later Patraicc MnIr Padraic W Padrig Lat Patri-
cius Lat st § 81,2 , kt 1c above, pt 4c below Lat -rt- Ir tort
MnIr toirt 'cake' W torth 'loaf' Co torth MlBr torth (12th cent)
MnBr torz, tors V torh Lat torta Lat -lt- OIr saltir MnIr saltair
'psalter' W sallwyr, llaswyr Lat psaltērium, OW celeell MnW cyll-

ell 'knife' OCo *collel* MlCo *collan* Br *kountell* (with dissimilation)
Lat *cultellus* Lat *-nt-*, in Brit as IE *nt*, in Ir became *nd*, in later
borrowings remained OIr *cland* 'children' MnIr *clann* W *plant*
Lat *planta*, MlW *fynhawn* MnW *ffynnon* § 77,2, OIr *genti* 'hea-
thens' MlW *gynt* Lat *gentēs*, learned Ir borrowings display treat-
ment similar to that of IE *nt* OIr *abstanit* 'abstinence' Lat *ab-
stinentia* Lat *ntr* MnIr *contrár-dha* 'contrary', *contrál-ta* 'wrong'
MlW *cythrawl* 'contrary, the devil', *kythreur-awl* LlA 132,17, *ky-
threul-awl* Hen MSS II 340 20 'contrary' MlW *cythreul* MnW
cythraul 'devil' OBr *controliaht* gl controuersiam (*ht* = /β/) MlBr
contrell 'contrary' Lat *contrārius* Lat *-tt-* Ir *cat* MnIr *cat* 'cat'
W *cath* OCo *kat* (*t* = /β/) Br *kaz* Lat *cattus*

(4) Lat *p* (a) In the oldest borrowings Ir treated it as *kᵘ*
Og QRIMITIR MlIr *cruimther* 'priest' EW *primter* MlW *prifder*
Lat *presbyter* (*prebiter*) Ir *cuithe* W *pydew* Lat *puteus*, later,
Ir has *p* Ir *Petar* MnIr *Peadar* W *Pedr* Lat *Petrus*, Ir *póc*
'kiss' MnIr *póg* Lat acc *pācem* (b) OIr *opair* 'deed' MnIr *obair*
MlW *ober* Co *ober* Br *ober* 'to do' Lat *opera* (c) Lat *-pt-* re-
tained in Ir, treated as *-tt-* in Brit OIr *precept* etc § 79,2 Note
MlW *Eifft* MnW *Aifft* Lat *Aegyptus*, for W *enghraifft* 'example'
v BBCS 2,44ff Lat *-pr-* MlIr *April* MnIr *Aibreán* W *Ebrill*
§ 77,1 Lat *-pl-* OIr *popul* 'people' MnIr *pobal* W *pobl* Co *pobel*
Br *pobl* Lat *pop(u)lus* Lat *sp* W *ysbaid* 'space (of time)' Co
spys Lat *spatium* Lat *-rp-* Ir *corcur* MlIr *corcair* W *porffor*
Br *porfor* Lat *purpura*, Ir *corp* W *corff* § 77,2 Lat *-lp-* W
Elffin MN Lat *Alpīnus* Lat *mp* is treated in Brit like IE *nkᵘ*
§ 59, remains unchanged in Ir W *ymherawdr*, later *ymerawdwr*
'emperor' MlBr *impalaezr* MnBr *impalaer* Lat *imperātor* (MlIr
imper, impir MnIr *impir* 'emperor' Lat *imperium*), W *tymp* § 77,4
Lat *mpl* OIr *tempul* MnIr *teampall* MlW *temhyl* MnW *teml* MnCo
tempel Lat *templum* Lat *pp* Ir *cepp* etc § 77,5

The Latin sonants.

§ 84   (1) Lat *r*, like IE *r* OIr *riagol* 'rule' MnIr *riaghail*
W *rheol* (through **ryol* MlW *ryoleu* LlA 119 24, **rywol* MlW
rywoli MA 217b1, **rwyol* MlW *rwyoli* LlH 263 26, v Y Beirniad
6,274) Co *rowl* Br *reol* Lat *rēgula*

(2) Lat *l*, like IE *l* OIr *lebor* etc § 82,3c, *scol* etc § 81,2
Lat *-ll-* gave W *l* W *cell* § 77,4, similarly Lat *l* in W *pebyll*

(orig sg , now pl with anal sg *pabell* 'tent') Ir *pupall* Lat *pā-piliō*, W *cannwyll* § 82, 2 c, W *Ebrill*, MlW *ufyll* § 77, 1, 3, cf § 69

(3) Lat *n* remains Ir final -*nn* occurs for Lat -*n*-, particularly after a shortened long vowel Ir *abann* § 81, 1, *mulenn* § 77, 2, *cucenn* § 83, 2, cf Ir *termann* 'protection, glebe-land' W *terfyn* 'end' Lat *terminus*

(4) Lat *m* (a) Ir *midach* 'physician' W *meddyg* OCo *medhic* MlCo *methek* Br *mezek* Lat *medicus* (b) MlIr *umir* MnIr *uimhir* OW *nimer* W *nifer* Co *nyuer* Br *niver* Lat *numerus*, OIr *testimin* 'text' W *testun* OCo *tistum* (leg -*n*) MnCo *testynye* 'testimony' Br *testeni* Lat *testimōnium* (len *m* lost in Brit), W *mynwent* 'grave-yard' Lat *monumentum* (len *m* > *w*) (c) Lat *mn* Ir *columa*, g *columan* MnIr *colamhan* 'column' W *colofn* Lat *columna* Lat *rm* Ir *arm* 'weapon' W *arf* Co pl *ariow* Lat *arma* Lat *lm* W *palf* 'palm of the hand' OCo *palf* Br *palv* Lat *palma*, later horr MlIr *pailm* 'palm-tree' MnIr *palmaire* 'pilgrim' W *palm-wydden* 'palmtree' Co *palmor* 'pilgrim' Br *palmez* 'palm-trees' Lat *palma* Groups with explosives have been treated above

Evidence of the Lat. borrowings for the chronology of the Celt sound changes

§ 85 At the time of the oldest popular borrowings from Lat , the Brit vowel system was probably as follows *a, o, u, e, i, ā* (from IE *ā, ō*), *ō* (from IE *w*-diphthongs), *ū* (from IE *oi*) *ē* (from IE *ei*), *ī* (from IE *ē, ī*, possibly *u* from IE *ū*), the exact state of IE *ai* cannot be decided The pronunciation of Lat *au* gave no difficulty, as *w* was common The change *j* > *d* was practically complete, and did not occur in Lat borrowings, in Ir *j* had entirely disappeared Final sylls still remained, umlaut and epenthesis had not begun Loss and reduction of vowels in medial sylls due to the accent had not yet taken place Diphthongs and long vowels due to vocalization of explosives had not yet arisen

The main changes of IE *s* and *s*-groups were well-nigh completed in Celtic IE *p* had long disappeared, IE *kᵘ* still remained in Ir but had long become *p* in Brit The Brit pairs *R ɍ, L l, N n, M m, g q, d đ, b ƀ, kʿ k fʿ t, pʿ p* probably existed as nuances of phonemes These nuances were taken over to the borrowed linguistic material For Brit *kʿ k, fʿ t* the Ir substituted *kʿ x, fʿ þ* in the oldest period The group *xt* existed in Brit , and was substituted for Lat *kt*

III. Final and initial sounds.

§ 86. In G and in the ogam inscriptions most of the IE final sylls still remain This was also generally the case during the period of early Latin borrowings But in the oldest literary remains the final syllables are practically the same as they are today The law of the loss of final syllables operated therefore between these two periods

But certain proclitic and enclitic IE words ending in a vowel must have lost that vowel in Celt before that, for they have not produced lenition of the initial const of a following word W *a*, *ac* 'and' Co *ha, hag* Br *ha, hag* Lat *at-que*, Ir *na, nach-* W *na, nac* Co *na, nag* Bi *na, nag (nak)* neque' Lat *ne-que* In the following examples the nasal which in IE preceded the final vowel has in Celt influenced the initial consonant of the following word W *fy* (causing nasal mutation) 'my' Br *ma, va* V *me* **me-me*, cf Skr *máma* Ir *a* (causing eclipsis, neuter of the article) G σοσιν **so-sendha* 'that yonder'

§ 87 IE *-s* was lost in neo-Celt , also a stop or a nasal immediately preceding *-s*, also *-st* Ir nom *fer* 'man' **wiro-s*, Ir nom *ri* 'king' W *rhi* **rēg-s* Lat *rēx*, Ir nom *sui* 'a sage' (g *suad*) W *syw* 'wise' **su-wid-s* OIr *care* friend' (W *câr* 'kinsman') **qarānt-s*

Before its disappearance it seems to have developed as it did medially After a vowel *-s* became *h* before a word beginning with a vowel OIr *int athir* the father' < **sendos atēr* (*t* < *d + h*, cf § 200, § 201) Similarly *-ks* gave Ir *ss* OIr *a* 'from', *ass-a-thóib* 'from his side' Lat *ex* Gk ἐξ, OIr *mo* 'soon', *mos-riccub-sa* 'I shall soon come Lat *mox*, in Brit *-ks* gave /x/ W *chwech* 'six', *chwe* (adjective only), *moch* early' (adv) OIr *mo*

In G numerous examples occur of the retention of final *s* Σεγομαρος, *Trutiknos* Some instances of the loss of *-s* are found *Aneuno Aneunicno* cf Thurneysen, ZCP 6 558

§ 88 IE final explosives were lost in neo-Celt Ir *-beir* 'carries' < IE **bheret* In G *legasit* 'placed' a final vowel has disappeared, cf the verb *karnitu* Apparently *-d* could remain in accented monosyllabic words OIr *hed* 'it' Lat *id*, OIr *cid* 'what' Lat *quid* After consonants (*s* excepted) *-t* remained Ir *-é-racht* 'surrexit' **reg'-t*, *-bert* 'carried' **bher-t* (cf W *cymerth* took'), *-alt* 'nourished' **al-t*, *ar-ro-ét* 'received' **em-t*, *dét* (neut) 'tooth' (W *dant*) **dnt*

§ 89. Final -*r* remained and received the quality of the preceding vowel in Ir *athir* 'father' MnIr *athair* **patēr*, Ir *máthir* MnIr *máthair* **mātēr*, Ir *bráthir* 'brother' MnIr *bráthair* 'monk', *dearbhráthair* 'brother' (*dearbh* 'real') OCo *broder* (with svarabhakti vowel between *d* and *r*) MlBr *breuzr* MnBr *breur*, but W *brawd* **bhrātēr* The vowel before -*r* is retained in all Celt languages in Ir *for* 'on' OW *guar* W *gor-* Co *gor-* Br *gour-* G *uer-* **upor*

Final -*n* and -*m* became Celt *n* (strictly *N*) G *νεμητον* 'temple', *celicnon* 'tower' In neo-Celt this -*n* with the preceding vowel disappeared in absolute finals Ir acc sg *fer* 'man' **wirom*, g pl *fer* 'of the men' **wirōm* In the sentence before a closely joined word the *n* is either retained or assimilated to the following initial in Ir OIr *in gnīm n-olc* (acc) 'the evil deed' There are remains of the same phenomenon in Brit , v §§ 196—8 For -*n* and -*m* cf § 8

§ 90. In words of more than one syll the short vowel whether final or before a disappearing final cons was lost In Ir the lost vowel can often be recognized by the timbre cf the preceding consonant or the quality of the vowel of the preceding syllable Ir *and* 'there' Gk *ἔνϑα*, Ir pret 1 sg *tánac* 'I came' Gk *τέποιϑ-α*, *olδ-a*, Ir nom acc *fer* man **wiros*, **wirom* An old -*o* is written -*a* in the ogam inscriptions LUGUDECCAS, DECCEDDAS (g of consonantal stems) But it appears as Ir *o* when it is retained, as Ir *beo* 'living' § 95,1 — Ir *cin* 'sin' MnIr *cion* **kinuts*, Ir *mid* 'mead' MnIr *miodh* W *medd* Br *mez* Gk *μέϑυ* **medhu* (*i* before a non-palat const points to the *u*-quality of the lost vowel) — IE -*e* became -*i* before disappearing Ir voc *fir* 'O man!' from **wiri* < **wire*, but not before a final explosive OIr -*beir* carries' **bheret* — Ir *mil* 'honey' etc § 75 1 **meli* Ir nom acc *fáith* 'poet' **wātis*, **wātim*, Ir *deich* 'ten' § 8,1c **deken* (< IE *deḱ'm*)

§ 91. Long vowels and the diphthongs disappear in polysyllables when absolutely final or before a final nasal -*ā* Ir nom *tuath* 'people' § 13,1 **teutā* Final -*ā* changed *u* or *i* in the preceding syllable to *o*, *e* in W *trwm* 'heavy', fem *trom*, *hysb* 'dry', fem *hesb*, *brith* 'motley' (< **brikto-s*) § 52, fem MlW *breith* MnW *braith* (< **brektā*) Traces of the same change are found in OBr (RC 8, 168f) -*ām* Ir subj 1 sg -*ber* **bherām* cf Lat *feram* — IE -*ō* first became -*ū*, this change appears in G , in cases where the vowel is retained in neo-Celt (§§ 92—5), and is also seen in its

effect upon the preceding syllable (in Ir rounding of the preceding
const and raising of the vowel § 178, in Brit, where *ū* became *ī*,
the same effect as before IE -*ī*) G *Frontu* (< Lat *Frontō*), MlW
gwreic, MnW *gwraig* Co *gurek* Br *grek* *wrakō, Ir 1 sg pres ind
-*biur* 'I carry' *bherō Ir dat *fiur* 'to a man' IE instrumental in
-*ō* or Dat in -*ōi* cf G dat *Alisanu*, OIr *ar-chiunn* 'ahead' (dat
of *cenn* 'head') W Co *erbyn* 'against', W *wyth* '8' etc § 52 *ok'tō
(v §§ 181—3) But *ō* in the g plur ending -*ōm* did not become *ū*
Ir *fer n-* of men', this was due to a very early shortening of a
long vowel before a nasal — IE *ī* Ir *Brigit* W *braint* § 35,5

IE -*oi* Ir nom pl *fir* 'men', Ir *uain* 'lambs' W *ŵyn* MnCo
ean Br *ein* (sg Ir *uan* W *oen* MlCo *oan, on* Br *oan*) Lat *agnī*
Gk ἀμνοί IE -*āi* Ir dat sg *tuaith* cf Lat *terrae* Gk χώρα

§ 92 In Ir long vowels and the diphthongs remained before -*s*
or a final *s*-group, before -*ns* short vowels also remained -*ās* Ir
nom pl *tuath-a* Goth *þiudōs* — -*ōs* Ir voc pl *firu* 'O men!' Skr
vīrās, -ōks Ir *Cuanu* (g *Cuanach*), -*ōts* OIr *bibdu* 'guilty' (pl
bibdid) OW *bibid* MlBr *beuez* — -*ūts* Ir *bethu* 'life' W *bywyd*
gⁿiwo-tūt-s — -ēts OIr nom *fih* 'poet' (g *filed*, cf W *gweled* see')
— -*ous* Ir g sg *betho* (from *u*-stem *bith* 'world') — -*ois* Ir g sg
fátho (from *i*-stem *fáith*)

The -*ns*- groups -*ns* Ir acc pl *cona* 'dogs' cf Gk κύνας, -*nts*
Ir *fiche* '20' *wi-k'mt-s -ants* or -*ānts* Ir *care* 'friend' (g *carat*)
MnIr *cara* W *câr* 'kinsman' (pl MlW *carant*, MnW *ceraint*) Co
car (pl *kerens*) Br *kar* (pl *kerent*) — -*onts* OIr *sechtmoyo* '70 —
-*ōns* Ir acc pl of *o*-stem *firu* men cf Skr *vīrān, vīrą̄s* (for the
Brit development v § 358) — -*ūns* Ir acc pl of *u*-stems *bithu*
cf Skr acc pl *śatrūn, śatrūs* 'enemies', -*unts* or -*ūnts* OIr *dínu*
'lamb' (dat *dínit*) cf Gk δειννῦς (partic of a -*nu*-present) — -*īns*
Ir acc pl of *i*-stems *fáthi* cf Skr *agnīn, agnį̄s*

Further a long vowel before final -*t* was retained in Ir -*āt*
3 sg subj -*bera*, -*ūt* dat sg *im-bethu* in life', -*it* *léicci* 'leaves'

Note In Brit the final vowels which remain in Ir are lost OW *bibid*,
W *bywyd câr* Cf MlBr *breuzr* § 89

§ 93 In monosylls the final vowel, whether followed by a
consonant or not, remains The final consonant however disappears
Short vowels were lengthened in accented words IE -*ō* Ir *cu* W
ci Co Br *ki* 'dog' *k'wō, cf Skr *śvā* The diphthongs in accented
words developed as they did medially Ir *dau* (*dó*) '2' § 13,3, Ir

mnái, dat sg of *ben* 'woman', Ir *cıa* 'who' W *pwy* etc *k^ueı*, cf Lat *quī* In prochtics the diphthongs were reduced ın Ir Ir masc *da*, fem *dı*, dependent forms of the numeral '2', cf W *dau*, fem *dwy* (later the reduced forms were lengthened *dá*, *dí*)

Final *-e* became *-ı* prochtic Ir *nı* 'not' MIW *ny* (MnW *nı*) Co *ny* Br *ne* *$*ne$, Skr *na* OSl *ne* The lengthened form Ir *ní* ıs to be explained ın the same way as *dá*, *dí* In accented words the change *e* > *ı* was ın Ir obviated by the change of every unaffected *ı* to *e*, hence Ir *mé* 'I' W *mı* Co *my*, *me* Br *me* IE *$*me$

§ 94 The unaccented final vowel wıth a preceding *ʝ* appears ın Ir as follows *-ʝos* > Ir *e* nom masc *aıle* 'alıus', *-ʝe* > Ir *ı* voc *celı* 'fellow', *-ʝā* > Ir *e* nom fem *aıle* 'alıa', *-ʝō-* > Ir *-ıu* (ı e 'u) dat masc and neut *aılıu*, nom *toı-mlıu* 'meaning' (g *toımten*) cf Lat *mentıō*, nom *coımdıu* 'lord' (*-ʝōt-s*, g *coımded*), *-ʝāı* > Ir *ı* dat sg of *ī*-stems *ınsı* 'to an ısland' The result therefore ıs always a short vowel wıth preceding palatalızatıon After certaın consts and consonant-groups palatalızatıon ıs lost OIr *cumachte* power' MIIr *cumachta* MnIı *cumhachta*, Ir *Albu* 'Scotland (*-ʝen-* stem, cf Gk-Lat *"Αλβιον*, *Albıon*) In Brıt *-ʝ* became *d* (after *ı*) or was lost the vowel was lost (§ 21, 22)

§ 95 A final vowel was retaıned ın many cases after a vowel

(1) After a lost *w* ın Ir Ir *nóı* MnIr *naoı* '9' < *$*newn$ Ir *óı* sheep' MnIr *ao-ghaıre* 'shepherd' *$*ouıs$, cf W *ewıg* 'hınd' OCo *euhıc* Lat *ouıs*, Ir pret *bóı* 'was' *$*bhoue$ oı *$*bhowe$ (*-e* > *-ı*), — Ir *beo* 'lıvıng' § 18 *$*g^uıuo-s$ — Apparent ınstances of loss of the final vowel are due to ıts contraction wıth a precedıng vowel Ir *clo* 'naıl'

(2) After a lost *ʝ* ın Ir Ir *-táu*, *-to*, *attoo*, *attó* '1 am' *$*stāʝō$, *-taı*, *attáı* 'thou aıt' *$*stāʝeı$, Ir *bíu* I am' (cf W *byddaf*) *$*bhuıʝō$, Ir *do-gníu* I do' *$*g'nıʝō$ Old *-ıʝe*, *-īʝe* (also *-ıʝa*, *-ıʝo*) were contracted to *ē* Ir *cré* clay' *$*k^urīʝet$ s (§ 21n), Ir *scé* 'hawthorn' *$*sqwıʝat-s$, Ir *clé* left *$*k'lıʝo-s$, *k'lıʝā* § 21,4 For Brıt v § 21,3.

(3) After a lost *ʂ* ın Ir and Brıt Ir *eo* salmon § 24,3 *$*esok-s$ (orıg paradıgm *$*esōk-s$, g *$*esok-os$ etc , very early *-ok-* was transferred to the nom , and also *-ōk-* to the oblıque cases MIW *ehawc* MlBr *eheuc* besıde *choc*), Ir *$*feo$ 'wıthered' (deduced from *feugud* gl marcor) W *gwywo* *$*wıso-$ or *$*wısu-$ ON *uısınn*, Ir *fíu* 'worthy' W *gwıw* etc § 24,3 *$*wēsu-$ After a dıphthong + *s* the final vowel dısappeared ın Ir but remaıned ın Brıt Ir *gae* 'spear' W *gwayw* etc § 34,3 *$*g'haıso-$

(4) A final vowel coalesced with a preceding unaccented vowel
giving in Ir a short vowel Ir 1 sg *ro-cuala*, 3 sg *ro-cuale* 'heard'
W *cigleu* 1 sg *-owa*, 3 sg *-owe*, Ir pl of *u*-stems *gníme* 'deeds',
cf G *Lugoues* § 18

§ 96 The final vowel of the first element of a compound has
been dropped in neo-Celt G *Πεννο-ουινδος* MIIr *cendfind*, *cen-
and* 'white-headed' W *penwyn* This was caused by the accent
The final consonant of a preverb remained in a loose cpd OIr *as-
biur* 'I say' **eks-bherō* The same phenomenon occurs in some
other combinations *mos-ricub-sa* 'I shall soon come', *ass-a-thóib*
'from his side But when the word stands apart the final con-
sonant is dropped *mó* 'soon', *a-bás* 'from death'

§ 97. (Initials) In the modern languages there is frequently
found a vacillation between an initial *n-* and an initial vowel, this
is usually due to an old *n-* being wrongly taken as part of the pre-
ceding article The contrary transference of a preceding *-n* to a
word beginning with a vowel is less common OIr *nathir* 'snake'
MnIr *nathair neimhe* ('adder) and *athair neimhe* OManx *arnœyf*,
now *ard-nieu* MIBr *azr* MuBr *aer*, Manx *edd* 'nest' MnIr *nead*
§ 27, Ir *nem* 'heaven MnIr *neamh* W Co *nef* MIBr *neff*, *eff* MnBr
eñv Gk *νέφος* cloud W *neddyf* 'adze' MIBr *ezeff* besaigue'
MnBr *eze*, *neze*, cf Ir *snad-* to cut' Non-original *n-* Br *noabrenn*
'sky' W *wybren* OCo *huibren* gl nubes

IV Accent.

§ 98 The accent was free in prim IE and could fall upon
any syllable It was predominantly musical In neo-Celt as in
most IE languages it was replaced by regular accentuation systems
The surest trace of the original IE accent is found in the different
treatment of IE *-i* in G *ande-*, *are-*, *ate-* and *ambi-* Skr *ádhi*,
pári áti beside *abhi* Gk *τέρι* *ετι* beside *ἀμφί* There are no mater-
ials for knowing the rules of the accent in prim Celt The accent
in Gaulish can be deduced from the later development of G place-
names in French, though this may have been to some extent con-
fused by the Latin accent According to Meyer-Lubke (Sitz -Ber
der Kais Ak der W in Wien, phil -hist Kl (XLIII II) the G
accent frequently fell on the ante-penult *Tricasses Bodiócasses*,
Durocasses Fr *Troyes*, *Bayeux Dreux Bituriges Caturiges* Fr

Bourges, *Chorges*, *Balódurum* Fr *Balleure*, *Cambóritum* Fr *Chambort*, *Eburóuices* Fr *Evreux* But the penult and perhaps the ultima could also be accented *Nemáusus* Fr *Nemours* (beside *Némausus* Fr *Nîmes*), *Areláte, Condáte* Fr *Arlet, Condé* (beside *Cóndate* Fr *Condes*) This may represent a trace of the free IE accent On the contrary, in Brit and in Ir the accent rules have become mechanical

The Irish Accent.

§ 99 The accent in Ir as a rule falls on the first syll This rule does not apply in the case of later coalesced groups such as *do-ˡgrés* 'always', *aˡlaile* 'the other' There are special considerations in the case of the finite verb when it is joined to a preverb The following serve as preverbs (1) the IE preverbs, which for the most part also serve as prepositions with nouns, (2) the relative prepositions (OIr *foran-idparar* 'on which is offered'), (3) the negatives, (4) the interrogative particle *in* The combination preverb (preverbs) + verb is normally accented on the first syllable of the second element (whether preverb or verb) *as-ˡbiur* I say', *niˡepur* 'I say not' But the accent falls on the first preverb in the following cases (1) in the imperative (*do-ˡbeir* 'he gives', *ˡtaibred* 'let him give'), (2) occasionally in a relative subject or object clause and in answers A preverb-verb combination changes considerably in form with the change in accent This is not exclusively due to the accent, but for the most part to the fact that from a very early period the accented preverb has been felt to form a close compound with the following element (preverb or verb), while the proclitic was felt to form a loose compound Thus in *as-biur* *ni epur* the vowel changes are due to the accent, but the different development of the consonant group (**eks-bherō*) was caused purely by the different morphological analysis The assimilation which occurred medially in a consonant group did not take place between two separate words Also the removal of hiatus medially in a form like *frisateicomnacht* 'to which it has been imparted' does not occur in *doécomnacht* 'has been imparted' Further no word can be put between the accented preverb and the following element, while a proclitic preverb is frequently separated from the verb or the accented preverb by infixed elements (particularly pronominal forms) This difference again is not due to the accent

The Ir system of accentuation of the preverbs is inherited

from an older period Cf Russ *vos-prí-njal* 'received', Gk συν-έξ-δος, παρ-έν-θες The preverb Ir *od* (IE **ud*) appears only in close cpds (it cannot be proclitic), the Russ *vy-* (IE **ūd*) cannot be proclitic in perfective verbs *vý-nes* 'he carried away'

§ 100   The sylls immediately preceding and following the accented syllable became in Ir the weakest

Two proclitic words regularly contract into one in Ir , the first remaining practically in full, the second being very much reduced This contraction occurred before the loss of final consonants in monosylls OIr *ass-a anmin* from his soul beside *a oentu* 'from unity'

A slight secondary accent fell on the 2 nd (4th etc) syll after the main accent The (new) final syllable has always been comparatively well retained (its vowel was never lost, and if it was absolutely final its quality persisted) Ir *cosmil* 'like' (vowel lost between *s* and *m*), *écsamil* 'unlike' (vowel lost between *c* and *s*), *écsamlus* (vowels of the orig 2nd and 4th sylls lost), nom pl *námait* 'enemies' acc pl *náimtca*, *álind* 'beautiful' compar *áildiu*

§ 101 **The effects of the accent in Ir** are shortening and loss of unaccented vowels, modification of their quality towards *a* or the timbre of the following consonant various modifications of the consonants of unaccented syllables These effects point to a markedly intensive accent

The vowels of unaccented syllables in Ir.

§ 102 **(Shortening of long vowels)** The long vowels were shortened in Ir in all sylls not bearing the main accent Ir *marcach* 'rider' MlW *marchawr*, Ir *teg-lach* 'family' cpd of *sluag* 'host' Shortening also occurs in proclitics Ir *cach* 'every' (adj) *cách* W *pawb*

But after these shortenings had taken place there again arose some long vowels in unaccented sylls (1) when a stop coalesced with a preceding vowel (Ir *beccán* 'small' § 36, *anál* 'breath' § 62), (2) in the second member of a cpd by analogy with the simplex (Ir *com-lán* full', *in-gnáth* 'wonderful'), (3) in later borrowings (Ir *oróit* MnIr *óráid* 'prayer', Ir *altóir* 'altar', the suffix MlIr *-óc* MnIr *-óg* borr from Brit MlW *-awc*)

§ 103. **(Loss of vowel in post-tonic syllables.)** The vowels in the orig second and fourth sylls (when medial) disappeared in Ir Ir

céssad 'suffering', g *césto*, further exx § 100. The same rule applies to vowels in hiatus — through loss of *w* OIr *oac* 'young', but *óclachdi* gl iuuenalis, *ócmil* gl tiro, MIr *Hériu* 'Ireland' (W. *Iwerddon* Gk Πιέριος Πιερία), OIr *coir* 'fit', but *córe* 'fitness, peace' MIr *córa*, — through loss of other consonants Ir *scian* 'knife', pl *scena*, *iarn* iron , *ein-bás* death by iron'

If a sonant stood in the syll whose vowel was lost, it became syllabic between two consonants and ultimately became a vowel + sonant Ir *gnímrad* 'deed' (the suffix = W *-red* in *gweithred* etc), dat pl *deg-gnimarthaib* 'good deeds', *comlán comalnad*, *in-gnáth ingantach* (*nt* < *nþ*) Before homorganic explosives the nasal remained non-syllabic (and often disappeared) *álind* beautiful' *áildiu* 'more beautiful' *díltud* denial' **dihludud* from *di-* + *slondud* 'designation', *ecndairce* invisible, absent' (**n-k'om-dork'i-*)

The vowel of the second syll , if this syll was the orig IE penult, remained after the loss of the IE last syll , whether a svara-bhakti vowel developed between following consonants or not Ii *tarathar, arathar* § 62 , *essamin* 'fearless' W *eofn*

The loss of the vowel can be prevented by analogy OIr acc pl *marcachu* 'riders' partly by analogy with the cases having two sylls and partly with acc pl *pecthachu* sinners', where *a* stood in the orig third syll (cf *peccad* 'sin'), *hiressach* believing' by analogy with *hiress* 'belief'

Unaccented vowels long by compensation and unaccented long vowels in borrowings (§ 102) remain even in weak sylls OIr *cenéle* 'a kind'

§ 104 (Loss of non-initial vowels in pretonic syllables) In disyl-labic and trisyllabic groups the vowel of the second syll frequently drops in Ir OIr *cut séitchi* with thy wife', *dar-m-chenn* for me' (lit "over my head"), conjunct forms of the verb to be' *imb i-céin fa in-accus* 'whether it be far or near', *ro-p-sa omnia* 'I have been all things', *ní-r-bu faás* was not vain', copula + preposition + poss pronoun *is n-an aicci* Wb 5b 27 'it is in their fosterage' In a four-syllabled group the second and the fourth vowel drop *con-di-p follus* 'so that it can be clear' (*-di-* IE **idhe,* Skr *iha* 'here') Monosyll proclitics which do not combine with others drop their vowel in hiatus *m-óinur* I alone' (lit "my oneman''), MIr *c-aidche* 'till night', this is no consequence of the accent but a continuation of an IE habit

§ 105 **(Loss of initial vowels in pretonic syllables; MIr. loss of the first proclitic syllable).** In OIr the vowel of the first or only proclitic syll can drop only when initial *fír n-uile* Wb 16b 22 'the whole (*an uile*) is true', *na rúna* Wb 8d 19 'the mysteries' This is comparatively rare in OIr but becomes very frequent in MIr   OIr *imm-a-lle* MIr *malle* 'together', OIr *inn-a-dochum* 'to him' MIr *na dochum*, prep + art MIr *sin, sind* = OIr *i-sin, i-sind* 'in the' MnIr *san*, prep + pron MIr *co-m thogairm* 'summoning me' (prep *oc*), *cá rád* 'saying it' = OIr *occ-a rád*   Further still consonants also dropped OIr *dano* 'indeed' MIr *no*, OIr *dochum* 'to' MnIr Sc *chum*

MIr loss of the initial vowel of the only proclitic syll   *sand-sin* 'it is there' = *is and-sin*   Proclitics with initial consonants are also reduced, and comparatively meaningless unaccented preverbs were eventually lost in MnIr or retained in the form *do*   MnIr *dochím* or *chim* 'I see' OIr *ad-cíu*   OIr perfect preverb *ro* appears in MnIr as *do*, only the orig accented *ro* is retained   MnIr *gur chaill* 'that he lost', *níor chaill* 'he did not lose'   Preverbs other than *do* are only exceptionally retained in MnIr   The prep *do* is reduced in formal combinations   MnIr *a-bhaile* 'homewards', Arr /xūə šē xoLə/ 'he went to sleep' *a chodladh*

§ 106 **(1) (The quality of the retained non-final unaccented vowels)**   The short and long vowels and diphthongs in post-tonic sylls in Ir were usually reduced to -*a*-   OIr *apstal* 'apostle' < Lat *apostolus*, OIr *as-lru-bart* 'he has said' *as-lbert* 'he said', OIr *humal* 'humble' < Lat *humilis*, OIr 3 pl *do-berat* 'they give'   IE **bheront*   But if the preceding consonant was palatalized (by phonetic development or by anal) -*e* appears instead of -*a*-   OrI *mulenn* 'mill' MnIr *muileann* < Lat *molina*   Before a palatalized consonant the treatment is -*i*-, before a rounded consonant -*u*-   OIr *pridchimm* 'I preach' cf W *caraf* 'I love' (ending -*m-i*), OIr *cubus* 'conscience' (**k'om-* 'with' + *u*-stem Ir *fiuss* 'knowledge')

Deviations from these rules are mostly due to analogy   *écoscc* 'appearance' (cf *cosc*)

(2) (The quality of the OIr svarabhakti vowels).   The OIr svarabhakti vowel is normally *a*   OIr *immarmus* 'transgression' (*imm-ro-midiur* I transgress'), OIr pl *ingainti* gl inusitata Ml 115 b 4   OIr sg *ingnad* 'wonderful' (*gnáth* 'usual, known')   It is *i* in cases of *i*-umlaut, and *u* or *o* in cases of *u*-umlaut, and *u* or *o*

regularly in the last syll after a labial OIr *cobir* 'help' *k'ombhri-,
OIr *ess-amin* 'fearless Celt *eks-obnis   A retained *u* or *o* can
cause *u*-umlaut OIr *ecolso*, g of *eclis* 'church', OIr *sonortu*, com-
par of *so-nirt* 'strong', a lost *u* has caused it in OIr *cethorcha* '40'
*k^u*etruk'omts*   A labial has caused *o* in OIr *lobor*, *lobur* 'weak',
domun 'world' etc   *cobuir* = *cobir* Wb 20c 10

§ 107. (The quality of unaccented vowels in MIr. and MnIr.). In
OIr the unaccented vowels had a distinct quality, and not only
o, *u*, *i*, but also *a* and *e* had the same sounds in unaccented as in
accented syllables But a weakening can be observed in the last
part of the OIr period (*e* and *i* after non-palat consonants being
written *ae* > *a* and *ai*) In the MIr period the same rule prevailed
as in MnIr , all short unaccented vowels being pronounced ə

Consequently the traditional orthography became uncertain
in MIr Thus OIr nom *céle* 'fellow', g *céli* dat *céliu* are all written
céle or *céli* indiscriminately (in addition to the traditional way)
The vowel ə is written *e* or *i* after a palat consonant, after a non-
palat consonant *a* (*o*, *u*, before a palat consonant *ai*, *ui*) In MnIr
i is written only before a palat consonant, by the rule caol lé caol
agus leathan le leathan (§ 168), after a non-palat consonant *a* (*ai*
before a palat consonant) is written, after a palat consonant
finally *e* (*ea* before a non-palat , *i* before a palat consonant) MnIr
cumhachta 'power' *teagasg* 'teaching' MIr *tecosc* *leabhar* 'book'
g *leabhair*, *céile* 'fellow , *deisceabal* 'disciple', *airgead* 'silver' g *airgid*

The consonants of unaccented syllables in Ir

§ 108. Pretonic tenues (at the beginning of prochtics) became
mediae The change *t* > *d* took place before the fixing of OIr
orthography , the change *k* > *g* was later, being first written spora-
dically in MIr then regularly in MnIr OIr *co* 'to', *co n-* 'with'
MnIr *go* (but OIr *cuccum* 'to me' MnIr *chugam*), OIr *cach* 'every'
(adj) MnIr *gach* (but when independent OIr MnIr *cách*), OIr
cia, *ce*, *ci* 'though' MnIr *gidh*, OIr *do* 'thy', but *t-esérge* 'thy re-
surrection', OIr preverb unacct *do-*, *do-m-meil* 'which he consumes'
accented *to-*, *to-mil* 'consume (thou)' (the preposition never has *t-*,
in the oldest OIr pretonic *t-* is found with verbs *tu-thegot* '(they)
who come', *tu-esmot* '(they) who pour forth'

§ 109. *f* and *v* (wr *b* in OIr) at the beginning of prochtics are
interchangeable An *f* comes from *b* in *fa* 'or', which is really a

form of the verb to be' *im-b i-céin fa in accus* Wb 23 b 41 'whether
it be far or near', *fa-nacc* 'or not', but *ba* in *im-ba bás ba bethu* Wb
23 b 32 'be it death or be it life' Cf OIr *fer fas sruithiu* Thes II
258 31 'a man who is older' On the contrary *v* comes from *f* in
the pronoun *for, far* 'your', where *f* is from lenited *sw*, the form
bar occurs in Wb only after a prep (*oc, ar, tri, fri, i, do*), the
change therefore really took place medially in a prochtic group

§ **110** In prochsis a final, medial and apparently an initial
consonant loses its palatahzation To the accented pieverbs *aith-*,
air- correspond prochtically *ad-, ar-*, OIr *maith* 'good' *mad-genatar*
'bene nati sunt', OIr *samail* 'likeness' *amal* 'as' (also *amail* in
Cam and the first hand of Wb), *ocuis* 'and' Cam elsewhere OIr
ocus acus, OIr *is* 'is' (MnIr with *s*, *š* only before certain pronouns
MnIr An */šē/ =* OIr *is hé*) from **est-i*, OIr *aile* *ind ala* 'the one,
one of the two', OIr accented preverb *di-* prochtic *do-*, OIr *cen*
'without' MnIr *gan* This change can be disturbed by analogy, in
Wb *in-tain* 'when' is more frequent than *in-tan*, but in Mllr *intan*

Similarly a final consonant loses its rounding in a prochtic
OIr *cinn rehe* 'after a time' Wb 4c 11, but accented *ciunn* as dat
of *cenn* 'end'

§ **111.** In prochsis *l* became *r* (to some extent in OIr, but
mostly later) OIr (Wb) *arele* 'another', neut *araill* beside the
more frequent *alaile, alaill*, this is a case of dissimulation OIr *ol*
'inquit quoth' (*ol in macc* said the son) appears in Ml sporadically
in the form *ar*, Mllr *for, or, ar, bar* In MnIr this word has been
confused with the prep *ar arsan rí* 'said the king', *arsa Tomás*
'said Thomas', *arsa mise* 'said I', the form *arsa* has ultimately been
regarded as a verb

Where the change *l > r* has not been caused by dissimulation
or analogy with other words, it first appears in Mllr, OIr *olchene*
'besides' Mllr *archena*, OIr *ind-ala* Mlli *indara* (MnIr *an dara*
'the second'), OIr *amal* 'as' Mllr MnIr *mar*

§ **112.** Lenited *n* became *r* in prochsis before non-homorganic
consonants OIr *main-bad* 'if it were not' Mllr *marbad*

§ **113** In prochsis forms that were at first due to the working
of sandhi-rules (lenition) have become standard forms The lenited
form of *s* has been generalized, the *h* is entirely lost before vowels
Examples the definite article (*in, ind, a n-* etc, *s-* is retained after
non-leniting preps *for-sin* etc), *amal* 'as' § 110 (accented *samlum-*

sa 'as I'), *ıt* 'are' *sent-ı   *sw-* appears as *f* ın *for, far* 'your' un-
compounded *sethar,* cf *sıb* 'you' W *chwı* etc

In the case of the other consonants the non-lenited forms were
generalized, thus *cach, cech* 'every' (adj), *mo* 'my' always non-
lenited   But the accented forms are subject to lenition   *cách*
'everyone' dat *do chách, t-* 'thy' before a vowel (*tussu th-óenur*
'thyself alone', but *-t* ıs not lenited after other prochtics   *dı-t gnı-
maıb* 'of thy deeds', cf *dı-mm œs* 'after me', *hua-m m-óıntaıd* 'from
my society')   Accented prepositions with suffixed personal pro-
nouns may be lenited

There are exceptions ın OIr to the non-lenitıng of prochtics
act ropo chon ctarceırl 'provided ıt be with ınterpretation Wb 13 a 26

Prochtıc words are as a rule not subject to eclıpsıs, v § 188

§ **114** Consonants are lost or assimilated ın prochsıs (and
enclısıs) ın some cases accordıng to rules which do not apply to
accented or post-tonic syllables of ındependent accented words

(1) Medial or final *þ* disappears ın prochsıs Accented preverb
frıth- prep *frı* 'against', *leth* side' *la* 'with', *sethar for, far, bar*
'your', *athar* 'nostrum *(cechtaı n-athaı* 'each of us') *ar* 'our'

(2) Beside prochtıc *ocus, acus* 'and' ıs found ın MIIr *ıs, s* (MnIr
as, s beside *agus)* A sımılar contraction ıs found ın MIIr *út* 'yon-
der' OIr *ucut*

(3) Further weakenıng of consonants ıs found ın MIIr and
MnIr ın prochsıs Final *n* or *nn* frequently disappears OIr *nı-
con-* 'not at all' MIIr *noco* Sc *cha* 'not' (before a vowel *chan cha'n*
'eıl 'ıs not'), MnIr *Máıre nı Laoghaıre* 'Mary daughter of L ' to
OIr *ıngen* 'daughter MnIr Aır *níīú* § 35,9 Final *n(n)* of the
art disappears often MnIr *sa* = OIr *ı-sınd (sa bhaıle* 'at home'),
such forms already occur ın MIIr *a-fecht-sa ı-fecht-sa =* OIr *ın
fecht so* 'thıs tıme'

The British Accent.

§ **115** The accent ın the modern British languages as ın Irısh
ıs ıntensıve In Welsh and ın the Breton dialects of Tréguıer,
Leon and Cornouaılle ıt falls on the (present) penult (the IE ante-
penult), the same applied ın the case of Cornısh In the Breton
dialect of Vannes the accent falls on the (present) final syllable (the
IE penult), and thıs must have once been the case ın all British
languages

There are exceptions to the above rule   (1) Disyll words be-
ginning with *y* + *s* + cons which are late borrowings (from mono-
sylls) are accented in W on the final syll   *y|sgrech* 'cry' (cf E
screech, v Pokorny Streitberg-Festschrift 293f), *y|stên* 'pitcher'
(ME *stene*), *y|stôl* 'stool' *y|stryd* street' *y|stūr* 'noise' (cf E dial
stour 'commotion') In such words the *y*- is often omitted, generally
so when spoken But in genuine W words and old Lat borrowings
the accent keeps the general rule *|ysgol* (MIW *yscawl*) 'ladder' Lat,
scāla, *|ysgub* § 78 2 , *|ysbaid* 'space (of time) Lat *spatium*, *|Ystwyll*
'Epiphany' Lat *stēlla* With *y|ttôr* store' contrast *|ystor* 'resin'
< Lat *storax* (W *y|sgrîn* 'shrine, coffin cannot therefore be an
old direct borr from Lat *scrīnium*) (2) Some disyll cpds in W
with the prefix *ym*- are sometimes accented on the final syll
ym|wêl 'visits', *ym|drîn* 'to treat' (also *|ymwel, |ymdrin*) Difference
of accent is sometimes accompanied by difference of meaning
ym|ddū̆ryn 'to bear child', *|ymddwyn* 'to behave', *ym|lâdd* to tire
one's self', *|ymladd* 'to fight' (3) A final syll is accented when it
is a contraction (due to loss of intervoc -*g*-) W *gwell|had* 'improve-
ment' Br *gwell|ât*, also in W in other cases of contraction *am|gau*
'to enclose' (for *am-|gae-u*), *gwran|dawn* 'we listen (for *gwran-|daw-*
wn) (4) The final syll is accented in certain coalesced groups W
y|mhlith among' *heb|law* 'besides (prep + noun), *pryd|nawn pryn-*
|hawn 'afternoon' *Caer|dydd* Cardiff' *pen|rhaith* 'lord', Br *kres|teiz*
'midday' (*kreiz* middle , *deiz* 'day'), *Kreiz|ker* "middle of the town"
(a church in St Pol-de-Léon) *antro|noz* 'next day' (noun + dep
genitive) In disyll cpds in W the position varies as the cpds are
close (usually on the penult) or loose (always on the ultima)
(5) Some late borrowings preserve in W their old accent *a|pêl*
'appeal *|melodi* 'melodi' *phi|losophi* philosophy' — Cf Orgraff
yr Iaith Gymraeg, pp 1—15

Effects of the accent in pretonic syllables of independent words in Brit.

§ **116** The Brit *ō* (§ 9, § 78,1) appears in MIW as *o* in the
syllables before the prim Brit accent, but as *aw* in the final syl-
lables MIW *pechawt* sin', pl *pechodeu*, *brawt* 'brother', pl *brodyr*,
ebawl 'colt', pl *ebolyon*, *marchawc* 'knight', pl *marchogyon*, *clotfawr*
'celebrated', superl *clotforaf*, *llawn* 'full *lloneit* 'fulness'

§ **117** (1) Loss of a short vowel in a medial (usually open)

syll before the prim Brit accent occurs in all Brit languages
W *arial* 'vigour' § 35,9 Cf Latin borrowings, W *melltith male-
dictio*, W *ciwdod* 'tribe' MlBr *queudet* 'town' Lat acc *ciuitāt-em*
In W *esgob* OCo *escop* Br *eskop* from Lat *episcopus* the Lat
accent has been replaced by the Brit accent But there are ex-
ceptions among the Lat borrowings W *anifail* Co pl *anevalles*
Br *aneval* Lat *animal*, W *ymherawdr* (later *ymerawdwr*) MlBr
impalaezr MnBr *impalaer* Lat *imperātor* § 83,4

(2) Loss of the vowel of an initial syllable when pretonic occurs
rarely, and only before sonants W *drws* 'door' to Ir *dorus*, W
crydd 'shoemaker' § 33

Note   For loss of vowels in the Br dialect of Vannes v § 120

(3) A pretonic vowel can be dropped owing to the new accent
MnW *clomen* 'dove' for *colomen*, *Clynnog* for *Celynnog*, MnW
gwrando MlW *gwarandaw* *cymydog* 'neighbour', pl *cymdogion*,
cristion 'Christian', pl *cristnogion*, *Cristnogaeth* 'Christianity' This
is particularly frequent in spoken Welsh *'kmera' cymeraf* 'I take',
/Knarvon/ Caernarfon, *isgota, pysgota* to fish'

§ 118   The W vowels */u/* and */y/* (wr *w y*) in non-final sylls
become *ə* (wr *y*) W *drws* 'door' *drysor* 'doorkeeper', *drysau* 'doors'
dwrn 'fist' pl *dyrnau, dyrnod* 'blow', *dyn* man' */dyn/* pl *dynion*
/dənjon/, *dynolaeth* 'humanity' *'dənoljaypl*, *dydd* 'day' *,dyd* pl
dyddiau /dədjay/, *dyddiol* 'daily' */dədjol/* The rule therefore is
y = /y/ in the final syll   *y — ə* in non-final sylls

There are few exceptions to this rule some of which may be
old, such as *gwywo* 'to wither' (*y = /y/*) possibly also *amrywio* to
vary', *amrywiaeth* 'variety', others being modern (and varying in
dialects), such as *bywiog* 'lively' (N W */-əw-/*, S W */-iw-/*, but
bywyd 'life' everywhere has *,-əw-/*)   Also *y =- /y/* before a vowel
dyall 'to understand', *lletya* 'to lodge'   An *ə/* sometimes becomes
/u/ before */u/* in the following syllable   *mwnwgl* 'neck   mynwgl,
cumud* 'commote'   *cymwd* Br *kombod* 'compartment'   (f also
cwrwg(l) 'coracle', *cumwl* 'cloud'   This takes place frequently in
dialects   *cwmwys* (SW) *cymwys* 'fit, suitable', *bwgwth* (SW)
bygwth 'to threaten', *twlwth* (occasionally, usually *tylwth* SW)
tylwyth 'family'

§ 119   MlW *ei, eu* in the final syll of accented words appears
in MnW as *ai, au*   MlW *meint* size'   MnW *maint*, MlW *deu*
'two'   MnW *dau*   But *-eu* remains in the proclitics *eu* 'their', *neu*

'or', and ιn cases where *eu* ιs a contraction of *e-u* (through loss of
-*g-* usually) MnW *dι-lleu* 'to delete', *cyflleu* 'to place', *creu* 'to
create', or of *eu-u   amheus* 'doubtful' Even ιn such cases however
the change to -*au* has sometimes taken place *qwau* 'to knit', also
gweu MlW *gweu, hau* to sow' MlW *heu* The enclitic *ynteu*
'then' ιs alwavs so written, but *yntau* 'he too'

    eι remaιns ιn fιnal sylls befoιe certaιn consonant groups wιth
r or *l   neιdr* 'snake', *beιrdd* 'poets', *meιrw* (pl) 'dead', *geιlu* 'calls',
also ιn *ceιr* 'cars' pl of *car, ιeιr* 'hens' pl of *ιâr, geιst* 'bitches' pl
of *gast, deιl* 'he carrιes', *lleιll* '(the) others Sιmilarly where -*eι* ιs
a contraction of *e-ι   ceιr* 'ιs found', *ceιd* 'was found , *bwy|teιg* 'voιa-
cιous , *Cymlreιg* 'Welsh'

    **§ 120. (Effects of the accent ιn ιndependent words ιn the dialect
of Vannes)** The accent has produced varιous modifications (εsp loss
or weakenιng of vowels) ιn the pretonιc svlls ιn the dialect of
Vannes V *klom* 'dove' OIr *ιolum ,* V *berder* bιothers' (sg *brcr*)
Léon *breudeur* (sg *breur*), V *menal* 'sheaf Léon *malan*, V *bean*
swιft' Léon *buan* V *benal* 'broom' Leon *balan* A dιphthong
mav become a monophthong V *estιk* 'nιghtιngale' Léon *eostιk* ,
V *rantelch* (also *rouantelιh*) Léon *rouantelez* 'kιngdom

Effects of the accent ιn proclisιs ιn Brit

    § 121 (1) In prochsιs the same vowel reductιons occur as
ιn pιetonιc sylls of ιndependent words Thus W *pob* 'everv'
(adj) *pawb* everyone (pron), cf § 116 A pιochtιc *a* for *ā* occurs
ιn W *rhag* § 9,2 The dιphthong *eu* remaιns ιn W *eu* theιr', *neu*
or cf § 119

    (2) An orιg *o* (or *c, ι*) ιs reduced to *ə* ιn pιochsιs W pref *cyf-,
cyn-, cy-* Co *kc-* etc (also *co- co-lenvel* 'to fill') Bι *ker-, ken-* etc
lι *con-, com-* Lat *cum- com-*, MlW preverb *ry* Co *re* OBr *ro*
MlBι MnBι *ra rc* Ir *ro* OSl *pro*, W pref *dy-* Co *de-* Br *dι-*
W *dy-fod* to come Co *devos* Br *dι-redek* 'to run' Ir *do-*

    Note 1 When the forms heιe treated have the characteι of accented
monosyllables the vowel ιs pronounced not *ιə* but *lιι* ιn W   *cyn* wιth the
equative ι/*kyn*/, not /*kənι*/ *rhy* wιth an adj as *rhy dda* too good' (/*ιy*/ not
/*rə*/), the pιep OW *dι dy* 'to' MlW *y* MnW *ι* (Co *the* OBr *do* MlBι *da,
de* MnBι *da*)

    Note 2 The reductιon of pr Celt ***kom* (whιch orιgιnated ιn loose
verbal cpds) takes place even ιn noun cpds ιn W , but ιn Co and Br only
when the meanιng of the prefιx ιs clearly felt — thus OBr (wιth *a* represen-

ting the reduced vowel) *camadas* gl habilis OW *cimadas* gl par MnW
cyfaddas 'fitting' OIr *comadas*   Otherwise *o* remains in Co and Br   Co
compys 'straight' Br *kompoez* 'smooth' W *cymwys* 'fitting' (SW dial also
'straight') from *pwys* 'weight'

W *fy* 'my' Br *ma, va* *meme § 86   — OW article *ir* MIW
MnW *yr, y* Co *an en* MlBr *an, en* MnBr *an, ar*   — Also certain
diphthongs were reduced to /ə/ W *pa, py* (MIW) Co *py, pe* Br
pe W *pwy* 'who' Co *pyw* Br *piou*, W *try-* Co Br *dre* through'
W *trwy*

§ 122. Initial tenues of prepositions became mediae   OW
cant 'with' MIW *can gan* MnW *gan* OCo *cans* MlCo *gans* Br *gant*
§ 64,3 (but in W after *a* 'and', *na* 'nor' *a chan, na chan* generally,
as prefix always *can-, canfod* to perceive'), W *drwy, trwy* 'through'
Co Br *dre*

§ 123. Consonants are frequently lost or modified in prochtic
words in Brit as in MlIr and MnIr (cf § 114) OIr *amal* 'as' (MIW
fal MnW *fel*) Co *avel* Br *evel* W *hafal* 'similar', MIW *y* MnW *i*
'to' from OW *di* § 121 n 1   In personal names W *mab* 'son' became
fab and then *ab* *Peredur ab Efrawq* (further *ab Owain* became
Bowen, ab Howel became *Powel* etc)   — In W *r* drops before a
consonant   OW *ait ir* (before vowels and consonants), later *yr*
(before vowels, *i* and *h*), *y* (before consonants, *w* and *j*)   But *r* re-
mains always when *y* is elided after a vowel, as *i r pen* to the end'
MIW *erllynedd* last year', MnW *y llynedd, llynedd* Br *war-lene*
§ 44   Ir *fh* against OW *qurt* (*t* = *þ*) MIW MnW *wrth* Co *worth,
orth*, but with the verb-noun (infinitive) *ow* (*ow crenne* 'shivering'),
MlBr *oz, ouz* but with the infinitive to form a pres participle
wr *o* (since mid 17th cent)

Effects of the accent in post-tonic syllables of independent words in Brit

§ 124. (Welsh vowels after the accent) (1) MIW *aw* (from *ā, ō*)
in post-tonic sylls gave MnW *o*   MIW *marchawc* 'rider' MnW
marchog, an(h)awdd anodd difficult'   There are some exceptions,
such as compounds with *mawr* 'great' as the final element, *enfawr,
dirfawr* 'very great', *canllaw* 'hand-rail' etc

(2) In modern spoken W the *i-* and *y-* diphthongs are regul-
arly monophthongized in final unaccented sylls   Thus standard
literary -*au* -*ai*, -*ae* are -*a* in NW and Gwentian dialects, -*e* else-

where   *pethau* 'things' */peþa/*, */peþe/*, *bugail* 'shepherd' */bigal/*, */bigel/*, *gadael* 'leave'   */gadal/* (*/gatal/*), */gadel/* (*/gatel/*), unaccented -*oe* has generally become *o* in SW   *miloedd* 'thousands' */milod/*, cf NW */ədod/* 'was' *ydoedd*   Final *ai* occasionally becomes *i*, as */eril/* 'others' *eraill*, NW */k'imint/* 'as many' *cymaint* (SW */kəment/*)

§ 125   Post-tonic *e* becomes *a* in the Arfon and Gwentian dialects */pentra/* village' *pentref*, */atab/* 'answer' *ateb*, */ia/* (disyll) 'yes' *ie*

§ 126   (Cornish vowels after the accent) MlCo *e* regularly becomes MnCo *a* in post-tonic syllables MlCo *yssel* low ' (W *isel*) MnCo *izal*, MlCo *eve* 'to drink' MnCo *eva*, MlCo *broder* 'brother' (*e* = svarabhakti vowel) MnCo *bredar*   Also MlCo *e* from OBrit *ō* MlCo *marrek* horseman' (MlW *marchawc*) MnCo *marhag*, MlCo *pehes*, *peghes* and also *peghas*

§ 127. (Breton vowels after the accent) In Br various diphthongs have become monophthongs when they come after the accent   Old *ow* becomes */u/* (wr *ou*) in post-tonic sylls , but when accented the diphthong remains (wr *aou*), the Vannes dialect has *eu* (i e 'ou/) always Br *ankou* death' V *ankeu* Co *ancow* § 8 1   — The diphthong *ae* becomes *e*, the noun suffix Ir -*echt* W -*aeth* Co -*eth* Br -*ez* V -*eh*, -*eah* — MlBr *az* + liquid which became *ae* under the accent became *a* in post-tonic sylls MlBr *alazn* breath' MnBr *halan* § 2 — The diphthong *oe* became *o* in MnBr in post-tonic sylls MlBr *nadoez* needle' MnBr *nadoz*, MlBr *cantoell* MnBr *kantol* light — OBrit *ō* (IE *ā*, *ō*) which gave MlBr MnBr *'o'* (wr *eu*) in an accented syll appears as *e* post-tonically (V has *e* everywhere) MlW *pechawt* sin' MlBr *pechet* MnBr *pec'hed* MlW *marchawc* horseman' MlBr *marchek* MnBr *marc'hek* W *lhaws* 'many' MlBr *lies* MnBr *liez* — The old ending -*ion* became Br -*ien* after the accent OBr *natrol-ion* gl regulosis MlBr *mib-ien* 'sons'

§ 128. (Consonants in post-tonic sylls in W., Co , Br) For lenited *m* in post-tonic sylls v §75 n 2 (MlBr *pidiff* to pray' *bezaf* 'to be', *bihanaff* smallest' MnBr *pidi*, *beza*, *bihana*, but V *bihaññañ* etc) Most consonant modifications in post-tonic positions are comparatively late

In MnW -*h*- generally disappears except when it immediately precedes the accent *brenin* king' *brenhines* queen' pl *brenhinesau*, *eang* 'wide' *ehangder* expanse' pl *eangderau*

V. Quantity.

§ 129 In primitive IE quantity was not mechanical and was independent of neighbouring sounds and the accent This old quantitative system has remained in Ir , with partial disarrangements, to this day It also remained in Gaulish In Brit it must have persisted until the Roman period, but ultimately it was mechanically fixed in accordance with neighbouring sounds and the accent

Note In OIr a long vowel was denoted sometimes by doubling more frequently by the sign ´, which however is frequently omitted   In MnIr ´ is used to denote a long sound in Sc   is used – In OW and OBr there was no sign of quantity   In MnW ⁻ is placed above a long vowel when necessary, ' to denote a short vowel ´ to denote the accent   In Co there are no quantity signs (Lhuyd frequently marks the quantity) - For further details v VKG I 29]f Thurneysen Handb §§ 25 52 (for Ir), Ozgraff vr Laith Gymraeg pp 15 23 36

The partial disarrangements in the old quantitative system

§ 130. The IE. long diphthongs (i e the *w-, j-*, hyuid-, and nasal-diphthongs with the first element long) were shortened in Celt W *gwynt* wind' Co *gwyns* Br *gwent* Lat *uentus* Ski *rānt-* 'blowing' The shortening in Celt is later than the loss of a nasal before e, thus it has not occurred in Ir *mís*, gen of *mi* month' W *mis* OCo *mis* Br *miz* § 26,10 W *traws* 'adverse cross', *ar draws* across Co *tres* froward', *trus* thwart Br *treuz* 'de travers' Cf also long *w*-diphthongs before s § 13 2

§ 131 **Shortening in unaccented syllables** took place in Ir § 102 Examples of final sylls in § 92, § 95 In the Brit languages long vowels were treated in the same way in unaccented as in accented syllables IE *ō ū ī* in the final syll which disappeared had a different effect on the preceding syllable from that of the corresponding short vowels cf §§ 181—3

§ 132 **(Lengthening in finals.)** In accented monosyll words in Ir a final vowel is lengthened Ir *mé* 'I' with augens *mei-sse* (i denotes timbre), *tu* 'thou' with augens *tu-ssu*, *cé* (*bethad cé* 'of this life , by analogy *in domoin chia* ZCP 7 309) cf Lat *ci-trā, sé* 'six' Lat *sex* This lengthening does not occur in unaccented words

§ 133 **Compensatory lengthening** due to the loss of a nasal in Ir has been discussed in § 70,3 The change from *a* to *ī* was due to the timbre of *a* An original *ā* had probably an *a*-like timbre (as

still in Arran), while short *a* was a pure Italian *a*　When this short
a was lengthened, the difference between it and an old *ā* became
intensified, and it assumed an *a*-like timbre, eventually becoming *ē*
Diphthongization of this *ē* (to *ia*) is rare and analogical　thus OIr
has gl 'prosilere', 3 sg subj rel of *lingid* 'leaps', inf *léim*, MIr
ciasto, 3 pl subj rel of *cingid* 'steps', cf *céim* 'a step, pace' (by
analogy with such forms as *tias* 3 sg subj rel of *tiagu* 'I go')

　§ 134.　(1) A much later compensatory lengthening occurred
in Ir due to the loss of certain explosives before sonants in the
case of all vowels and in unaccented as well as accented sylls
(a) (the vowel *a*)　Ir *ár* 'slaughter', *áirne* 'sloe', *mál* 'prince' (lost
g), *áram* 'number', *árach* 'spancel', *áilgen* 'soft' (lost *d*), *dál* 'assem-
bly', *sál* 'heel', *anál* 'breath' (lost *t*)　In a few cases the leng-
thened vowel is *ē* here also　Ir *dér* 'tear'　Ir *brén* 'putrid', *blén*
'groin' (lost *t*, W *braen blaen* require an older *a*, but Br *brein
blein* might suggest orig *e*)　(b) (the vowel *o*)　Ir *suanem* 'rope'
(lost *g*), *uan* 'lamb' (lost labio-velar), *srón* 'nose' (lost *k*)　(c) (the
vowel *u*)　Ir *brón* 'sorrow' (lost *g*), *ro-cuale* 'heard' (lost *k*)　(d) (the
vowel *e*)　Ir *fér* 'grass', *fén* 'waggon' (lost *g*), *frém* 'root' (-*dm*-),
scén 'terror' (-*kn*-), *scel* 'story', *en* 'bird' (-*tl*-, -*tn*-)　(e) (the vowel *i*)
Ir *cuilén* 'cub', *muinél* 'neck', *Lén* (-*gn*-, -*kl*- -*kn*-)

　(2) The *ī* due to this compensatory lengthening alternates
with *eo*, *eu*, *iu*, the diphthongs appearing in the same circumstances
as cause IE *e* (and *i*) to become *i* (§ 178)　In these diphthongs *e*
and *i* were originally syllabic and *o*, *u* non-syllabic　Later the *e* *i*
became non-syll and *o*, *u* syllabic, giving ultimately MnIr *ō*, *ū*
with preceding palatalization　OIr *feuil* flesh' MnIr *feoil* Arr /f'ōl'/

　Exx (a) Before lost -*ū*　dat *ceneul*, *ceniul* 'race'　Before re-
tained -*u*　acc pl *beolu*, *beulu* 'lips'　(b) Before lost -*i*, -*ī*　g *feiuir*
'of a vegetable', g sg *scéuil*, *ceneóil ceniúil ceneiuil ind eiúin* 'of
the bird

　The diphthong also appears before medially retained or lost
u, *ū*, *i*, *ī*　Before lost *ī*　*feuldae* of flesh' — Before retained (though
reduced) continuations of *ī*　*do-scéulaim* gl experior (*ī*-stem　cf
3 sg *du-sceulai*), *ara-chiurat* 'they will perish' (from *ara-chrinim*)
— This diphthongization in the future tense has spread in MnIr
and has become a regular feature in a large number of future forms
MnIr *aithnim* 'I know', fut 1 sg *aitheónad*, *dibrim* 'I expel', fut
dibeorad, also in forms which in OIr had no *ē*　MnIr *árduighim*

'I exalt' fut *áirdeóchad*, *foillsighim* 'I reveal' fut *foillseóchad* etc

The diphthong (*eo, eu, iu*) also alternates analogically with *ē* which does not come from *e, i* + explosive *dér* 'tear' has the g and dat forms *deóir, deór* (in LL), and the irregular *eo* has in MnIr spread to the nom *deor* (fem *diuir* 'a drop'), *blén* 'groin', acc *bleoin* The diphthongization of the *ē* discussed in § 133 is equally irregular *eoit, euit* g , *éutt, éut* dat of *ét* 'jealousy', MIIr *deoit* 'teeth' The regular form however is often retained

The *ī* (> *ia* § 16) from IE *ei* was not affected by these analogical innovations, v VKG I 300

(3) Compensatory lengthening has occurred in Ir owing to the loss of IE *w* which stood immediately before a consonant as the result of a lost vowel OIr *córe* 'fitness', *oc-mil* gl tiro, MIIr *Hériu* 'Ireland' § 103 The short vowel is exceptional before *þ* in *bethu* § 92, but *tossach* 'beginning' hardly belongs to *tuus* § 63 (cf Thurneysen, Handb p 475) — For long vowels due to contraction of two vowels cf §§ 142—6

§ 135. (Later lengthening) In MnIr dialects lengthening occurs before certain consonant groups Cf such OIr written forms as *báll* 'member', pl *bóill* Wb 12 a 18 10 c 11 , *rán* 'part' 12 c 13 , *tualáng* gl potens 31 b 11 , *mílsi* acc pl 'sweet' 6 c 7 , *órd* 'ordo' 9 c 17 g *uirt*, dat *urt* 13 b 26 27

The new quantitative systems.

§ 136 (Quantity in Welsh[1]). The following are the rules for accented ultima in W   **(1)** The vowel is long **(a)** when final and also before all consonants which were short in MlW , so before MnW *d, v, g, d, b*, before orig single *r, l, n*, before *x, þ, f* s, also in SW before *l   tŷ* 'house', *bedd* 'grave' /*bēd*/, *dydd* 'day' /*dȳd*/, *cof* 'memory' /*kōv*/, *deg* 'ten' /*dēg*/, *gwlad* 'country' /*gwlād*/, *mab* 'son' /*māb*/, *gŵr* 'man' *tâl* 'pay', *dyn* 'man' /*dyn*/ *bach* 'small' /*bāx*/, *peth* 'thing' /*pēþ*/, *cloff* 'lame' /*klōf*/, *nos* 'night' /*nōs*/, *pell* 'far' (SW /*pēl* /, NW /*pel* /), **(b)** also before *llt, sg, st, sb* in NW   *gwallt* 'hair' (-*ā*-, SW -*à*-), *cwsg* sleep' (-*ū*-, SW -*ù*-), *Crist* 'Christ' (-*ī*-, SW -*i*-), *cosb* 'punishment' (-*ō*-, SW -*ò*-)

(2) The vowel is short before a consonant-group *plant* 'children', *barf* 'beard', *porth* 'gate', also before former *rr, nn* (now wr *r, n*), before *n* (from *ng*) and before *m* (which is always from

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[1] Cf Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg, pp 15 – 28

mm) *car* 'car' (*ȧ*) MlW *carr*, *glan* 'bank, shore' MlW *glann*, *pen* 'head' (*è*) MlW *penn*, *ing* 'anguish' (*i*), *llam* 'leap'   Before voiced *l* the vowel may be short where an old *g* has been lost after the *l* *dal* 'to hold' (*ȧ*), *hel* 'to hunt' (*è*), also in late borrowings (English) as *gwal* 'wall' (*ȧ*), *trol* 'cart' (*ò*)   The vowel is short before MnW *k*, *t*, *p*   *llac* 'loose' *cap* 'cap', *het* 'hat'   There are some exceptions the vowel may be long before *nt* if there is contraction of two sylls (usually due to loss of a consonant), *ânt* 'they go', *gwnânt* 'they do' (loss of *g*), *cânt* 'they shall get', also by analogy *bônt* 'they may be', *ŷnt* 'they are'   There are a few cases of the vowel being long before *n*, *m*, *l*, *t*, *p* *gwrêng* 'yeoman' (from *gŵr ieuanc* BBCS 1 15-8), *bûm* 'I have been' (for *bu-um*), *ŷm* 'we are', *bôm* 'we may be', *ffrâm* 'frame', *strôc* 'stroke', *sêt* 'seat', *siâp* 'shape' (Eng borrowings)

(3) Welsh has long and short diphthongs   The syllabic *a o, u* is long in the diphthongs *ae, oe, wy* (/*āy*/, *ōy*', '*ūy*/), and the non-syllabic element frequently disappears in spoken W   *cael* 'to have' (/*kāyl*/ or /*kāl*/), *oer* 'cold' (/*ōyr*/ or /*ōr*/), *dwyn* 'to take' (/*dūyn*/)   In SW *wy* is usually short, and this is also the case before two consonants or *m* in all parts in some words such as *pwynt* 'point' *cwymp* 'fall', *rhwystr* 'obstruction', *twym* 'warm'   The other diphthongs are usually short *llai* 'less', *flawd* 'poor', *dewr* 'brave', *lliw* 'colour', *cuwch* 'frown', *byw* 'alive', *brau* 'brittle', *haul* 'sun' *creu* 'to create' (from *cre-u*) *troi* 'to turn' (from *tro-i*) *teyrn* 'monarch' (from *te-yrn*), *rhowch* 'give' (from *rho-wch*), *ewch* 'go' (from *e-wch*), *tewch* 'be silent' (from *tew-wch*)   The diphthongs *aw*, *ew* when not followed by a consonant are long in NW *baw* 'dirt' /*bāw*', *llew* 'lion' /*lēw*', *taw* 'be silent' *tawel* silent' (*āw*)   Also *ai oi au*, when contractions of *a-ai(ei)*, *o-ai(ei)*, *a-au(eu)*, are long *gwnâi* 'he made', *rhôi* 'he gave' *plâu* 'plagues'

§ 137   In the acct penult the vowel is (1) long when followed by a syllabic vowel or *h* *eog* 'salmon', *deau* 'south, right (hand)', *traha* 'arrogance'   (2) medium (half long, short open) when followed by *d*, *r*, *g d, b*, by originally single *r*, *l*, *n*, and before *x*, *þ*, *f* *beddau* 'graves', *tafod* 'tongue', *agor* 'to open', *rhedeg* 'to run' *ebol* 'colt', *caru* 'to love' *halen* 'salt' *tanau* 'fires', *achub* 'to save', *pethau* 'things', *hoffi* 'to like' (the vowel tends to become short before *þ*, *f*), (3) short (short closed) when followed by more than one consonant *morfil* 'whale' (cpd of *môr* 'sea' + *mil* 'beast'), *tanio* to

fire' (from *tân* 'fire' + /-jo/), *tannau* '(harp) strings' (from *tant*), *glan-waith* 'clean' (*glân* + *u-*), *cannu* 'to bleach' (*can* 'white' < *cand-*), also when followed by *l, t, p, n, m, s, t*, which all derive from more than one consonant *tecaf* 'fairest' (*-qh-*), *ateb* answer' (*-dh-*), *epil* 'progeny' (*-bh-*), *angof* oblivion' (*-nc-*), *cymorth* 'help' (*-mp-*), *bysedd* 'fingers' (pl of *bys* = /*bys*/), *collen* hazel-tree' (*-sl-*), *allor* 'altar' (*-lt-*), similarly when followed by *l* which stands for double *l calon* 'heart' MIW *callon colyn* sting' (for **lol-jyn*, OW *colginn* § 37,3)

In unaccented syllables vowels and diphthongs are always short

§ 138 (Quantity in Co) According to Lhuyd's orthography quantity in Co was the same as in W Certain deviations explain themselves, thus old *ll* did not become a sprant as in W and can therefore not have had the same effect as W *l* An important variation is that the vowel of the penult followed by a consonant may be long *mānah* 'monk'

§ 139. (Quantity in Br) The quantitative system is greatly complicated in Br by the variations in the dialects The main rules are as in W long vowels before orig single consonants *mad* good', *ed* 'wheat', *skol* 'school , *leun* 'full', short vowels before consonant groups and orig long consonants *lost* 'tail , *kant* '100', *pell* 'far', *penn* head

VI. Vowel groups.

§ 140 Groups of syllabic vowels did not occur in prim IE (at least in non-compounded words) The sequence syll *i, u* + vowel, very frequent in the individual languages, was orig pronounced *ij* + vowel, *uw* + vowel, cf W *dydd* 'day' Lat *diēs*, W *clywed* 'to hear' Co *clewas* Br *klevet* Lat *cluēre* 'to be named'

If two vowels came together in composition, the hiatus was avoided in IE by contraction or elision (G *Art-albinnum* beside 'Αρτοβριγα) Elision has persisted in neo-Celt (cf § 104), but principally in close compounds of preverb and verb *fri-sa-téicomnacht* Wb 19c 8 to which it has been imparted', but *do-écomnacht* Wb 14c 33 'has been imparted'

But in Celt numerous cases of hiatus have arisen through loss of *p* (prim Celt), of *s* (in both insular Celt branches), of *w* or *j* (in Ir), of *q* (in Brit), and also through morphological occurrences (composition etc) They have largely been abolished by contraction, or more rarely by the formation of a non-syll glide sound in hiatus

Contraction in Irish.

§ 141 In post-tonic sylls hiatus has always been suppressed in Ir , and an OIr short vowel has resulted Similarly in prochsis OIr *dond óis* 'to the people' (prep *do* + dat of the art *ind*)

When the first of two vowels is at the end of a prochtic preverb or infixed pron , and the second is the initial sound of a verbal form there is no contraction in Ir Examples from the oldest metrical texts (Thes II 190—359) *ro-anacht* 'has protected', *ar-do-utacht* 'who refreshed her'

Contraction of an accented vowel with a following vowel depends on the quality of the vowels, in the case of *a* or *o* + *e* or *i*, *o* + *o*, and in certain circumstances *e* + *e* there is contraction

§ 142 *a* + *u* are contracted in dat *láu* 'day' Thes II 294 3 (wr *laithiu*, but a monosyll Thes II 319 2), in Wb *lau*, *láo* *lóu* (and *laithiu*), MnIr *lo*

ā + *ə* are not contracted in OIr Wb *áer* air', g *aiéir* (MnIr monosyll *aer*), *a* + *e* MlIr *ahél*, *aial* a breeze' In some cases *a* + *e* has become *ā* (through *a* + *a* OIr nom sg *lae* day' (disyll), *laa* (can be monosyll), MnIr *lá*

§ 143. *o* + *a* in OIr are not contracted *foaid* 'he slept' Thes II 315 6 Wb *oac* young', Mlli *óc*, MnIr *óg* Monosyll in prochsis *fua chru* under his hut' Thes II 331 4

o + *o* contracted *tuarcun* gl tribulatio Wb 1c 19 (inf of *do-org-*), OIr Wb *focre* warning' (*fo-od-qair-*)

o + *u*, not contracted in *sous* knowledge *m-atchous* if I relate' Thes II 337 2 Cf Wb *lour* 'enough *loun* provision' (MlIr MnIr *lór*, *lon*)

o + *e, i*, contracted *ara-forma* 'that [he] may assume Ml 17c3 *ar-fo-em-* (elision in *ar-f-ema* gl excipiat), g *roida* for *ro-fida* of the great forest' Thes II 290 11 In *toisech* leader Thes II 300 9 (W *tywysog* Og g TOVISACI MnIr *taoiseach*) *óitiu* 'youth' *jowentūt-s* we should not assume contraction (for the retention of the vowel after *w* would be enigmatic) but epenthesis, *toús-*, *oút-* yielding *toúš*, *out'-* (cf Pokorny, ZCP 11, 5) and ultimately *toi(w)š-*, *oi(w)t'-* No contraction in the foreign name *Noe* Thes II 300 5 and in *fut ro-it* gl fut erebora the length of a cast' Thes II 345 2 *o* + *ī*, not contracted in OIr *co-ir* fit' (W *cywir* §19) contracted in MnIr *coir*, Arr /kōr'/

§ 144 *u* does not coalesce with a following vowel *druid* wiz-

ards' Thes II 314 4 (MnIr monosyll nom sg *draoi*, g pl *druadh*)
Similarly the diphthong *au   aue* 'descendant' Thes II 295 10 (MnIr
prochtic only, *ua, ó*), *núae* 'new'   acc fem *nui* Thes II 314 2,
346 1 (MnIr monosyll *nua*)

§ 145   *e + a*, not contracted in OIr *deacht* 'godhead,'   *e +*
final *o*, contracted in *breo* 'flame , *leo* to them' — *e + e*, con
tracted in *iar* § 30, not contracted in *di míli déec* 12 000' Wb 15 b 1,
deec later became *deac* (disyll Thes II 308 17), MIIr *déc*, MnIr
déag (Arr /d'ēg/), Wb *deserce* '(Christian) love', *dearc*, dat *deirce*
MIIr *dérc* MnIr (monosyll) *dearc   déirc* charity'

§ 146   Mostly *i* is not contracted with a following vowel *o ru-
biam* 'when we are' Thes II 293 18, *triar* three persons' 331 3,
iach 'of a salmon' 345 2, *friu* against them' 340 5, *hae* 'flood'
315 4   But in prochtics an orig hiatus-group *ia* is generally mono-
syll   *dia rath* 'from her grace' Thes II 326 6   *fria sain-dán* 'at
his special art' 293 14, *liar n-athair* with our father' 305 3   From
dia, diar developed MIIr *da dai*   Disyll *dia, fria, lia* are rarer

Contraction of *i + final i* occurs in *bí* voc , g 'living' Thes II
291 17, 332 5   of *i + final u* in *i-t biu* in thy lifetime' Thes II
319 1, of *i + u* in the penult in *dos-fiuscad* he awoke' Thes II
316 2 (*di-od-sech-*, ModIr *duisgim, duisighim*)

Disyll *ia* can be distinguished from the diphthong *ia*, apart
from metre, by the fact that only disyll *ia* can be affected to *uai*,
ii or iu   et *biad* 'food', dat *biud*, g *bid*, also only disyll *ia* can
alternate with *e*   g *lega* dat pl *legib* from *haig*, Ir *iarn* iron'
ern-bas death by iron

Contraction and Hiatus-insertion in Brit

§ 147   In Welsh contraction has very extensively occurred in the
case of two vowels originally separated   W   *maes* §35, *gwellhad* §115,
ânt § 136,2 *deugain* 40 (*deu 2' + ugain* 20), *mewn* in' (monosyll)
Ir *medon* § 43, n 2   It has occurred where the two vowels were
similar, and where the second was a narrow vowel (*u, u, y, i*) or
where an *e* followed an *a* or an *o*   But in these combinations the
vowels frequently remain uncontracted as late as the 15th cen-
tury, as metre shows (v Orgraff vi Iaith Gymraeg § 3, § 38,4),
and this has persisted to the present day in formations like *broydd*
'regions', *cloyn* 'knob', *cloedig* locked'   Cf Morris-Jones, W G § 33

Unaccented *i* before a vowel sometimes became *j   erioed* 'ever'

/er-ˡjoed/ MlW *eiryoet* for prep *er* + *i* 'his' + *oed* 'since his time',
dioddef 'suffer' (/djoðev/, also /diˡoðev/)   It always remains syllabic
in disyllables *dial* 'revenge', *rhiain* 'lady', *ie* 'yes', the only ex-
ceptions are MlW *dioer* /djoyr/ (an oath)   and *diawl* 'devil' /djawl/
The plur *diefyl* is a trisyllable however

§ 148. In Cornish contraction is as extensive as in W   Co *mes*
'field' §35,1, *dor* 'earth', *horn* 'iron', MnCo *mōr* 'blackberries'   Also
i is treated generally as in W   *dyenkys* 'escaped' (trisyll), *pryes*
'spouse', *golyow* 'wounds' (trisyll , cf MlW *gweheu*), *dyowl, dyaul,
jawl* 'devil' is monosyllabic (with initial ʒ, cf Lhuyd p 54), its
plur being *dywolow*

§ 149   In Breton also contraction is practically as extensive
as in Welsh   After an initial consonant *i* remains syllabic before
a vowel MlBr *diaoul* 'devil' *priet* 'spouse , *hammou* bonds'   The
MlBr proclitic *diar* 'from', *diouz* 'from' are monosyll   In absolute
initials *i* can remain syllabic   MlBr *youll eoll* 'désir, bonne volonté'
MnBr *ioul*, cf OBr *aiul* (i e *a iul*) gl ultro   Br *ia* yes' is a mono-
syll , formerly also disyll   Disyll words with hiatus in MlBr have
often become monosyllables in MnBr

§ 150 In sentence groups /j/ has been inserted in hiatus fre-
quently in MlBr and in MnBr   MlBr *me a i-a, me y-a* 'I go', *me
y-el, me y-elo* 'I shall go', *a i-oa* 'who was   In MnBr *v* is inserted
in hiatus before the diphthongs *oa oe aoualc'h a v-oad ak a v-oelran*
'enough blood and weeping'

VII The Diphthongs.

§ 151. (Origin of diphthongs) New diphthongs arose by con-
traction of two separate vowels §§ 142—9, by vocalization of an
explosive following a vowel § 134 2   in Br by the change *l* > *w*,
cf § 64 2, in Brit from the IE group vowel + *w* or *j* + vowel
(for dissimilation of the group *ij* v § 21 2   § 24, 3), by epenthesis
§ 176, § 181 ff   In addition diphthongs have arisen out of long
vowels

(1) (a) The long vowel *ē* from IE *ei* (§ 16) in Ir before non-
palatal consonants became (*ea* and then) *ia dea* God' Thes II xv,
féal Wb 13 a 29 gl honeste = MlIr *fíal* W *gŵyl* 'modest', it is
also written *ie ier-sin* afterwards Thes II xvi — Lat *ē* and
early contracted *e* + *e* (§ 145) also became *ia* But an *ē* long by

compensation (probably a closed $\bar{e}$) was not diphthongized (§ 133, 134)

(b) The long vowel $\bar{o}$ from an IE w-diphthong and also from other sources gave in Ir the diphthong *ua* The oldest materials still had $\bar{o}$ (cf Wb prima manus *boid* 'triumph', later *buaid*) The chief glossator of Wb has the diphthong before certain consonants only the dentals *s*, *d*, *þ* *t*, *r* *l*, *n*, further before *mm* The diphthong was developing before *b* *obar* vanity' Wb 27a 9, but *uabar* 13 b 14, it does not occur before lenited *m* It is not found before back consonants *óg* 'virgin *tróg* wretched (MnIr *truagh*), *ócht* 'coldness' (Ml *huacht*, MnIr *fuacht*) Final *o* of certain preverbs with a following *o* gave sometimes *ua* sometimes $\bar{o}$ *tuarcun* gl tribulatio, *tuargab* 'has arisen', but *tobe* excision, *fócre* 'proclaim denounce' It should be noted that diphthongization occurs only in an accented syllable *suas* 'above', but *os cech anmimm* 'above every name' ($\bar{o}$ by analogy in the accented form *ósib* 'above them') *uáir* 'hour', but *hóre* 'since' (prochtic but cf also *huare huaire*)

The diphthongization $\bar{o}$ · *ua* must have reached its fullest extent before the beginning of the MlIr period It occurred in the following cases (1) $\bar{o}$ from an IE diphthong § 13, IE *op* before *n* § 32, (2) $\bar{o}$ from *o* + *o* § 143, (3) $\bar{o}$ due to compensatory lengthening described in § 134, (4) $\bar{o}$ in Lat borrowings from Lat $\bar{o}$ § 78 2, (5) $\bar{o}$ from $\bar{a}$ in *obar*, *uabar* 'vanity (W *ofer* 'vain' Br *euver* '(goût) fade, paresseux, négligent' V *voer* 'insipid') But there are Ir $\bar{o}$-sounds which were not diphthongized (1) $\bar{o}$ from *o* + *a*, *o* + *u* MlIr *óc* MnIr *óg* young' from Oh *oac* MnIi *lór* enough' from OIr *lour* These contractions are perhaps subsequent to the period of diphthongization (2) $\bar{o}$ in final position and before vowels *dó* to him', OIr *goo* 'he' *máo*, *mó* more', cf § 13, 3, (3) $\bar{o}$ from *ow* before a consonant § 134, 3 *córe* fitness (4) $\bar{o}$ from Lat *au* Brit *ow* *ór* 'gold', *Pól* Paul (5) $\bar{o}$ from $\bar{a}$ in OIr *mór*, *már* 'great', cf *móin* bog' § 9 3, (6) $\bar{o}$ from Lat $\bar{u}$ (*póc* 'kiss < Lat *pāc(-em)*, *pāx*) and Lat $\bar{o}$ (when this has in Brit fallen together with Lat $\bar{a}$ *nóin* noon W *naun* < Lat *nōna*) $\bar{o}$ = W *aw* (*nós* 'habit' W *naws* 'nature disposition' *ron* horse-hair' W *rhawn*), $\bar{o}$ in English borrowings (OE $\bar{a}$ *rón* 'seal < OE *hrán*) (7) $\bar{o}$ in *cóic* 'five' (8) $\bar{o}$ in Wb *bron* sorrow' MnIi *brón*, MnIr *srón* nose', MnIr *tón* podex', OIr *do-ronad* 'has been done (to *do-gniu*)

Some of the non-diphthongized $\bar{o}$-sounds have in MnIr become $\bar{u}$ (mostly in dialects)

(2) (a) Primitive Celt *ē* from IE *ei* was diphthongized in Brit., but not in the same way as in Ir   It gave W /uy/ (*wy*), MlCo *oy*, Br *oue* (/*ue*/), *oa*   — Lat *ē* was similarly treated

(b) A later diphthongization of a (close) *ē* to *ei* before *d̄*, *þ*, *s* in Br has been mentioned in § 6,2, c͏ᶠ § 183 n 1   — More extensive is the diphthongization of (open) *ē* to *ea* before -*r* in Br (Léon) Léon *beac'h* 'burden', *breac'h* arm' MlBr *bech*, *brech*   — In Léon the open *ē*-sound from an earlier *ae* (§155) before final consonants is diphthongized to *ea*   Léon *kear* town', *mean* stone' W *caer*, *maen*, but not before a non-final consonant   Leon *bélek* 'priest' MlBr *baelec*   — Diphthongization of (open) *ē* to *ea* occurs in the Vannes dial also, *ē* from *ae* has been diphthongized before *x* in Haut-Vannetais *leah* 'milk', *madeleah* 'goodness' (the ending = W -*aeth* § 127), but an old *e* before *x*, and *e* from *ae* before sounds other than *x*, are not diphthongized   *hueh* six', *kei* 'town'   In Bas-Vannetais *leh*, *madeleh* etc   Diphthongization is found in V before lenited *m*   *euñ* he', *eañ* heaven', *ineañ* soul'

In MnCo *ē*, *ō* are often diphthongized to *ea oa*   *dean* man', *mean* 'stone   *noath* naked', *oan* 'lamb'   MlCo *den* *noyth* (*noth*), *on*

Note.   For W *au* from OBrit *ō* x §116 §9,1—2 Co *ō*   *ow* (*ou* from *worth orth* §123 *oy*   *ō*   *ou* MlCo *towth toth touth* haste *streigh u-* cf W *faith* §52 OCo *crou* MlCo *crouy* § 81 2)

§ 152   The loosening of a diphthong to two separate vowels is not rare in Br   *doue* God *roue* king' were monosyllabic in MlBr , but are now disyllabic   In Ouessant *meanad* stone-cast' is trisyllabic, *mean* 'stone a monosyll   Cf Ernault Gramm p 66   Les diphthongues peuvent en général compter pour une ou deux syllabes'

§ 153   Shifting of the syllabic element of a diphthong has occurred in Ir in the diphthongs *eo*, *eu*, *iu* § 134,2

In W /uy/ has occasionally become /uy/ in polysyllables *auyr* 'air' (/auyr/ formerly /auyr/) *awydd* desire' (/awyd/ formerly /auyd/) *tywyll* dark (-*auy-*, formerly /-*auy-*/)   On the other hand /uy/ has become /uy/ in *cyfrwys* shrewd' (/*koruys*/, formerly /*korruys*/ rhyming with *ynys*)

Note   The change from *uy* to *uy* is very common in the penult in spoken Welsh   *gwyddau goose*' (pl of *gwydd* i e *gūyd*) dial *gwydda*, *gwydde* (*uy*) *chwyddo* to swell *chwydd* swelling *ūyd*) dial *xwydo* /xwedo , *uylo* to weep (*uylo* i NW *uylo* , *uy* (*gg*   *ūy*) has in SW become /*ui*', cf Br *u* V   Absolute initial *uy* is *uy* (*ūy*) in standard W , but

/uy/ in *wyneb* 'face' /uyneb/ in all dialects has become /wy/ (though the form
wined still found in SW retains the syllabic quality of the *w* in *wy*), *g* has been
prefixed to the word, giving *qwyneb* (/gwy/) a form which occurs as early
as the 16th cent, v BBCS 4 331 8 Note that this /wy/ which is the result
of shifting in /uy/ does not in the penult give *wə* as an old /wy/ does Further,
in the penult *wy* often becomes *w* (i e /u/) in the dialects *chwysu* 'to sweat'
/ˈɪwəsɪ/ NW /ɪʊsɪ/ SW /hʊsɪ/ and *usɪ*, *tywyllu* 'to darken' /təwəlɪ/ –
orig with /uy/, v supra dial *twllu* /tulɪ/, SW *cwnnɪ* 'rise' for *cwnnu* <
cyhwrnnu < *cyhwɪpnnu* (-wə) But this did not occur in *tragwyddol* (eternal
(from *tragyʊwydd* which rhymes with *ffydd* *Dofydd* etc), all dialects pronounce
/wy/ (SW /wɪ/) not /u/ and the regular *u* is never heard See Orgraff y r
Iaith Gymraeg §§ 70 – 72, Morris-Jones Cerdd Dafod §§ 418 – 421

§ 154 (1) The original syllabic element (/u/) is lost through
dissimilation in the triphthong *uyu* in W and Co W *duw* 'God'
(from *dyw* < *dwyw*) MlCo *dew* But it is the *w* that has disappeared
in W *meudwy* 'hermit' lit 'servant of God' *Dyfrdwy* Dee'

(2) The diphthong /uy/ has been metathesized in two cases in
Co and Br W *dwy* (fem) 'two' (OW *diu*) OCo *dui* ɪɪ *dui-riou*
breast' MlCo *dyw*, *dew* Br *diou*, W *pwy* who' Co *pyw* Br *piou*
This also occurs in MlW *rwy, ryw*, the perfect particle *ry* (Ir *ro*)
+ the infixed pron 3 sg (cf MlW *nwy nyu* the (relative) nega-
tive + the infixed pron 3 sg) It is also seen in MnW *i'w* 'to his, her,
their' MlW *yw* < *wy* < *oe*[1] W *yw* is' (Co *yu* Br *eo*) is for an
earlier *wy* (cf *wy-t* 'art) cf OW *hittoɪ* (i e *ytoe* MlW *ytyw* MnW
ydyw) v BBCS 5 243 The reverse metathesis occurs in colloquial
W , as *rhwy* for *rhyw* some'

§ 155 (Monophthongization) The IE diphthongs were almost
entirely monophthongized sooner or later in Celt , as also were some
of the newer diphthongs Cf §§13—16, for W also §124, §136,3, for
Br §127 The tendency has gone much further in the modern dial-
ects Thus in Br (1) *ao* has become *ō*, particularly in Treguier Léon
paotr boy', *aotrou* Mi ' Trég *pôtr, otro*, (2) *ae* in Léon is monoph-
thongized only before consonants remains finally (*ae* < MlBr *az* is
never monophthongized) OW *caitoir* gl pube MlBr *quaezour* pu-
bic hair' MnBr *kezour*, — W *caer* fort' MlBr *kaer* town' MnBr
Trég Cornouaille V *kêr* Léon *kear*, — W *cae* field , (earlier
'hedge') Léon *kae*, W *sae* 'say (a cloth)' Léon *sae*, but other Br
dialects *kê, sé* — MlBr *azr* 'snake' MnBr Léon *aer* V *èr*

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[1] For interchange of *oe* and *wy* cf MlW *mwy, moe* 'greater'

VIII. Vowels between similar consonants.

§ 156. In Ir when *e* (*i*) stood between two similar consonants, with *o* preceding the group, the first consonant dropped and the result was the diphthong *oi* OIr *do-rói-gu* 'has chosen' (*do-ro-*gegu*) MlIr *dorróegu*, OIr *for-roi-chan* 'has taught (*for-ro-*cechan*), Ir *cóica* '50' MnIr *caogad* from Ir *cóic* MnIr *cuig* (IE **penk^ue*) with the same ending as in *cethor-cha* '40', in this case the consts between which the (lost) vowel stood were only approximately similar Between len and non-len *m* OIr *coimmchloud* exchange' MlIr *coemchlod* (**com-imm-chloud*) OIr *coimthecht* 'society' MlIr *cáemthecht* (*com-imm-techt*)

A vowel also disappeared in Ir between two similar consonants in circumstances which could not produce a diphthong OIr *di-a-tabarr* 'to whom is given', *ni eperr* 'is not said', *céin as-m-berr* 'while it is said' *do-berar* is given', *as-berar* 'is said, inf *fóit* to send' (root *fóid-* + *iud*)

IX Svarabhakti, Non-syllabic Vowels becoming Syllabic

§ 157 Svarabhakti (the development of an independent vowel out of the pitch of a consonant) occurred in Celt in the case of IE syllabic sonants, v § 7 § 8, § 12 It also developed later in the case of new syllabic sonants of non-syllabic sonants, rarely in the case of other consonants

§ 158 (Svarabhakti in OIr) A non-syll sonant standing between two consonants after the dropping of an unaccented vowel became syllabic giving vowel + sonant, § 103 The same occurred when a sonant followed an explosive or *m* finally after the disappearance of the vowel in the final IE syll *cobir* 'help', *criathar* 'sieve', *mebul* 'shame' *domun* 'world There are numerous examples of the same thing in Lat borrowings *lebor* book', Ir *bachall* < Lat *bac(u)lus*, Ir *immon* (a late learned borr) hymn' < Lat *hymnus* Other borrowings MnIr Sc *ocar* loan' < ON *okr* 'usury' Svarabhakti in final sylls is later than the loss of vowel in post-tonic sylls

For the quality of the OIr svarabhakti vowel v § 106,2

§ 159 (1) Svarabhakti between a liquid or nasal and a following non-homorganic voiced explosive, a spirant or *m* and *mh* is a regular development in the modern dialects of Ireland, Man and Scotland   Arr /orəxər , /ororor/ east Don ,orəxər' *urchar*, Arr /arəg'id , 'silver Don ar'əg'əd, *airgead*, Arr Don ,taruw/ 'bull'

tarbh, Arr */d'arəmud/* 'forgetfulness' Don */d'arəməd/ dearmad*, Arr
/saləxər/, */salaxar/* 'dırt' *salchar*, Arr Don */d'aləg/* 'thorn' *dealg*,
Arᵣ */šel'əv'/* 'possessıon' Don */šel'əv/ seılbh*, Don */kaləmə/* 'brave'
calma, Arr */šanəxəs/* 'story' *seanchas*, Arr */banuw/* 'pıg' *banbh*,
pl */ban'əv'/ baınbh*   There ıs no svarabhaktı before orıgınally voıceless
explosıves (*searc* 'love', *olc* 'bad') or before an homorganıc con-
sonant (*ord* 'hammer')

(2)   The svarabhaktı vowel had the sound ə   But ın some
cases ıt assumed the qualıty and strength of the precedıng vowel
whıch gradually weakened and ultımately dısappeared, ın thıs case
there ıs apparent metathesıs   Arı */Mıorə/ Murchadh*, */prugədōr'/*
'purgatory' *purgadóır*, Arr */Kroıūr/* Don */Kroıəı/ Conchobaı*

(3)   The svarabhaktı vowel descrıbed ın (1) appeaıs ın sandhı
Thus ın such Sc   Gaelıc epds   as *bana-chompanach* 'female com-
panıon', *ana-blasda* 'ınsıpıd', *uıle-bheıst* 'monster' (MnIr *uıll-phıast*)
In Ir ıt has ın these cases been dropped   Arr */šan-ı anı* old wo-
man', but *seana-* sometımes occurs as a prefıx   *an seana-thart* our
old frıend Thırst'   Svarabhaktı ıs found between woıds whıch do not
form a cpd   Sc *aona chat deug* eleven cats'Arr */šēf'arə d'ēq/* '16 men'

§ 160   (Svarabhaktı ın Brıt)   (1) In MnW ın all dıalects a
svarabhaktı vowel has developed before a fınal sonant preceded
by a consonant, ıt has the same qualıty as the precedıng vowel or
the second element of the precedıng dıphthong */oxoı/* 'sıde' *ochr*,
/bydyr/ dırty' *budr* */koııol/* 'coıner' *congl* */kubul/* 'whole' *cwbl*
/leıdır/ thıef' *lleıdr* */soudul/* heel' *sawdl*, */gwydyn/* (SW */gudyn/*)
'tough' *gwydn*   In Gwynedd a svarabhaktı vowel *e* or *ı* has become
a, ın Gwent also *e* has become *a*   */ledar/* (elsewhere */leder/*, */leter/*)
'leather' *lledr*   */loygar/ /loıgar/* (elsewhere */loyger/ /loıger/*) 'England'
Lloegr */mıstar/* (elsewhere */mıstır/*, SW */mıštır/*) 'master' *meıstr*,
leıdar thıef'   In SW a svarabhaktı vowel has also developed
before a fınal sonant preceded by a *v* */lıvır/* (NW */lyvr/*) 'book'
llyfr, */gavar/* (NW */gavr/*) goat' *gafr*, */geıvır/* (NW */geıvr/*) goats'
geıfr, */keven/*, Gwent */kevan/* (Dyfed */kewn/*, NW *kevn'*) back' *cefn*,
/ovon/, */ovan/* (NW */ovn/*) fear' *ofn*   In MIW *y* ıs found ın all cases
ın whıch the svarabhaktı vowel descrıbed above ıs found   Thıs *y*
had probably the ə sound and ıt never counted as syllabıc ın metre
even when ıt was wrıtten   Cf Morrıs-Jones, WG   pp 17—18
When a polysyllabıc word ends ın an explosıve + *r*, the *r* ıs usually
dropped ın spoken W   */arad/* 'plough' *aradr*, sımılarly fınal *l* after
g */hıdıg/* 'soot' *huddygl*, but ın the group -*dl* the explosıve ıs lost

ın SW /anal/ (NW /anadl/) 'breath' anadl, /banal/ 'broom' (NW /banadl/), the SW dıal form /cenel/ 'natıon,race' ıs found ın wrıtıng, but now the standard form cenedl ıs regularly used The word amherawdr 'emperor', wr ın MIW usually amherawdyr, apparently developed regularly ın the dıalects, becomıng amherod or ymherod (amherawd ın Eos Ceırıog — Huw Morus — II 314 14, emerod ın Gwaıth Twm o'r Nant 304 31) But thıs form became dısused ın favour of that formed wıth the svarabhaktı vowel w, ymerawdwr, wıth the accent on aw whıch (contrary to rule) has not become o The -wr was later taken as the mutated form of gŵr, and the analogıcal plur ymerawdwyr was formed (the older pl beıng ymerodron), sımılarly creawdr 'creator' gave creawdur, pl creawdwyr, dysgawdr 'teacher' gave dysgawdur, pl dysgawdwyr (earlıer dysgodron) In a few cases metathesıs has occurred ın these fınal groups ın spoken W ewyrth 'uncle' ewythr, cf the lıterary form cynglwyst 'pledge' cyngwystl (from gwystl 'hostage')

In Co a svarabhaktı vowel appears regularly befoıe a fınal sonant after a consonant MlCo hager 'ugly', lader 'thıef', occasıonally after v MlCo levar, levyr 'book', gaver (OCo gauar) 'goat' These forms are dısyllabıc

The svarabhaktı vowel does not appear ın Br , the sonant remaıns non-syllabıc koabr clouds' paotr 'boy' etc

(2) In a few cases a svarabhaktı vowel has developed ın W between ınıtıal consonant + sonant, becomıng syllabıc MlW dlyet 'merıt' dylyet MnW dled, dylêd, dyled Ir dlıged, OW tnou W tyno 'plaın, meadow' (accented on the penult) (The late W tylawd 'poor' (from tlawd) ıs found occasıonally as a dısyllable ın MnW free verse but ıs always accented on the fınal syll) Sımılarly MlCo dylly 'to deserve, owe' (MIW dlyu, dylyu) A few forms are found ın Br V Léon dle V delé 'debt', MlBr cnou-enn 'nut' V keneu 'nuts Cf also MlBr barat 'treachery' OBr brat W brad, Cornouaılle duluf = Leon dluz trouts'

(3) Svarabhaktı after a sonant MIW and MnW (SW dıal) baraf 'beard' barf, NW burum SW berem 'barm' OE bearm MIE berm(e) SW helem stack, rıck' (pl helmı) helm, MnW culum 'knot besıde cwlm and clwm Co colm Br koulm OIr colmméne gl neruus In MIW non-syllabıc y ıs generally found ın such cases MIW helym 'helmet' kulym 'knot', cf also MIW dedyf 'custom' MnW deddf 'law' MIW gredyf MnW greddf 'ınstınct' OCo coref, coruf 'beer' baref, barf 'beard'

§ 161. (*w, g* **becoming syllabic**) A final -*w* after a non-syll sound has become syllabic in W In verse wr in the close metres it is still generally regarded as non-syllabic, as the bulk of W poetry down to the 16th cent was written in these metres it cannot be stated when -*w* became syllabic, but the change is as old as the 15th cent, cf Morris-Jones, WG p 53 Forms like *marw* 'dead', *gloyu* 'bright'. *meddu* 'drunk', *enw* 'name', formerly monosyllables, are now disyllabic When a syllable is added the resulting word is however a disyllable *marwol* 'deadly', *enwau* 'names', *marwnad* 'elegy' (often pron /*márnad*/) *meddwdod* 'drunkenness' (generally pron /*méddod*/)

In Co svarabhakti has developed before final -*w* after a consonant OCo *gueden* 'widow', *erw* and *ereu* gl ager, *caruu* gl ceruus, MlCo *lusow* ashes' (*lusu* BM 2094) *marow* 'dead', *galow* 'call' (cf *geluel* 'to call'), *hanow* 'name' (cf the treatment in Ir § 159)

In Br final -*w* after a cons became -*o* (-*u*) Br *mezo* 'drunken', *ludu* 'ashes' (for *u* cf § 162) *maro* 'dead' The -*o* can be non-syll in MlBr *pan duy an maro so garo meurbet* (8 sylls) 'when the dead shall come — which is very grievous' Loth, Chrest 301 2 In V it is a non-syll *u*, which has been wr variously *hue w, ù, ú*, now *ù marhue* 'dead', *garhue* 'rough, severe Loth 344, 3, 4, now *marù, garù*, etc

For the development of a syllabic vowel (*a*, in some cases /*u*/ wr *u*) from *g* after *r* or *l* in final position in W v § 37, 2, 3 In MlW it was usually written *y* (i e /*ə*/), occasionally *a*, but in verse was non-syllabic

§ 162 **Vowel-harmony** (assimilation of vowels) occurs in MnIr in the case of the svarabhakti vowels *ə* being assimilated to the preceding vowel (§ 159 /*oroxor*/) Cf also /*ō muruxū' O' Murchadha* and /*bonūs*/ (sic recte) *bunadhas* 'origin' Bergin, Ériu 3, 76 See further § 159,2 The same phenomenon occurs in MnW svarabhakti § 160,1

Assimilation appears further in Br *ludu* 'ashes (W *lludw*, also *lludu* v Delw y Byd p 63 8, still in SW dial Co *lusow, lusu* Ir *luaith*), *breudeur* 'brothers' from IE *bhrāter-es Backward assimilation Br *kurun-enn* 'crown' OCo *curun* MlCo *curyn* W *corun* 'crown of the head', Br *muzur* 'measure' W *mesur*, Br *feunteun* < Lat *fontāna* This must have been followed in Br by a forward assimilation, for *o* in the second syll would otherwise have given *e* § 127 (MlBr *feunten*)

X Infection (Palatalization, Rounding, Umlaut, Epenthesis)

§ 163 A great part has been played in Ir by the palatalized pronunciation of consonants due chiefly to an anticipation of the position in the mouth of a following (retained or lost) vowel By still further anticipation the quality of the vowel preceding the consonant can be changed by approaching the *i*-position (umlaut), or a *j* can develop out of the palatalized consonant and unite with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong (epenthesis) Umlaut becomes frequent only in MnIr in OIr it is not prominent, epenthesis is rare in Ir In the Brit languages palatalization has now little importance, and where it exists it is of late origin But it had very great importance in an older period in Brit , as is shown by the numerous cases of umlaut and epenthesis

Analogous with palatalization is rounding of consonants (the lips rounded to the *u*-position), which in OIr appears as the effect of a lost *ū*-sound and can produce *u*-umlaut The difference between rounded and non-rounded consonants has been given up in MnIr But non-palatalized labials are in some dialects rounded (*f"*, *b^u*, *p"*, *m^u* Arr /bal'ə/ or /b"al'ə/ 'town' Don /bual'ə/ baile etc)

Rounding in OIr (MIIr), *u* as Indication

§ 164. The indication of rounding is particularly prevalent in OIr before a lost *ū*, it occurs more rarely before a lost *u* Exx of rounding indicated in OIr *caum*, dat of the o-stem *camm* 'bent' Ml 55 a 9, *deug* drink' Thes I 489 29 (nom of an *ū*-stem), *fiur*, dat of *fer* man' The difference in the effect of -*u* and -*ū* is clear in the *u*-stems nom *bith* world' dat *biuth* (sixteen times in Wb , but *bith* twice 10b 8, d 18), similarly *fid* tree' *il* 'much' (*u*-stems) etc On the other hand, nom acc *fiuss, fius* knowledge' is far more common than *fiss*, similarly nom acc *riuth* running' is more frequent than *rith* (but beside the regular dat *riuth* the form *rith* appears twice in Ml and Sg) In later forms many examples occur of analogical rounding Thus in *fiugrae*, g of *figor* 'figure', an *ū* is lost (from Lat *figūra*), in nom *fiugor* Ml 45 a 3 rounding is indicated by analogy, while it is not indicated, as it should in dat pl *figraib* Thes II 255 13 The slight rounding of the *r* in nom *spirut* spirit' has been transferred to the g *spirto* (where *ŕ* would be regular) in Tur *spiurto*, while Ml has a new nom *spiurt*

Note 1. For loss of rounding in proclisis v § 110

Note 2 After *u*, a long vowel or a diphthong rounding is not indicated in OIr *bull*, dat of *ball* 'member', *i-sin dan sin* 'in this art' (dat *u*-st), *ond aes* 'from the people' (dat *u* st), *a suan* 'out of sleep' (dat *o*-st)

Note 3 In MIr after *e* before *ch* an -*o*- is used as glide-vowel denoting rounding *eoch*, 'drink', *deoch* 'drink' This -*o*- is also found after the diphthong *ae laeochu* 'heroes' Consonants are marked round in MIr which were never so indicated in OIr OIr 3 pl -*dechutar* 'have gone' MIr -*deochatar* (MnIr -*deachadar*), OIr *diltud* 'denial' MIr *diultad* MnIr *diultadh* Arr /d'ūḻta/ Don /d'ūḻtuu/

§ 165. Labials tended to become rounded spontaneously (cf § 163) OIr *preceupt* (acc) 'preaching' Ml 129b 1, g *preceuptae* Ml 89b 12 (Wb *precept, precepte*), MIr *bauptaist* 'baptist'

§ 166 In certain cases where both palatalization and rounding could be expected OIr -MIr orthography varies between *au* and *ai*, and also at times *i*, *e*, *u* OIr *laigiu* less', *laigiu*, *lugu* compar ending *-iōs*, *ro-laumur ru-laimur* 'I dare' ending of 1 sg depon prim Celt *-iōr* — Numerous examples in preverb groups *au-ud*- in Wb *irtach* 'refreshment', Ml *ertach*, MIr *aurtach* cf OIr *ar-un-utangur* 'we are refreshed', — *air-fo-* MIr *erqnam*, *irqnam*, *urqnam* 'to prepare (food drink) , *ni mad-airgenus* 'not well have I prepared', ipv 2 pl *aurgnaid* cf pres ind 3 pl *ar-fo-gnat*, — *air-com-* Wb 7a 11 *nis-m-irchoi* 'I shall not be delayed , 8 a 4 *ar-nach n-aurchoissed* 'that he might not be hindered', Sg *erchoitech* gl nocens, MnIr *urchóid* damage, harm' W *ar-gy-weddu* to harm' OBr *arcoguid* gl meruos, — *air-* before *o*, *u* *aur-uras* Ml 2 a 3 'haste', MIr *aur-choi*, *urchor, erchor, irchor* 'a throw', MnIr *urchor*

The Indication of Palatalization in Ir.

§ 167. (1) The principal means of indicating palatalization in OIr is the use of an -*i*- as glide-vowel before the affected consonant OIr *aile* 'another' /al'e/, *boill* 'members' /boL'L'/, *duine* 'man' /duńe/ Also after the consonant -*e*- is sometimes written before *a* or *o*, and -*i*- before *u* *derchóintea* g of *derchóiniud* 'despair' /d'erxoińt'a/, /d'erxoiniud/, *ni-b-nóibfea* 'will not sanctify you' /-Noib'f'a/, *ailiu* /al'u/, dat of *aile*, *feidligtheo* Ml 15a 5 'of remaining' /f'ed'l'ig'þ'o/

The glide-vowel is sometimes omitted before the consonant if the following vowel has the same timbre *céle* 'fellow', more rarely *céile* /k'ēl'e/, *cenél* 'race' /k'eńēl/, *fáthi* and *fáithi* 'prophets' /fāþ'i/ After *i* an *i* as glide-vowel is never found *fir*, g of *fer* man' /f'ir'/,

nóib 'sancti' /*Noıb́*/, MnIr *naomh*, but nom *nóib* 'sanctus' /*Noıb̄*/,
MnIr *naomh*)   It is never written after a consonant before *e*, *ı*,
also it is sometimes omitted before *a* (*o*) or *u* if a glide-vowel pre-
cedes the consonant *aınfa* 'I shall remain' Wb 14 a 8 /*ańf'a*/, *ıarn*
esséırgu 'after the resurrection' Wb 3 c 2 /*e⟨śếŕǵ'u*/, but *ıarn esséır-*
gıu Wb 4 a 27   Cf further *sınu* older Wb 34 a 5, but elsewhere
in Wb *sınıu* /*śńıu*/, also *glıccu* 'acuter' Wb 26 d 26 may be /*g'l'ık'k'u*/

(2) There was no particular way of indicating the non-palatal
articulation of the consonant in OIr , and a consonantal symbol
before *e* or *ı* could denote a pal or a non-pal consonant OIr *fıl*
is' (/*fıl'*/, MnIr *fuıl*), OIr *snechte* 'snow (/*SN'exte*/, MnIr *sneachta*)
But non-final *aı*, *uı* in unaccented sylls was often pronounced as *ı*,
so that -*a*- or -*u*- can be a glide-vowel indicating the non-pal timbre
of the preceding consonant *ra-prıdchaısem* 'we have preached it'
Wb 5 a 7, but *ma ru-d-predchısem* if we have preached' 10 d 9,
cobuır 'help' 20 c 10, but *cobır* 5 c 5

The use of -*a*- as glide-vowel before *ı* became much commoner
in later OIı , and after non-pal consonants final -*e* was written -*ae*,
later -*a*, and final -*ı* was written -*aı* Wb *cumachte* power' g *cu-*
machtı, Ml nom *cumachtae* g *cumachtaı*

§ 168 In MnIr a complete system has developed whereby
the colouring of non-palatal as well as of palatal consonants is indi-
cated   The non-pal glide is mostly a further development   Thus
in the case of *duıne* OIr /*duńe*/, MnIr /*dyńe*/, the old vowel has
become a glide, the old glide has become a vowel   OIr -*u*- after *ı*
has been replaced by -*o*- OIr *fıur*, dat of *fer* 'man', MnIr (now ob-
solete) *fıor* In some cases *ıu* remains MnIr *flıuch* 'wet' Arr /*f'l'ox*/
Don /*f'l'uʏ*/ Further -*o*- is written after long *ī* *fíor* 'true' After
e, -*a*- is written -*deachadar* 'they have gone § 164 n 3, *fear* 'man
(Arr Don /*f'ar*/ the old glide has become a vowel and the old
vowel a glide) After long *ē* sometimes -*a*- sometimes -*u*- *féar* or
feur 'grass' /*f'ēr*/   *aeo* § 164 n 3 has been shortened to *ao* (pro-

nounced /y/ or /ē/), before pal consonants *aoi saoghal* 'life' Arr
Don /*sȳl*/, *daoine* 'men' Arr /*dȳńə*/

This produced in MnIr the rule *caol lé caol agus leathan lé
leathan* ('slender with slender and broad with broad') by which
the vowels on either side of a consonant must be of the same quality
MnIr *líon* 'number' is therefore /*L'īn*/, the g *lín* on the other hand
/*L'īń*/

Rules of Palatalization in Ir. [1]

§ 169. (**Ir palatalization in relation to a following vowel, loss of
vowel and accent.**) **(1)** Palatalization occurs **before a lost final** front
vowel OIr *do-beir* 'he gives' **bheret*, *fir* MnIr *fir*, g of OIr *fer*
'man' **uiri*

Before a medial front **vowel** lost owing to the accent palatalization
occurs OIr *ni taibrem* 'we do not give', cf *do-beram* 'we give', dat
pl *anamchairtib*, acc pl *anamchairtea* 'soul-friends, teachers' (be-
tween *r* and *t* a medium or half-long *e* from *an* is lost § 70, 3) This
does not take place if the cons before the lost vowel becomes
syllabic OIr *ecolso*, g of *eclis* 'church', similarly in analogical
formations *nach-a-rochlat* Wb 19c 15 'who cannot take care of
themselves (*fo-cel-, fo-ciall-*)

(2) It occurs before every front vowel **in accented syllables** (not
being indicated in writing in OIr), also before *ē* developed by
compensatory lengthening from *a géiss* swan', *dér* 'tear'

(3) Palatalization before post-tonic vowels (a) Before a final vowel
from an original front vowel or from *i* + vowel OIr *fáithi* 'pro-
phets', *guide* 'prayer', *duine* 'man', pl *dóini* (MnIr *duine*, pl *daoine*)
There are many exceptions, some are noted in § 170, 2 Palataliz-
ation does not occur before OIr *-e* and *-i* from an orig disyll group
beginning with back vowel, § 95 4, (later *-e* > *-ae* > *-a*, *-i* > *-ai*)
Wb *-cuale* heard', MlIr *-cuala*, cf further Wb *asse* 'easy', com-
par *assu*, Wb *cene* already' Ml *cenae* MnIr *cheana*, and forms like
care friend' Analogical palat in the gerundive in *-thi*, *-ti* (§ 13 4)
léicthi 'to be left' **(b)** Before *i* + post-tonic non-final vowel *cail-
ech* 'cock', *cuimnech* 'mindful' (*cuman* 'memory' + suff *-iāko-*)
There are numerous exceptions due to analogy **(c)** Palat is not
regularly found before an orig non-final post-tonic front vowel

[1] Cf Thurneysen, KZ 26, 311[1], Holger Pedersen Asp i Irsk p 6f,
Strachan, Middle Irish Declension p 4f (Trans Phil Soc 1905), Bergin,
Ériu 3 50—91 Pokorny, Concise Old Ir Gr 23ff Altir Gramm 31 ff

which may appear as *a*, *u*, or *ι*   OIr *cucann* 'kitchen', OIr *carpat*
'waggon' dat pl *cairptib*, — OIr *ammus* 'attempt' (*ad-* + *mess*,
midiur 'I judge'), OIr *dénum* 'do' (*di-* and *gním*), — *athir*, *athair*
'father', *eclis*, *eclais* 'church' < Lat *ecclēsia*   There are numerous
exceptions (due to analogy) in which palat occurs, after the palat-
alized cons *e* appears instead of *a*, *-iu-* is written instead of *-u-*,
and no *-ai-* appears beside *-i-*   OIr *ainmmid* 'nominative' by anal
with *ainm* 'name', OIr *croicenn* gl tergus (beside g *crocainn*) MnIr
croiceann by anal with forms like dat pl MlIr *croicnib* etc   A
regular and an analogical form occasionally occur side by side
OIr *ho amarais* 'from unbelief' Ml 97d 13, *ι amairis* 'with un-
belief' Ml 97d 10   MlIr *amaras* and *amaires*   MnIr *amhras* 'doubt'
and *aimhreas*

(4) **In proclisis** palat is not regular, v § 110

§ 170 (**Palatalization in relation to consonant groups and single
consonants**). (1) When consonants orig differing in colour come to-
gether secondarily, the palatal colouring prevails   OIr *derchóintea*
g of *derchóiniud* 'despair' (*N't'* from *ń* + *t*), *ar-na foircnea* that it
may not end' beside *for-lcenna* (*ŕk'n'* from *r* + *k'* + *N*)

(2) Certain non-syll groups resist palatalization   Before the
lost final syllable, *rt* gives up palatalization   OIr *secht* MnIr
seacht 'seven' **septm*   This occurs much more frequently before a
retained final vowel   Sg *derba* certainty' (to *derb* 'certain' MnIr
dearbh), Wb *delbe* g of *delb* 'form' Ml *delbae* MlIr *delba*   Ml
nu-n-dn-erbai gl confidenti (ī-present   but before a lost vowel
eirbth-i Ml 51b 12)   Wb *serce*, Ml *sercae*, g of *serc* love'   OIr
bliadne, g of *bliadin*, *bliadain* year', MlIr *bliadna*   — Palatalization
does not appear in the case of a liquid preceded by compensatory
lengthening before a retained final vowel   OIr *áru* kidney' (*-jen-*
-stem), Wb *cenéle* kind race   dat *cenelu*, Ml *cenélae*, Sg *cenela*
— Certain double consonants resulting from late assimilation resist
palat   in *giallai* Ml 63a 12 gl in dicionem, g *giallae* Ml 141d 1,
rucce, *rucœ* 'shame', dat *iuccu*, Ml *ruccae* (*kk* < *d-k*   Ir *ruad* 'red')
— Palat does not occur in the case of a single or double labial before
a retained final vowel   Sg *lubae*, g of *luib* herb', Wb *humae*
'copper', cf W *efydd*

Note. In the case of the sound *g* the use of the palatal glide varies   *oge*
'integritas' never has it in Wb   Ml has dat *ogai*   MlIr *uaige*, Wb *luige*
'oath   Ml *lugae*   MlIr *luige* and *luga*

Palatalization due to the loss of a medial front vowel remains also before a final vowel OIr *cuimse* 'fit' (from **k'om-* and the root of *midiur* 'I judge', inf *mess*), OIr *coibge* 'contextus' (**k'om-* + *fige* 'weaving'), OIr *fichtea*, pl of *fiche* 'twenty' OIr *córe* 'peace', MlIr *córa* (to OIr *coir* W *cywir*) is an exception

§ 171. Palatalization under the influence of the preceding vowel is rare in Ir It occurs in the case of an IE final *r* retained in Ir OIr *athir, athair* MnIr *athair* 'father' On the other hand OIr *hed* MnIr *eadh* Lat *id*

A preceding unaccented vowel affects the initial cons of an enclitic *ad drog-duine siu* Wb 1c 10 'thou art a bad man', — *ni-ta chumme se* Wb 20c 25 'I am not like', — *inna epistle se* Wb 14a 15 'of this epistle'

As an exception to § 169,3e, a (short or long) consonant (in rare cases a cons group) is palatalized before a post-tonic front vowel if it is immediately preceded by a front vowel OIr *tabart* 'to give', but *epert* 'to say', — OIr *anman* 'names', but *céimmen* 'steps', *béimmen* blows', — MlIr *cumbair, cummair* short', but OIr *cimbid* 'prisoner, MnIr *cime cimeach* Some of these cases are of course analogical (*milis* 'sweet' by anal with the OIr pl *milsi* and OIr MnIr *mil* 'honey' etc) — In *dénum* do' cpd of *gním* 'deed', the group -*gn*- has resisted palatalization

§ 172 (Analogical formations with reference to palatalization). Numerous references have already been made to perturbations of the rules governing palatalization (learned influence in Lat borrowings, influence of simple forms in cpds , forms with cons groups affecting those with separate consonants MlIr *gairit* 'short' MnIr *goirid* beside OIr *garait* Ml 135a 13, due to pl *gairddi* Sg 5a 14 etc , a medial cons influenced by a related word in which the cons is final MlIr *cóiced* 'a fifth, province MnIr *cúigeadh*, due to OIr *cóic* 'five', MnIr *cúig* etc) The mutual influence of different words of the same category should be noted (1) Abstract nouns in -*e* are clearly partial to palatalization MlIr acc *merbai* 'mistake', but MnIr *meirbhe*, Ml acc *mescai*, MlIr MnIr *meisce* 'drunkenness', by anal with such forms MnIr *tairbhe* 'advantage' beside Wb *torbe*, Ml *torbae*, MlIr *torba, tarba*, though not deriv from an adj (2) Also the g sg of *ā*-stems MlIr *Medba* and *Meidbe*, g of *Medb*, Ml g *delbae* 'form', MlIr *deilbi*, MnIr *deilbhe*, Ml g *sercae* 'love', MlIr *serci, seirce*, MnIr *seirce*, and other g forms in -*e* OIr

Mllr *slébe*, MnIr *sléibhe*, g of neut *shab* 'mountain' (3) Anal
palatalization often occurs in comparatives Ml *serbu* 'bitterer',
Mllr *seirbiu*, Mllr *trummu* 'heavier' (*tromm* heavy'), MnIr *truime*
But anal forms without palat are equally frequent, thus regularly
with *x* OIr *bronchu* 'sadder', *cumachtgu* mightier' are regular, but
buidechu 'more thankful', *tóisechu* prior' (beside *toisigiu*) are analo-
gical (4) The infinitive ending -*ud* has extended at the expense
of -*iud* *erbud*, inf of *erbaid* Ml 14 d 15, *nu-n-dn-erbai* gl confidenti
Ml 65 b 6 Deriv verbs in -*aig*- have inf in -*ud* *étugud* emulate',
arigud 'observe'

§ 173. **The age of palatalization** is difficult to define precisely,
but it is most probable that it is older than the loss of vowels caused
by the rules of finals and of the accent but later than the develop-
ment of *ē* by compensatory lengthening from *a*

Umlaut, Epenthesis, Raising etc. in Ir

§ 174. **In post-tonic sylls.** in OIr *u*-umlaut (whereby all vowels
become *u*) and *i*-umlaut (whereby all vowels become *i*) are exceed-
ingly frequent (1) The *u*-umlaut is due to the rounded colour of
the following consonant, caused by (a) loss of *ū* -*epur* -*epiu* 'I
say' '*epur*/, '*ep'ur*/ beside *as-biur* , *as-b'ir"*, **bhērō* (-*ō*   *ū* § 9,4),
(b) loss of -*u* *ammus* *aérum* § 169,3 c, (c) a toll retained *u* (of
whatever origin) OIr *inruccus* worthiness' (*inrice* worthy'), OIr
sollumun *sollummun* solemnity a learned borr from Lat *sol-
lemne* Umlaut is not found before retained *u* in OIr after a pal
cons *arigud* 'observe' *foilsigud* make clear' (in these cases Ml has
-*igud* *demnigiud* certify Mllr *demniugud* MnIr *deimhniughadh*
et Ériu 3 71) It does not occur before a pal cons OIr *tanidiu*
dat of *tanide* thin'

<small>Note The *u* umlaut is not found in the dat of derivatives in *ach* *don*
brathir hiresvach to the faithful brother in mfm of *ā* verbs *crsad* suffer
comalnad fulfil' etc (*u* stems) in nom of many *u* stems in *as* OIr *senchas*
story in OIr *fo gnam* serve' ·(*denum* do')</small>

(2) The *i*-umlaut occurs in post-tonic sylls (a) before a palat
cons OIr *pridchim* I preach' (stem-vowel -*a*-), *cosmil* 'similar',
cf W *hafal* etc OIr *iarfigid* 'to question' (*iar- fo-* + *saigid* seek'),
(b) after a palat cons non-final *a* became *e* Mllr *airget* 'silver'
OIr *crocenn* etc § 169,3 c, final *a* or *o* can also become *e* in the same
way OIr *arilte*, g of *arilliud* merit', beside *derchóintea*, g of *der-
choiniud* 'despair'

§ 175   OIr. *i*-umlaut in accented sylls. is rare Exx OIr *cride*
'heart' MnIr *croidhe* Arr /krȳ/ W *craidd*, OIr *lige* 'bed' MnIr
luighe Other apparent examples are probably anal , thus OIr
dorigéni 'he has done' (*di* + *gni-* with perf *ro*) by anal with *-digni*
'did' *air-* in certain cpds undergoes umlaut to *er-*, *ir-* *irgal*
'conflict' W *arial* § 35,9, but *air-* often side by side with *er-*, *ir-*
airmitiu féid 'reverence' (Wb) and *ermitiu feid* (Ml) For combined
i- and *u*-umlaut v § 166

OIr open *ē* from IE *ei* which otherwise became *ia* § 151,1a
always underwent umlaut to close *ē* (which was never diphthongized)
before a pal cons OIr nom dat sg *fiach* debt', nom pl *féich*,
Ir *ciall* 'sense', acc dat *ceill*, g *ceille* Cf exx in § 16

§ 176. Epenthesis in OIr occurs in the circumstances mentioned
in § 156 and § 143 (For other apparent instances v VKG § 250)

§ 177   Umlaut in MnIr is extensive OIr *aite* 'teacher' MnIr
oide Arr Don *ed'ə'*, Au *dynə* man' Don *dini'ə' duine,* — Arr
f'l'oi, Don *f'l'ut,* wet *fliuch,* — OIr MlIr *fer* MnIr *fear* Arr
Don *f'ar,* Unacc *ə* undergoes *a*-umlaut MlIr *muinel* neck'
MnIr *muineal* Arr *mių̃ǘl* Otherwise only OIr short vowels
undergo umlaut (the modified vowel being lengthened or monoph-
thongized before certain consonants § 135)

§ 178   (Raising in Ir) Before *u* or *i* in the following syll , *a* (< *a*),
o, u, e, i in Ir become more closed This change is here called rais-
ing It occurs in the Ogam inscriptions INIGENA, QRIMITIR

(1) Prim Celt *a* in a syll beginning with a labial or an IE
labiovelar, or before a labial became in a prehistoric period of Ir
rounded (*a*), this *a* under the influence of *i* or *u* became *o, u* MlIr
dat sg *brot, brutt*, acc pl *bruttu*, nom pl *broit* of *brat* 'mantle',
OIr dat *crunn,* g *cruinn* of *crann* 'tree', OIr *pupall* gl tentorium
< Lat *pāpilio*

(2) Orig *o* and *u* normally gave Ir *o* by raising they become
Ir *u* **(a)** Before lost final *u* OIr nom acc *mug* 'slave, servant',
g *moga* nom pl *mogæ* § 35,2, MlIr *bun* stock, bottom', g *bona*
W *bôn*, pl *bonau,* — OIr *sruth* stream', g *srotho* W *ffrwd*, OIr
cruth 'shape' § 7,1 **(b)** Before lost final *ū* in the dat of *u*-stems
(*mug, cruth* etc), and of *o*-stems OIr *mud*, dat of *mod* 'manner'
< Lat *modus* **(c)** Before retained final *-u* (< *-ūns, -ōns*) in acc
pl of *u*- and *o*-stems MlIr acc pl *udbu* from *odb* 'knot', — OIr
suthu from *suth* fruit g *sotho* **(d)** Before lost medial *u* OIr

cumscugud 'change' **kom-ud-* + Ir *scuch-* (e) Before retained old
-*u*- (whatever its later form) MIIr *curach* 'boat' MIW *corwc* But
secondary *u* (due to umlaut) does not cause raising OIr *dorus*
'door', dat pl *doirsib* (**dhworestu-*) (f) Before lost final *i* OIr
muir 'sea', g *mora*, Ir *cruim* 'worm' W *pryf* (g) Before lost
final *ī* (from IE *ī* or from a diphthong) MIIr *cuib*, g sg of *cob*
victory', OIr *suin*, g sg of *son* 'sound' < Lat *sonus* (h) Before
retained final *i crumai* worms' (i) Before *j*, which first became
ij OIr *guide* 'prayer' Gk πoθεω § 38 MIIr *cuire* 'troop' G *Tri-
corii*, *Petru-corii* Goth *harjis* army', OIr *curriur* 'I place', inf *cor*
(*o*-stem), cf W *hep-gor* 'put aside', OIr *ungae* < Lat *uncia*
(j) Before medial lost *i, i* OIr *ni fuirmi* 'does not set', pret pass
perf *fo-rui-rmed* (-*rim-* to Lith *rim-ti* to grow still'), OIr *ni-s-tuirmi*
'records them not' (*rim-* count) (k) Before retained medial *i, i*
(whatever the later form of this *i*) OIr *cubus* 'conscience' (**kom-*
+ Ir *fiuss* 'knowledge'), OIr *cucann* 'kitchen' < Lat *coquīna*,
MIIr *buiden* army' W *byddin* OBr *bodin*

　　Note 1 Raising does not occur before an orig *i* MIIr *coin* nom pl
dogs' **k unes coin* acc sg **k uom* **kunom* hence anal dat *coin*

　　Note 2 An *ō* long by compensation through loss of an explosive is not
raised cf § 151 1h

　　Note 3 Anal formations are very frequent and alternations due to
raising occasionally acquire morphological value and are imposed upon
words in which raising is not regular the learned Lat borr *trop* 'trope' has
g *truip* Ir *bodar* dumb § 43 has (despite the old vowel of the second syll)
dat fem *buidir* MI 38c 15 nom pl masc MIIr *buidir* abstr *buidre* 'deaf-
ness MI 59a 12 Sometimes the same vowel spreads through all forms
etymologically related OIr *lobur* weak (W *lluefr*) has g *lobuir* dat *lobur*
compar *lobru* abstr *lobre*, the *o* of the preverbs *fo to-*, *ro-* and the *o* (from
IE *u*) of *so* 'good' (Skr *su*) and *do* bad' (Skr *duš-*) us a rule remain OIr
to qu ro qu dance *fo-chric* 'reward so *lus* clear (**su-liqsu s*) *so-chruth*
'beautiful *do chruth* ugly The preverb *com* has been frequently general-
ized with *u* OIr *cumachte* 'might' *cumnech* mindful' etc , but *o* in OIr
coir fitting , *core* 'peace

　　Note 4 Consonants have presumably prevented regular raising in some
exceptions thus a consonant group in OIr *cosc* dat sg MIIr *coisc* g sg of
cosc correction , OIr *ordu* thumb OIr *orbe* heir' Ir *coirce* oats' W
ceirch MnCo *kerh* Br *kirch* (but OIr *turcu* acc pl of *torc* 'boar), OIr *corp*
dat sg, *coirp* g *corpu* acc pl of *corp* 'body' from Lat *corpus* (MIIr dat
curp, nom pl *cuirp* acc pl *curpu*) etc The forms with raising are prob-
ably analogical

　　(3) Orig *e* and *i* appear normally in Ir as *e*, by raising they
become *i* Where a consonant prevents raising the orig difference

between *e* and *ι* is perceptible (v note 8) For *e*, *ι* before a vowel cf § 5,3, § 94 (**a**) Before lost final *u* MIIr *tiug* 'thick' § 35,4, Ir *bir* 'spit' W *bêr* 'lance, spit' OCo *ber* gl ueru Br *ber* Lat *uerū* 'spit, dart', MIIr *crim* § 50 (**b**) Before lost final -*ū* OIr *as-biur* 'I say' *eks-bherō, *ciunn*, dat of *cenn* 'head' (**c**) Before retained final *u* OIr *firu*, acc pl of *fer* 'man', but if a syll is lost -*u* does not cause raising OIr *sentu* 'age' *senotūt-s, *bethu* 'life' *gʷiwotūt-s (**d**) Before lost medial *u* OIr *fiugrae*, g of *figor* 'figure' from Lat *figūra* (**e**) Before retained old medial *u*, *ū* MIIr *ibhar* OIr g *ibair* 'yew' G *Eburo-magus*, MIIr *biror* 'water-cress' W *berwr* OCo *beler* Br *beler* G *berula*, v § 256 (**f**) Before lost final -*ι* MIIr nom *mil* 'honey', g *mela*, MnIr *mil, meala* (**g**) Before lost final -*ī* OIr *cinn*, g of *cenn* 'head', —*fir*, g sg and nom pl of *fer* 'man' (**h**) Before retained final -*ι* *fili* poet § 92 (**i**) Before *j*, which first became *ιj* OIr *tigiu* 'thicker', *siniu* 'older', also *es* before a vowel § 5,3, § 24 3 OIi *tige*, g sg of *s*-stem *tech* (**j**) Before lost medial *ι*, *ī* OIr *ingen* 'maiden', Og INIGENA, beside OIr *pridchim* 'I preach' from Lat *praedico* comes the learned' form *predchim* (**k**) Before retained medial old *ι*, *ī* OIr *filed*, g of *fili* 'poet'

Note 5 Before orig *e* (except *e* in hiatus v supr (i)) raising does not occur Ir *seir* 'heel' dat *serid* (*et* stem), *as-beir* 'he says' *eks bheret In OIr *fir*, voc of *fer* 'man', orig -*e* became -*ι* and so caused -*ι*- to remain, v § 90

Note 6 Ir open *ē* > *ιa* from IE *eι* is not raised For raising of *e*, *ι* which became long by compensation through loss of explosive v § 134,2

Note 7 The *us* stems (like *crim* 'garlic') have taken over the alternation of the *u*-stems by anal (g *crema*) The *u* stems have given up the raising in dat pl by anal OIr *fedaib* from *fid* 'tree' MIIr *bethaib* from *bith* world A noteworthy anal formation is OIr *deug* 'drink', the rounding of the *g* points to an *ū*-stem, but reconstruction after the fashion of *ā* stems gave an *e* in the nom A similar reconstruction in nom pl neut OIr *beura* from *bir* 'spit'

Note 8 Consonants have very considerably prevented the raising of *e*, but much more rarely that of orig *ι* Raising of *e* does not occur (**a**) before old *x* OIr *neuch* dat , *neich* g of *nech* anyone W *neb*, OIi *recht* 'law', g *rechto* Raising of *ι* before *u* occurs Ir *fliuch* wet' (*flechud* 'moisture', ending -*oto*-), OIr *ar-fiuch* I vanquish' Thes II 249 7, cf 3 sg *do feich* attacks' (anal *do-fich*) to Lat *uinco* 'I conquer', OIr *sliucht* 'following' Sg 200a 7, MnIr *sliucht* 'track' (by anal with which *intsliucht, intliucht* 'intelligence' from Lat *intellectus*) But raising of *ι* before *ιj* is prevented by the group *xt* Ir *snechte* 'snow' (**b**) perhaps before old *þ*, but the chief example given in VKG must be retracted, v § 596 (-*neuth* is *ni-sedō) Raising of *ι* Ir *ith* corn' gen *hetho* (W *ȳd* OCo *yd* MiCo *ys, eys*, pl *esow* Br *ed*), *buth*

'world', g betho, MIIr grith 'cry nom pl gretha MIW gryd (c) Before ss OIr mess' judgment' g messo Raising of ı Ir criss 'girdle' W crys 'shirt', fruss 'knowledge' § 63, Ir brissı ega 'icicles' W bys etc (d) Before sk st OIr nom pl leıscc gl pigri from lesc to W llesg 'feeble', OIı mesce 'ebrietas' to mesc 'ebrius', cf Gk μεθυσκω 'I get drunk' OIı cesst 'question' from Lat quaestio Raising of ı OIr flısc, nom du of ā stem flesc 'rod' (e) Before r or l cons MIIı meırb 'flabby' § 19 (OIı pl merbı), force g of ferc, ferg 'anger' § 57, 2, OIı neurt dat , neırt g of nert 'strength', OIr deılb dat , delbe g of deıb figure Raising of ı MIIı fıurt fırt 'miracle' OIr acc pl fırtu g sg ferto from Lat uırtūs Anal forms occur in MIIı dat sırg 'illness OIr hı scurc in illness), dat nıurt nırt g nırt strength' — The group nasal + explosive does not prevent raising of e before u or before ı Ir lınd drink cıngım 'I step' Raising occurs before all vowels in the case of ı before nasal + explosive OIı fınd white , ro fınnadar he knows'

§ 179 (1) (Effects of IE k^u) Progressive umlaut of e or ı caused by IE k^u is seen in cóic 'five' § 59 Ir cuit part' MnIr cuid (W peth 'thing' Co peth Br pez), Iı cruth 'shape', cruım worm' (W pryd, pryf), MIIı cruımther 'priest', Og QRIMITIR from Lat pre(s)byter

(2) (a-umlaut in Ir.) Accented o becomes a in Ir before lost medial a in the following syll OIr ro-la·nd 'you have cast' nı ralsıd 'you have not cast' do-ratsat they have given' nı tartsat they have not given' MIIr -fagbaım 'l find' from fo-garb-, also before retained a in nacham-ralac that I have not been put' MI 90c 17 ro-laa 'he has put Sg 75a 4, nı fagaıb he does not find' Etym o is frequently restored in such cases On the contrary anal a occurs for o nı-s-rabae they had not' Wb 33b 3 (ro-boı has been')

Infection in British.

§ 180 (Palatalization and consequent consonant transitions in Brit) (1) In spoken W (Gwynedd dialect) the back consts (except x) are palatalized before e ı k'efyl ceffyl horse', k'ı cı dog' 'k'ıdjo/ cuddıo 'to hide' /g'enap geneth 'girl' ıa newyn ı fy ngewyn 'my sinew', 'rə ꜵhefyl' fy ngheffyl my horse' sʲ in spoken W has become ʃ NW ıʃo SW /ıʃe', /ıʃa eısıau 'want', sʲ- denotes ʃ- in Eng borrowings sıop =- 'ʃop' Eng shop In SW s before or after ı is occasionally spoken ʃ /ıʃ ıs 'lower', prıʃ prıs price', /ʃıglo sıglo to rock' dj- becomes ʒ̍- occasionally in SW /ʒonı' beside 'djonı daıonı goodness', 'ʒogel' beside djogel/ dıogel (trısyll) 'safe', ʒawl/ dıawl (monosyll) 'devil' tj- in SW has become ĉ in ca þre' beside /tja þre' from 'tıa þre tıa thre 'home(wards)', and in other expressions in which tıa(g) 'towards' ıs proclitic

(2) In Co *t*- and *d*- became *t'*, *d'*, later *č*, *ǯ* in the words MlCo *chy* 'house', Lhuyd /čəɪ/ (len MlCo *the gy* 'thy house', but spir *ow thy* 'my house'), OCo *ti* § 35,4, and MlCo *geyth* 'day', OCo *det* § 6,2 (also MlCo *deyth*, *deth*, *dyth*, Lhuyd /dyd/, /dēd/ but /en ǯ̌ed/ 'in the day', len *d*- MlCo *yn y thythow* 'in his days') *ǯ̌*- also occurs in Co *ievan* /ǯ̌evan,/ < Lat *daemon*, and *jaul*, *dyowl*, *dyaul*, Lhuyd *dzhiaul* 'devil' § 148 — Medial *dj* gave *ǯ̌* MnCo *idzheon*, *odgan* 'ox' OCo *odion* W *eidion* Br *ijenn*, MlCo *nyge* 'fly, swim' W *neidio* 'jump' Br *nijal* fly' For other cases of *d* > *ǯ̌* v § 263

(3) In Br the stem-ending consonant in 3 sg and 2 pl pres and of verbs whose verb-noun ends in *-ia* is palatalized *glebia* to damp', 3 sg *gleb* 2 pl *glebit* This was caused by the foll *j* and then transferred to forms without *j* Frequently *l n, d, t* are palat after *i* *dillad* 'clothes' now wi *dilhad* *din* 'to me', *int* 'are (with *ñt'*), *treid* 'feet' In Tréguier and V the back consonants are palatalized before front vowels and after *i* *,k ik * = *kik* flesh in Tréguier

There has been in Br much further development of the palatalized sounds *s* before *e* and *i* became *š* *chetu — setu* voici', V *chelen* Léon *selaou* 'listen' MlBr *sezlou* Co *go-lsowas* Fr *š* became *s* before *i* *siminal* chimney (also *chi-*, V *che-*) *sifern* 'cold in the head' cf Fr *enchifrener* to cause a cold in the head' *sk* before front vowels gave V *š* *dichen* descent' (also *disken*), *chuéh* 'tired' (also *skueh*) Léon *skuiz* also in sandhi *n'en dès chet é bar ar en doar* 'his equal is not on the earth' (Leon *n'en deuz ket*) Palat *t* and *d* tend to become *k'*, *g'* Bas vann *ket* = *tiec* head of the house' Most important are the old changes of cons + *j* *zj*, *sj* become *š* Bi *avechou* 'sometimes' W *weithiau*, Br *foz* 'grave', pl *fochou* from Lat *fossa*, *kj* became *j* Bi *marc'hek*, pl *marc'heien* rider -s , cf W *marchog -ion*, *tj* became *j* *kloc'h* 'bell', pl *kleier* (but not after a cons *talc'h* 'purse', pl *ilc'hier*), *tj* became *š* *hent* way', pl *henchou* cf W *hynt*, *-iau* *dj* became *ž* *oad* 'age', pl *oajou*, *ijenn* ox', *nijal* 'to fly' v above (2) *dg* > *dj* > z (in proper names) *Prit-gen* > *Prid-yen* > *Prijen*, *Lan-Ratien* (*Rat-gen*) > *Larrajen*, *Tut-gen*, *Lan-tutian*, *Lan-dujan*

In Br *l* mouillé is now wr *lh*, *ñ* is wi *gn*

§ 181   (i-umlaut and epenthesis in W.) Epenthesis in the case of *a* (wh becomes MlW *ei* MnW *-ei- -ai*) occurs in W before lost *-i*, and in the case of *a, o, e* before *j* in the following syll , umlaut occurs in the case of *a* before a retained *i* etc and in the case of

o and *e* also before lost -*ī*, *u* undergoes umlaut before -*ī* and before
j An *j* from *g* does not cause modification of the preceding vowel,
nor does an orig *e* or an *ı* that has been lowered to *e* according to
§ 184

(1) (*a* without foll *g* or *xt*) *a* before retained or lost *j* in the foll
syll W *ceıhog* 'cock' Og *Cahacı*, W *aıl* 'second' Lat *alıus*, OW
reıd gl spicum MnW *rhaıdd* 'spear' from Lat *radıus* — *a* before
lost -*ī* W *meırch*, pl of *march* 'horse' (-*ī* < -*oı*), MlW *ceınt* 'I sang'
(ending -*ō* 3 sg *cant*), *deıgr* tear (pl *daqrau*) **dak'rū*, W *neıdr*
snake' (pl *nadr-edd, -oedd*) *natrī In unaccent sylls *eı* became
y in certain cases *ceraınt, cerynt* pl of *câr* 'kinsman', *bustych* pl
of *bustach* 'steer' *meneıch, menych* pl of *mynach* 'monk' (cf Morris-
Jones, WG 90f) — *a* before retained *ı*, *y*, before *eı* (*aı*) or *e* due
to epenthesis or umlaut OW *erchım* MnW *erchı* *archaf* 'I bid
ask', W *gwen-dıd* 'weakness' *gwan* 'weak' W *cenır* 'is sung' *cân*
'song', OW *selsıc* gl lucanıa MnW *selsıg* 'black-pudding, sausage'
from Lat *salsīcıus* salted', OW *ehnn* MnW *ellyn* 'razor' Ir *altaın*,
W *defnydd* 'material' Ir *damnae*, W *Selyf* Lat *Salomon* (treated
in Celt as native *n*-stem nom *Salomō*), MlW *deuaıt* MnW *defaıd*,
pl of *dafad* 'sheep' An *a* in a syll or sylls preceding such an
affected *a* also undergoes umlaut MlW *cerennyd* 'kinship' MnW
carennydd OIr *caırde* (neut) *qarantıjo-m, OW *eterın* bird' MlW
ederyn MnW *aderyn* pl OW *atar* MnW *adar*, in OW *leguenıd*
MlW *llewenyd* 'joy' (MnW *llawenydd*) the *a* in the ante-penult
was changed before an orig *e* influenced by a following *y* In such
forms the *a* is analogically restored in MnW But no umlaut before
an uninfluenced orig *e* or before a lowered *ı* *llawen* 'glad', *maneg*
'glove', *pedwaredd* fourth' (fem , but masc *pedwerydd*), *gwragedd*
'women'

Note 1 The W diphthong *ae* in a syll preceding that in which an *a*
has undergone umlaut or epenthesis became *e* *y* or *ey* MlW *ryeıdyr* (=
rhyeıdr), *reydyr* (= *rheydr*) pl of *rhaeadr* 'cataract' W *heyrn* (formerly
disyll) pl of *haearn* 'iron W *deyerydd* 'lands *deyerın* 'earthen buried',
from *daear* earth', *heyernın* of iron', *greyenyn* 'grain of gravel' from *graean*

Note 2 The W diphthong *aw* (not from *ā* or *ō*) before lost -*ı* became
eu, Mn *au* *y* MlW *teu* MnW *tau*, 3 sg pres of *tawaf* I am silent', MlW
gwrendeu 'listens hears' *gwarandawaf* I hear' (MnW *gwrendy gwrandawaf*),
MlW *tereu* strikes' *tarawaf* 'I strike (MnW *tery* 'strikes), MlW *edeu* 'pro-
mises , *addawaf* I promise' (MnW *eddy*, later *addaw addawa*), MlW *edeu*
edy 'leaves' *adawaf* 'I leave' (MnW *gedy, gadawaf*) Before retained *ı* or *y*
this *aw* becomes *ew* *teuı* 'to be silent' MlW *tewy* MnW *teuı* 'thou art

silent', MlW *edewid* MnW *addewid* (anal restoration of *a*) 'promise', MlW *gwerendewych* 'thou mayest listen' MnW *gwrandewych*

(2) (*a* with following *g*, *xs* *xt*, *dr*) MlW *drein* MnW *drain*, pl of *draen* 'thorn' § 35, 1 — W *Sais* 'Englishman' from Lat *Saxō*, MlW *ceithiwed* 'captivity' from Lat *captīuitās* (MnW *cᴀethiwed*, analogically restored from *caeth* 'captive') W *eirif* 'number' Ir *áram* § 44 MlW *imteith* (= *ymddeith*) I went', cf *aeth* 'went', the simple form **eith* 'I went' was later extended to *eithum* which then became *euthum*, the form regularly found, similarly *gwneuthum* 'I made', the umlaut (*ei*) was caused by the original ending of the 1 sg -*ō*, then *ei* became *eu* through assimilation to the *u* of -*um*

(3) (*o* without following *g* *it*, etc) *o* before retained or lost *ɟ* W *meichiad* 'swineherd' *moch* 'swine', W *ceirch* oats' Ir *coirce* W *myfyr* study', *ystyr* meaning' from Lat *memoria*, *historia* — *o* before lost -*ĭ* *esgyb* bishops' § 77 2, *bywyd* life' § 92 *tyr* breaks' (ending -*ĭt*) *torraf* I break' — *o* before retained *i*, *y* or an affected vowel gives *e* OW *gnetig* (cod Lichf) MlW *(g)wedi* MnW *wedi* OW *quotig* Ox 1 (from the prefix *guo-* Ir *fo-* with -*tig* cf OIr *tig-bae* gl superstite) W *tebyg* like likely Ir *toich* Gk τοπικός belonging to place' W *rheu ydd* wanton § 35 2

(4) (*o* with following *g*, *it*) Before lost -*ĭ* is found *hy* otherwise *ei* Before *ɟ* W *neithiwr* last night § 52 Before lost -*ĭ* W *ŵyn*, pl of *oen* lamb § 40,2, *ciwyn* pl of *croen* skin' § 53, *wyth* eight from **ok'tō* — Before retained *i* *gwein* serve' § 36

(5) (Umlaut of *u*) The umlaut of *u* is W *y* — *u* before *ɟ* *dyn* 'man' § 28 — *u* before lost -*ĭ* *ych* ox' (ending -*ō*), *llyg* 'mouse' **lukōt-s* — For W *llys* herb' (pl *llysiau*, new sg *llysieuyn*, coll *llyseuryn*) cf § 182,5

(6) (Umlaut and epenthesis of *e*) *e* before *ɟ* *heibio* 'past' *heb* 'without' (formerly also past') — *e* before lost *ĭ* *erbyn* 'against' Ir *archiunn* before' (dat of W *pen* Ir *cenn* head end ending -*ō* > -*ĭ*), *gwŷl* sees' (ending -*ĭt*) from *gueled* 'see

e + *at* before lost -*ĭ* *nith* 'niece § 31

The W compar *hŷn* 'older' comes from a nominative form in -*ɟōs*, the -*ɟō*- having first become -*ĭ*-, cf W *llith* lesson' from Lat *lēctiō* (in the form **lectiō* with short *e*)

§ 182 (Umlaut in Co.) Umlaut (epenthesis) occurs in Co under the same conditions as in W (1) (Umlaut of *a* without a foll vocalized consonant) Before *ɟ* OCo *chelioc* 'cock' (MlCo *colyek*, *kullyek*), MlCo

reys, res 'necessary', *yll, eyll* 'another' — Before lost -*i mergh*
'horses' (sg *margh*), *gurek* 'woman' — Before a retained vowel
MlCo *seuel* 'stand' § 69, *escarn, yscarn* pl of *ascorn* 'bone' *deues*,
pl of *dauas, daves* 'sheep', *kerense* 'friendship'

(2) (*a* **with a foll. vocalized consonant**) OCo *drein* MlCo *dreyn*
MnCo *drēn* pl of OCo *drain* gl spina, MlCo *yth* 'I went', 3 sg *eth*

(3) (*o* **without a foll voc consonant**) OCo *kearch* 'oats' MlCo
kerh, — *ter* 'breaks' *torraf* 'I break', — MlCo *terry, tyrry* 'break',
kelly lose' W *colli*

(4) (*o* **with a foll voc. consonant**). MnCo *nehuer* 'last night , *ean*
'lambs' (for diphthongization v § 151 2 b), MnCo *eath* 'eight'

(5) (**Umlaut of** *u*) MlCo *tell tel* pl of *toll, tol* 'hole' W *tull* Br
toull OCo *les* gl herba MlCo *leys* pl *losou* W *llysiau* Br *louzou*
Ir sg *lues*

(6) **Umlaut of** *e* is obscured by the MlCo varied orthography
MlCo *erbyn* 'against', *er ou fyn* 'against me' (always with -*y*-) *pen*
'head (always with -*e*-)   OCo *idne* 'auceps' *ydnic* 'pullus'

Note 1   The MlCo *ey* can be identical with -*y* (cf *leys* herb' and § 6,
OCo *neid* 'nest') But OCo *ei* MlCo *ey* occurring in the same circumstances
as W *ei* (and *uy*) was originally no doubt a diphthong

Note 2 Variations between W and Co are due to analogy or to different
derivations Thus in Co *wose* 'after W *wedi* Co *go nys* 'to work W
gweini 'serve the orig vowel has been restored in the first syll in Co OCo
amen en 'butter' is due to the influence of a shorter form (without the suffix
-*en*) cf Br *amann* (und *aman-enn*)

§ 183   (Umlaut in Br.) Umlaut appears in Br in the same cir-
cumstances as epenthesis or umlaut in W The modified vowel is
always *e*, but when *i* (MnBr *i*) or *y* (and *ẃ*, *ž* § 180 3) occurs in
the foll syll the *e* has generally become *i* Rarely *ei* v n 1

(1) (*a* **without a fo'l. vocalized consonant**). Before *y* Br *kil'ek/*
'cock (wr *killek, kilhek* etc) *grisienn* 'root' (pl *grisiou, grichou*),
red necessary' *qer* word' W *gair* Co *ger* Ir *forn-gaire* 'command',
Br *ed* 'another — Before lost -*i grek* 'wife' -*iz* in 1 sg pret
(*heiriz*, 3 sg *lararaz*) — Before a retained vowel *brini, tirvi* pl
of *bran* 'crow' *taro* bull *serel* stand OBr *celmed* gl efficax W
celfydd 'skilful' MnBr *eskern* pl of *askourn* 'bone', MnBr *ebestel*,
pl of *abostol* 'apostle' — *ao* > *oi* in *teurel* 'throw', part *taolet* (W
taflu Co *tevlel*), *leuskel* 'loosen', part *laosket*

(2) (*a* **with a foll voc consonant**) Br *drein*, pl of *drean* 'thorn',
OBr *nahu-lei* gl nihilo-minus MnBr *iz* I went' beside 3 sg *eaz*

(3) (*o* without a foll. voc. consonant) MlBr *ster* 'valeur, signıfi-
catıon' from Lat *hıstorıa* — Br *meot*, pl of *maout* 'wether' —
kıgı, pl of *kok* 'cock', MlBr *nevez* 'new', *levenez* 'joy' *laouen* 'glad',
terrı 'break', *gwelc'hı* (and *gwalc'hı*) 'wash' W *golchı* *o* was occa-
sıonally retaıned ın OBr *rogedou* gl orgıs § 35,2, *nouuıd* 'new'
§ 13,4 (then *neuued*) Cf OW *guotıg* § 181,3

(4) (*o* with a foll voc consonant) Bı *neızeur* 'last nıght', *eın*, pl
of *oan* 'lamb', *eız* 'eıght' Inf *treı* 'turn', *teı* 'to thatch'

(5) (*u*) Br *le* 'oath' Ir *luge* § 35,3

(6) (*e*) Before retaıned ı (ı e MnBr *ı*) and *j*, old *e* and Br *e*
from IE ı have become ı Br *ımn* finger-naıl W *ewın*, Br *hırıo*
'to-day' W *heddıw* — Umlaut of *e* + *xt* Br *nız* 'mece' § 31

Note 1   In *ul* another *teıl* 'dung' (W *taıl* MnCo *teıl* 'fumus', cf
OSI *tılga* 'corruptıo *tljo* *tĺjā*) there appears epenthesıs which must be
due to specıal cırcumstances (perhaps *a* before *l* + lost *j*, ıt does not appear
ın *kell* testıcle § 22, so not before *llj*) Further umlaut *e* before fınal Br *z*
from *d*, *þ* *s*, as well as IE ı (§ 6,2 *kleız* left' § 21 4), became *eı* Br *preız*
'booty' W *praıdd* from Lat *praedıum* *bleız* wolf' W *blaıdd* OCo *bleıt* Ir
bled gl pıstrıx), Br *heız* barley W *haıdd* § 22 thıs does not occur ın the
case of unaffected IE ı Bı *pez* W *peth* 'thıng' § 179 Bı *bez* W *bedd* 'grave',
Br *mez* W *medd* mead

Note 2   The change to *ı* before a retaıned *ı* /*j*/ frequently does
not take place, mostly owıng to analogy (thus *keqı* and *keger* besıde
kıqı cocks , *leskı* 'burn W *llosgı* cf MlBr *lısgudıc* 'burnt') It does not
happen when '*j*/ ımmedıately follows the vowel *kleıer*, pl of *kloc'h* 'bell'

Note 3   Bı dıffers from W ın numerous cases, due generally to analogy,
cf § 182 n 2, and v VKG 1 382

§ 184   (Lowerıng of ı and u)   Short *u* and *ı* before a fınal -*ā*
became *o* and *e* ın W and orıgınally ın Co and Br also

The most numerous examples occur ın nouns and adjectıves
with *ā*-stems W *gwedd* fem 'aspect' to Lat *uıdeō* 'I see', W
dofn fem of *dwfn* 'deep', *gwen*, fem of *gwyn* 'whıte', W *blynedd*
'years' (endıng *-ıjās*) /*-ı vt-*/ /*-ext-*/ ın W *brıth* 'speckled', fem
MlW *breıth* MnW *braıth*

Thıs change took place only ın the case of pr Brıt accented
u and *ı*, and so the resultant *o* and *e* occur only ın a fınal syll ın W
The unlowered vowels *u* and *ı* came to be regarded as a sıgn of the
masculıne gender, and *o* and *e* of the femınıne Thıs has caused
anal changes of gender, thus *cyllell* 'knıfe (from Lat *cultellus*) ıs
fem ın W as also ıs *pont* 'brıdge (from Lat *pont-em*) The form
bechan fem of *bychan* 'small' ıs analogıcal

Lowering occurred also in Co and Br   MlCo *gvraget* (without umlaut), pl of *gurek* 'wife', OBr *Uuin-mael* (man's name), *Uuenbrit* (woman's name) v Loth, RC 8 168f , cf also Br *kountell* fem 'knife' from Lat *cultellus*   But the spontaneous change of short *i* to *e* in Co and in MlBr , MnBr has in general obscured the alternation due to lowering

§ 185   (1) (Rounding of vowels in Brit.) For *wi* > /wu/ > /u/ v § 6,3   — In W there occur a few cases of the rounding of *y* to *u* after a labial   W *bustl* 'gall' Br *bestl*, W *pump*, MlW *pymp* OW *pimp* (the unrounded vowel has persisted in *pymtheg* 'fifteen' and *pythefnos* 'fortnight')   In MnW /u/ has lost its rounding, being pronounced /y/ (in SW /i/)   — For /uy/ (*u'y*) from *ij* after a labial (W *mwyar*, *bwyall*) v § 21,2   — In post-tonic sylls *y* has become /u/ in W   2 pl *cerwch* 'you love' (1 sg *caraf*)   Cf *peswch* 'cough' (beside *pas* 'whooping-cough')

A Co example of rounding after a labial is OCo *boghan* 'small' beside MlCo *byhan*, *beghan* Ir *beccán* OW *bichan* MlW MnW *bychan* Br *bihan* (cf MlCo *boghes* 'little'   W *bychod* OCo *bochodoc* 'poor' MlCo pl *bohosogyon*, all from a pr (**biqno-* = Ir *becc*)

(2) (Unrounding of vowels in Brit) *ju* > *i* in W   W *Iddew* 'Jew' Co *ethow* § 77 3, MlW *Idas* 'Judas', etc v § 20 n 2

Unrounding of *o* after *w* has occurred in all Brit languages W *gwasgod* Br *quasked* beside Ir *foscad* 'shadow etc § 3,4   Instances of unrounding of *oe* to *ae* in W   *gwaew* 'spear' (*gwayw*) § 34,3   *chwaer* 'sister' § 24,3, *quaed* blood' OCo *quit* MlCo *goys* Br *goad* (also wr *gwad*), W *gwaelod* bottom' OW *guoilaut* Br *goeled*

XI. Nasalization.

§ 186   In MnIr and Br a vowel is frequently nasalized under the influence of a neighbouring nasal   In certain circumstances also a consonantal nasal can develop from a nasal vowel

(1) There are traces of nasalization in the Arran dialect   it is more frequently found in the dial of Donegal (where lenited *m* is frequently pronounced *u'* and /v/) 'N'*i̯*/ not' *ni*, /*mu'y̆*/ 'phable' *maoith*, /*krọ*/ 'nut' *inu*, *cno* Cf exx in § 71, also Arr /*klũ̜a*/ 'feather' *clúmhach*, '*tu̜s'* riddle' *tomhas* (Don /*tọsi*/, /*k̆ūxdə*/ power' *cumhachta*   For nasalization in Manx cf Rhys, Manx Phonology pp 31ff , and in Se v Staples and cf Henderson, ZCP 4 493ff

Nasalization of consonants nasalized *l*-sound in Ir *lámh* 'hand'
(Henebry, Dēsi-Irish p 73), in Sc *amhluadh* 'confusion, dismay',
Domhnull, nasal /ɡ/ in Sc *dhomh* 'to me', nasal /ɟ/ in Sc *oidhche*
'night' (Staples)   Also len *b* (*bh*) became *mh* in OIr *nóib* 'holy'
MIr *nóeb, noem* MnIr *naomh*   Further, *r* could become *n* *cnuimh*
'worm' = *cruimh*

(2) A vowel can be nasalized in Br by a lenited *m* (> *v*), the
nasalization being indicated by *ñ* after the vowel *hañv, hañ* 'sum-
mer' (/hɑv/ or /hɑo/, /hɑ/), *preñv* 'worm' (/prẹv/), *dañvad* 'sheep'
After *n* > *r* *kraouñ* 'nuts' § 71,3

  Note Thus *ñ* must be distinguished from the pure *n* (cf *dañvad*
sheep' *danvez* 'material', *hañv* summer' *hanv* name')

XII Sandhi-*n* (Eclipsis)[1].
Eclipsis in Irish

§ 187 Original final *n* (from IE *n* or *m*) is in certain word-
groups in Ir either retained or to be recognized by its effect upon
the following initial consonant   Before a vowel it appears as *N*
Before *g d, b* it appears as *n* *v, m* (*ng, Nd, mb* eventually giving *n*,
N, m, cf § 37,4, § 45, § 49)   The nasal coalesces with a foll
k', t', eventually giving *q, d* (§ 54, § 64,3, § 70) The similar develop-
ment of nasal + mut *p* to *b* is analogical, as *p'* occurs in loan-words
only   After the nasal an initial *w*- remains voiced (> *ι*), the nasal
being lost The nasal is assimilated to a foll *s, r, l n, m*

The modification of an initial consonant by eclipsis is not
regularly denoted in OIr orthography In MnIr the nasal is re-
gularly attached (with or without a hyphen) to the foll word,
initial *g, d, b, v* (from *k, t, p, f*) are written *gc, dt, bp, bhf* (or *g-c* etc)
OIr *imbélre naill* 'into another language , *rad ndé* 'the grace of God',
cofer n aile 'to another man' Wb 9d 31, *in héll* gl in aemulationem,
icorp 'in the body' Eclipsis of *k* and *t* is occasionally denoted in
writing in OIr *nachgéin* '(for) any long (time)' (acc of *cían*) Wb
7a 11, *intain diagmani* 'when we go' (*tiag*-) Wb 3 a 15, *oldo, oldái,*
oldaas 'than I am, than thou art, than he is' (after a compar ,
-táu 'am') MnIr *ι n-aimsir* 'in time', *cur ι gcéill* 'to remind' ("to
put in mind"), *ι bhfiadhnaise* 'in presence', *na ndeór* 'of the tears'
(*nd = N'*)

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[1] Cf Zimmer Eclipsis destituens im Altirischen, KZ 27 449−468,
Holger Pedersen KZ 35 385ff , Thurneysen, ZCP 5 1−19

§ 188. Sandhi-*n* is not found **before unaccented words.** OIr
forcital a'*laih* 'to teach another' (*forcital* is neuter), *lóg apecthe* 'the
price of his sins' (*lóg* neuter), *is fír ón* 'this is true' Exceptions
occur in Ml and Sg (cf Thurneysen, ZCP 5 3) *cid becn di ulc*
'even a little of evil' Ml 46a l

Note Exx of eclipsis between two proclitics regarded as one word
co-m bad adramail in macc 'so that the son would be like the father' is
follus na n d-at foirbthi uili it is clear that all are not perfect

§ 189. (Eclipsing words in Ir) Sandhi-*n* appears in Ir **(1)** after
the interrogative particle *i* OIr *hi pridchabat* 'will they preach ?'
Wb 13 a 13 *im-ba immalei* 'will it be at the same time ?' Wb
4 b 16 Usually *in* is restored before all consonants *in biam* 'shall
we be ?' MnIr *a, an* with regular eclipsis **(2)** After certain pre-
positions *co* with' (Lat *cum*), *i* 'in' (Lat *in*, Gaul OW OBr *in*
MIW MnW *yn* Co *yn* Br *en*), *iar* 'after' (compar neut § 30), *re*
'before' (Gk πρίν) **(3)** After infixed pers pron 3sg masc fem
and after pl -*s*- **(4)** In *cechtar n-ái* each of the two', *nechtar n-ai*
'either of the two' *cechtar n-athar* 'each of us two' (but *cechtar de*,
nechtar de = *c n n-ái*), *ind-ala-n-ái* 'one of them' **(5)** After *a*
'their', *ar* 'our' *for far, bar* 'your' **(6)** After the numerals 7—10
secht, ocht, noi, deich (anal after *ocht*) **(7)** After all neut cases of
'2', and after the dat of '2' in all genders After the nom acc dual
neut of nouns in MIr eclipsis occurs (no exx from OIr), no
eclipsis after the dat dual of nouns OIr *da n-orpe* two inheri-
tances' MIr *da n-all n-áebda* two fine bridles LU 8595, OIr *in
dib n-uarib deac* 'by twelve hours' Thes II 10 4 *for dib milib ech*
'on two thousand horses' Ml 43 d 1, *in dan s* 'of the two *s*'s' Sg
16 b 6 **(8)** After declined words in g pl , acc sg , nom acc sg
neut (also after *cét* 100' in nom acc and after the g of *tri* '3',
cethir 4', and by anal the g of *coic* '5 and *sé* 6 further after
indegaid after , *tarési* after for', *dochum* 'to) After the acc sg
masc fem of the article *sechtar in degdais* 'outside the house'
Ml 61 b 22 (*tegdais* 'house'), but eclipsis has been given up before
g d b in béstatid n-isin 'that morality' (acc) Wb 12 d 39 **(9)** As
'relative eclipsis' **(10)** After relative preverbs

§ 190 Combinations in which eclipsis occurs in Ir. (§ 189, 5—8)
(1) The attribute preceding the word to which it is related OIr
da n-orpe two inheritances' **(2)** The attribute following the
related word *in gnim n-olc* (acc) the evil deed' The nasal mostly

does not occur between two consonants in Wb (*inna tol domunde* 'of the worldly desires' Wb 21a 8), not so in Ml (3) Apposition and the like OIr *fri dia n-athir* 'to God the Father' Ml 127d 8, Tur 26, MlIr *is cendtromm n-imthursech n-anfálid n-osnadach dothæt mo phopa Læg* (§ 193 2) 'heavy-headed, sad, joyless, sighing comes my father L' LL 74b 25 (4) A g foll the word to which it belongs OIr *laa m brátha* 'day of judgment' Wb 26a 1 (but *laa brátha* 29 a 28), *dochum n dée* 'to God', *rad ndé* 'the grace of God' Wb 7d 3 (but often *rad dǽ*) (5) A noun (preceded by the art) with the demonstratives *í-sin, í-siu, ucut an uathath n-isiu* 'this one' Wb 5a 26, *in tegdais n-ucut* (acc) 'that house' Wb 33a 4 (6) Occasionally between a noun and a conjugated preposition *no-n-guidim-se dia n-erut-su* 'that I pray to God for thee' Wb 27d 19 (but *guidid dia eruib-si* 'he prays to God for you' Wb 27d 7) (7) *cia inn erbirt m-biuth* (acc) 'to what use' Ml 46b 28 (inf of *arbeir biuth* 'he uses') (8) A noun followed by relative verb *a cobás m-bis etar n* (art) *di rainn* 'the connection which is between the two parts' Sg 2b 2, *tri-sinn-oi pred n-dogniat* 'through the work that they do' Ml 42c 2

§ 191 (The psychological value of sandhi -*n* in Ir.) Apparently sandhi-*n* came to be regarded in OIr and MlIr as a separate morphological element to denote some grammatical relationship, and so was used even after an intervening non-eclipsing word MlIr *a bunsaig m-báisi* (g sg) *m-bunloscthi* 'his toy-javelin with its fire-hardened butt-end (lit "his rod of play bottom-burnt")* LL 62a 48, *dely n-argit* (g sg) *n-and* 'a silver brooch therein' LU 5205f , *déde didiu n-and* 'two things, then, are therein' Wb 1a 5 (*didiu* 'then' from *di sudiu*)

§ 192 (Origin and position of relative eclipsis). The development of sandhi-*n* as a morphological element became progressive only in its use to denote a relative verb (§ 190,8) The phonologically regular use of relative eclipsis was thus extended in two directions First, eclipsis was used after originally non-eclipsing forms *is hed dathar dún* 'therefore people are angry with us' Wb 28d 4 (*dathar* eclipsed impers of -*táu* 'I am') Many cases are doubtful, as the forms followed by eclipsis may have been dat or acc , thus *céin mbis* 'so long as he is' Wb 8b 1, *in tain mbís* 'when he is' Wb 17b 3 (*céin* may be acc , *tain* may be dat), *amal mbís* 'as is' Wb 10b 4 (*amal* may be acc , though this is doubtful) Secondly, eclipsis occurs before the verb when another word, particularly a preverb,

comes between it and the eclipsing word *in-tain ro-mbói* 'when he
has been' Wb 2c 5   Only in late OIr does -*n* come before both
preverb and verb   *amal n do-n-d-foirde ainmm ndiles* 'as the proper
name signifies it' Sg 26b 12

Sandhi-*n* after a preverb was associated with the infixed pro-
nouns   With a simple verb sandhi-*n* (like a pronoun) is preceded
by the preverb *no is lerithir inso no-nguidim se dia* 'so urgently
do I pray to God'   Also like the pers prons relative *n* comes
between the copula and the predicate *doadbadar sunt atá-nili dána
in spirto* 'here is shewn that the Spirit's gifts are many' Wb 12a 11
(but not if the copula has a preverb *in-tain ro-mbo mithig* 'when
it was seasonable' Wb 31a 9) — When the verb is preceded by a
preverb and an infixed pron , relative *n* comes before the latter,
but it can come before a pron of the *d*-series (§ 342) only (*in-tain
do-n-d iccfa* 'when it will so come' Wb 5c 5), before the other forms
without *d* it is dropped (electionem 1 *do-b-rograd* 'wherewith ye
have been called' Wb 24c 4)   Irregular *an atamm-re sa* gl exsur-
gente mc Ml 31c 14 (the *n* dropped between the two *d* sounds
which have coalesced into -*t*-), *ci-o-fut fritat-n-íarr su* 'how long
shall he offend thee' Ml 93a 15 (the *n* comes after the pron because
p and *d* have coalesced)   For *nad-n-* and *nand-* v § 390,9

§ 193 (The use of the relative eclipsis) Relative eclipsis occurs
(1) optionally as object *chech irnigde do-ngneid* 'every prayer that
ye make' Wb 5c 20   As subject only when phonologically regular
(*a cobás mbis* § 190,8)   But lenition can occur as object as well as
eclipsis *an imdibe adchi cách* 'the circumcision which everyone sees'
Wb 2a 2   (2) After adjs of manner *is dinnimu do-ngní alaill* 'it
is more carelessly that he makes the other Wb 4c 33 (the adj
was neuter, and so mostly ended in -*n*)   (3) After nouns when the
rel has the force of an adverbial case (instrumental, locative)
méit do-nindnagar fornni fochith 'in proportion as suffering is be-
stowed upon us' Wb 14b 15   Also in cases of figura etymologica
ni legend ro-llegusa la petor act is cúrsagad ro-n-d-cursagusa 'it
is not a reading which I have read with Peter but a reprimand
with which I have reprimanded him' Wb 19a 6   (4) After certain
nominal forms used as conjunctions, *amal* 'as' *amal as-n-don-
berat* 'as they say of us Wb 2a 12 (not when *amal* means 'as if'
amal ni cuimsimmis 'as if we should not have been able' Wb 17c 18),
— *céin* 'as long as', *in-tain* 'when', *la-sse* 'when', *an* 'when' (neut

article) *lasse do-ngní* 'when thou dost' Wb 1c 10, *an no-nderbid gl* probantes Wb 22 b 24, — *hóre* 'because' *óre do-nécomnacht* 'because he has imparted' Wb 1 a 1 (but as a rule not before proclitic words *huare as in deacht* 'because it is the Godhead' Ml 25 c 5, frequently also not after the copula *hore am essamin se* 'since I am fearless' Wb 23 b 7), — *fo-bíth* 'because', *dég* 'because' *dég ro-mbu écndaircc* 'since he was absent' Also after *ol* 'because' *ol donecmaing* gl quod accidit Sg 40 a 16 (but *ol is amein* 'as it is so', *ol atá lee dano an ingnad so* 'since it has this marvel too' Sg 167a 4) — No eclipsis after *resíu* 'before', *acht* 'provided that', *na* 'so that not', *ó* 'since, from the time that' (5) When it has the force of a predicate-noun *cia hé nu-ndirnaigther siu* gl qui sis Ml 75 c 9, *co-mbi óin-chorp pectho as-mberar* 'so that it is said to be one body of sin' Wb 9 d 5 (6) When it has the force of a dative or genitive in cases like *in talamgeindi* 1 *as ndi thalam do* 'the earth-born, 1 e who is of the earth' Ml 68 c 4 ("to whom origin is from earth"), *im cech rét ru-necat les* 'in respect of everything which they need' Ml 57 b 4 (7) When it means 'that' (in reported speech, etc) *epert friss ro mbad pater multarum gentium* 'to say to him that he should be pater multarum gentium' Wb 2 c 24 *ní nád m bed ar-se di chorp* 'not that it is not therefore of the body' Wb 12 a 22 (8) In the formula *cit-n-é* in subordinate interrog sents *assindet sunt tra citné cumacte diandid coir in fognam* 'he declares here, then, what are the powers unto which the service is proper' Wb 6 a 9 In Ml and in MlIr *citné* occurs in principal sentences also, v Strachan, Ériu I 9, and § 376

§ 194. (The relative preverbs) When the relative is dependent upon a preposition, the preposition originally in Ir stood as a preverb before the verb and in loose composition with it, without any sign of the relative (cf Eng *the age I live in*) In such circumstances relative eclipsis spread considerably (anal formations like the cases § 193, 3) This however did not occur (1) at all in the case of the preverb *i-n intí im-bíi in spirut* 'he in whom is the Spirit' Wb 8 b 10, (2) very frequently with the negative *ni fil ceneel   di-nad-rícthe nech* 'there is no race of which some one shall not have been saved' Wb 28 b 1, *di-nacon-bi móin* 'from which no treasure is wont to be' Ml 85 b 7

Exx of relative eclipsis *cid ar-mbad spiritualis ind ail* 'why should the rock be spiritualis ?' Wb 11a 19, *in sians ondid accobor*

'the understanding from which is desire' Wb 12 d 23   It was also added to the relative (subj and obj) preverb form *ara- is hed torbe   aratobarr labrad ilbélre* 'this is the profit for which is given speaking many tongues' Wb 12 d 29

The form *aran-* was wrongly regarded as *ar + an* (neut of the demonstrative pron used as article), and by anal most relative preverbs assumed forms which seemed identical with a cpd of the prep and the article *in rinnd dia-ruba* 'the sting wherewith thou hast struck' Wb 13 d 25, *foran-idparar* on which offering is made' 5 b 6, *forsam-mitter* 'on whom thou passest judgment' 6 b 22, *indhí lasm-bi accobur* they with whom is desire' 30 c 23, *tresin-dip-piat fochricci* 'through which ye will have rewards' 25 d 8

Prepositions used as conjunctions, but not compounding with verbs, must be distinguished from the preverbs *o* 'since, from the time that', *ol* 'because' (§ 193,4), *co* until, so that' (*co ni bé eter in peccato, act co beid in pœnitentia* so that he may not be at all in peccato, but that he may be in paenitentia Wb 9b 2) But *co* has been influenced by the relative preverbs *co-mbi óin-chorp* so that it is one body' Wb 9 b 5, *co-n-da-riccad dia* that God might save them' Wb 4 d 19   The *-n* occasionally remains before *s f k, t, r   co-n-fesatar imbed in raith* that they may know the abundance of the grace' Wb 26 d 33   (Actual rel preverbs which have become conjunctions *ara-n* 'in order that' *ar-na* in order that not', *dia-n* if')

§ 195   (The later history of eclipsis in Ir) Rel eclipsis has disappeared in MnIr (for traces v § 393) Otherwise too eclipsis is much restricted, it no longer appears after substantives (for MnIr eclipsis after the art v § 231) In Sc the old eclipsis has practically disappeared But the eclipsing *n-* has united with the preceding word in some cases Olr *a* 'their', *co* that' Sc *an, gun* Further the *-n* of these and other proclitics voices a following explosive or *f*, the modified pronunciation not being as a rule expressed in the orthography In the case of *c, t, p* and *f* the result is identical with that of old eclipsis but it is caused even by some originally non-eclipsing forms of the article *an tàillear* 'the tailor', *am pìobair* the piper' are pronounced with *d/* and *ʲb/* And the changing of the voiceless *g, d b* into voiced *g d, b* after proclitic words in *-n* cannot have anything to do with the old eclipsis For details v Francis C Diack, RC 39 125—128 and J Fraser RC 40 139—142

Eclipsis in Brit.

§ 196. (Eclipsis in W.) In Brit , eclipsis has best been preserved
in W   Initial *g, d, b, k, t, p* become *n, n, m, nh, nh, mh* (v § 37, 4,
§ 19, § 45, § 70, 2)   Eclipsis is not regularly denoted in MlW   It
occurs **(1)** (cf § 189, 2) after the prep *yn* 'in' (wr *yng* before *ng-*,
ym before *m-*) MlW *yggwisc derw* MnW *yng ngwisg dderw* 'in a
garment of oak (coffin)', MlW *yngkernyw /ənhernyw/* MnW *yng
Nghernyw* 'in Cornwall', MlW *yglyfranc Powys* MnW *yng nghyf-
franc Powys* 'in the battle of Powys', MnW *ym mhoen* 'in pain'
The *-n* of *yn* becomes *-m* before a radical *m-* *ym Morgannwg* 'in
Glamorgan'   The form *yn* remains unchanged before a verb-noun
(infin) the initial consonant of the vn being also unmodified   *yn
canu* 'singing', *yn prynu* 'buying', *yn myned* 'going' **(2)** (cf § 189, 5)
After *fy* 'my' MlW *vyggwreic* MnW *fy ngwraig* 'my wife', MlW
vyn dwyn /və nuyn/ MnW *fy nwyn* 'my bearing, bearing me', MlW
vygcret (/-əh-/) MnW *fy nghred* 'my faith'   *fy* often becomes *'y*
which is frequently dropped in poetry after a vowel   *a thorri 'nhŷ
a thre 'nhad* 'destroying my house and my father's home'   This is
general in Mn spoken Welsh **(3)** (cf § 189, 6)   Traces of eclipsis
remain after *saith* '7', *naw* '9', *deg* '10', *can(t)* 100', whence it spread
by anal to *pum(p)* '5', *wyth* '8', *ugain* '20' and rarely to *tri* '3',
chwe(ch) 6' It is however confined to a few words (years', 'days',
'cows 'men') MlW *chwech mlyned* 'six years', *seith mlyned* 'seven
years' *deugein meu* forty days', *nau myu* 'nine cows', *seithnyn*
'seven men' It is now found only in *diwrnod* 'day', *blynedd* 'years'
and the adj *blwydd* 'year-old', after *pum saith, wyth, naw, deng*
ten , *pymtheng* '15', *ugain, can* 100', v Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg,
§ 88   Before a nasal *deg, deuddeg* '12', *pymtheg* become *deng,
deuddeng, pymtheng*, and *-ng* frequently appears before a vowel
deng awr 'ten hours' **(4)** (cf § 189, 8) In *beunydd* 'daily', a mut-
ated form of *peunydd*, from **peu-n dydd*, where **peu-n* represents
the acc of *pawb*, cf *beunoeth* 'nightly' (and the new formation
beunos)

§ 197. (Eclipsis in Co. and Br.) Eclipsis does not occur in Co or
Br , but the voiceless stops are changed into spirants in some cases
where eclipsis is found in W or Ir , after Br *va, me* 'my' V *me
halon* 'my heart', *me zad* 'my father', *me fen* 'my head' (but *men
dorn* 'my hand', *mem bis* 'my finger'), Léon *va c'haloun, va zad, va
fenn (va dourn, va biz)*, — after Br *nao* 'nine' *nao c'hant* '900'

Later fusion of final *n*- with a following initial

§ 198. -*n d*- > *n* in Br   MlBr *an nou* 'the two', *en noar* 'in the earth' (Co *yn nor*), *an or (an nor)* 'the door', *crochen an niuquell* 'the skin of the two testicles', *en ha parres* 'in thy parish', *en a holl deuotion* 'in all thy devotion' MnBr V *en eu, en iù* 'the two' (masc and fem), *en erùen* 'the oak'   But cf Thurneysen, ZCP 16, 295, Loth, RC 36, 105 f

For younger effects of final *n* in Sc   v   § 195 and the dialectal forms quoted by Quiggin, Proc Cambridge Philol Soc LXXVI—LXXVIII p 16 /ə *nōr*/ *an gabhar*, /ə *ᴋᴏrəs*/ *an dorus*, /ə *mārd*/ *am bàrd*, /ə *ʋhaht*/ *an cat*, /ə *nharan*/ *an t-aran*, /ə *mhehper*/ *am paıpear* 'the goat, the door, the poet, the cat, the bread, the paper'

XIII. The history of *h*.

§ 199 In OW OBr orthography the use of *h* is irregular   It was written initially before monosylls beginning with a vowel OW *ho* 'from', *hi* 'in', *hair* gl clades (later *aer*)   It had no phonetic value in such cases, nor, for example, in OW *gurehic* MlW *gwreic* MnW *gwraig*, where *ei* can never have been a disyll   Similar irregularity in the use of *h* is seen in OC'o and particularly in OIr

§ 200. (Sandhi-*h* in Ir.) In MnIr *h* is put before an initial vowel after a preceding word ending in a vowel and not producing lenition   The chief instances are **(1)** After *a* 'her' *a h-ainm* 'her name' **(2)** After the art   *na h-aoisc* 'of the age , *na h-éin* 'the birds' **(3)** After *dia* 'day' *dia h-aoine* 'Friday' **(4)** After *o* 'nepos' *aujo-s   *O h-Airt* MN **(5)** After *a* before substantival numerals *a haon* 'one', *a hocht* 'eight' **(6)** After *trí* 'three', *ceithre* 'four' **(7)** After *sé* 'six' **swek's* and *a* 'from' *eks *a hanbhroid an aidhbheirseóra* 'from the captivity of the devil' **(8)** After *lé* 'with' (OIr *la* § 114, 1) and *go* 'to' *ó áit go h-áit* 'from place to place' **(9)** After the negative *ná* *ná hadhair dee bréige* 'pray not to false gods' **(10)** After *ní*, when it does not cause lenition *ní háill liom* 'I do not wish' **(11)** After the preverb *do* (for OIr *ro*) before the pret pass *do horduigheadh* 'it was ordered', also *níor hóladh é* 'it was not drunk', *má hóltar* 'if is drunk' **(12)** After *cia* 'who' *cia hé* 'who is he', *cá haois* 'what age' **(13)** After *fá* 'was' *an mac fá hóige* 'the youngest son' "the son who was youngest" **(14)** After *an dara* 'the second' (from OIr *indala* 'other') *an dara háit* 'the second place' **(15)** After ordinal numerals in -*mhadh* and after *chomh* 'as' *an seachtmhadh*

halt 'the seventh chapter', *chomh hóg* 'as young', Arr /*xo hōg*/ (more frequently *chomh óg*)

In cases 1—4, 6, and 14 (when nom masc) the *h* follows a word originally ending in IE -*s* which regularly gives Ir *h* before a vowel Such sandhi -*h* from IE -*s* must have remained in OIr , but it is not regularly denoted in OIr orthography *a ainm* 'her name', *inna anme* 'of the mind', *a óen* 'one', *la adam* 'with Adam', *ni áil dún* 'we desire not' But it is sometimes denoted *ni hed* 'not it', *ni hé* 'not he'

Sandhi-*h* is much more frequently found in Sg than in Wb and Ml , and in this Sg represents the change to MIr where sandhi-*h* is exceptionally frequent if not regular

§ 201 (Sandhi-*h* In W.) Sandhi-*h* in W represents IE -*s* after MlW *y* MnW ʾ*i*, *ei* (pron /*i*/) 'her MlW *y henw*, MnW *ei henw* 'her name' In all other cases it is anal (1) after the infixed pron MlW *e* MnW ʾ*i* 'him, her', ʾ*u* 'them' MlW *mi ae harhoaf* 'I will await him (her)', (2) after the infixed pron ʾ*m* 'my' MlW *om hanuod* 'against my will , also the infixed pron ʾ*m* 'me' MlW *am hymlityassant* 'who pursued me', in both these instances the *h* is regularly inserted in MnW , but in MlW usage varied between *h*- and no *h*-, (3) after MlW *an*, *yn* MnW *ein* (pron /*ən*/) 'our', *h*- always in MnW , with and without *h*- in MlW , (4) after *eu* 'their' *eu harglwydd* 'their lord', (5) in numerals above '20', *un ar hugain* '21', *dau ar hugain* '22' etc

Note Sandhi-*h* does not regularly occur in Co or Br as it does in W

§ 202 (Coalescence of *h* with a cons. In OIr.) $d + h > t$ OIr *inte* 'into her', *intiu* 'into them', OIr *do-intarrái* 'he returned' (-*ntarr*- from -*nd-r-h*-, *-ind-ro-so-*), *diltud* 'denial' v § 103 , $b + h > p$ *impe* 'about her', *impu* 'about them' $d + h > þ$ *miathamli* (dat) 'majesty' (*miad* 'honour' and *samail* 'likeness') $g + h > x$ *riched* 'heaven' from **ríg-sed* "king's seat" Kuno Meyer, Sitzungsber preuß Ak 1913, p 955 $h + g > x$ *fochaid* 'tribulation' (*fo* + *saigid* § 612) $x + h$ *seccu* 'past them' (*sech* 'past')

d + sandhi-*h* (orig -*s*) gave *t* when the nom sg masc art comes before a vowel (*int óin ball* 'the one member', *int athir* 'the father' MnIr *an t-athair*) Similarly the *d* of the art with a foll init len *s* (the *s* was retained in writing) OIr *int serc* 'the love' MnIr *an t-searc* /*əN t'ark*/

§ 203 (Cons + *h* In Brit.) W *teg* 'fair', superl *tecaf*, *drycin*

'bad weather' (*drwg* + *hin*), *ateb* 'answer' (**atı-* + **sek^v-*, cf Ir *aithesc* 'advice'), *epıl* 'offspring' (**eb* 'horse' + *hıl* 'offspring'), *dygaf* 'I bear', 3 sg subj *dyco*, *bwyd* 'food', *bwyta* 'eat' Also when *w* or *r, l, n* intervenes *cadw* 'keep', 3 sg subj *catwo*, *hagr* 'ugly', superl *hacraf*, *gwydn* tough', superl *gwytnaf dh* > *þ diwethaf* OW *diguedham* 'last' (*dıwedd* 'end'), *bytho* 'may be' (*bydd* 'will be'), *v* + *h coffa* remember' (*cof* 'memory'), *lloffa* 'glean' (*llaw(f)* 'hand'), *vr* + *h dyffryn* valley' MlW *dyffrynt* (*dwfr* 'water' + *hynt* 'way') — In late MnW the hardening caused originally by *h* is given up in the subj forms of the verb

The same changes occur in Co and Br , but not so extensively as in W Co subj *re-thokko* 'may bring' (beside *dogo*), *tekra* 'the fairest' Br *pesketa* 'to fish' (*pesked* 'fish') Final *g, d, b* became *k, t, p* in Br as in W in the superlative of adjectives, the same change spread analogically to the comparative

§ 204 (Initial *h* in OIr) In a number of words the OIr (and still the MlIr) orthography shows more or less regularly an initial *h-*, sometimes perhaps as the continuation of IE *p-* or *j-*, but sometimes clearly without etymological value In MnIr this *h-* has disappeared

§ 205 (Initial *h* in Brit.) Initial *h-* from orig *s-* has in general remained it tends to disappear in MnBr (It has disappeared in spoken W in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire) A non-etymological *h* occurs in some words OW *ocoluin* MnW *agalen* 'whetstone' MlBr *hygoulen* MnBr *higolenn* cf W *hogı* 'to whet' (**āk'-* cf Lat *ācer* 'sharp' Gk *ἀϰόνη* whetstone'), Co *hanow* Br *hano* 'name' (occasionally W *henw*, usually *enw*) § 9,2 Also in W *hun, hunan* 'self' (after *fy* 'my', *dy* 'thy' etc) Co *ow honan* etc MlBr *ma hunan* etc (to W *un* one'), W *herwydd* in *oheru ydd, yn herwydd* 'because Co *yn the herwyth* 'with thee', *herwyth* according to' Br *hervez* (containing the prefix *er-*) — A non-etym *h-* has developed under the influence of an earlier medial *h* in W *haearn* OCo *hoern* Br *houarn* iron', Br *hemolc'h, emolc'h* 'hunt', Br *huanad* W *uchenaid* 'sigh', Br *huel, uc'hel* 'high' — For loss of *h* in proclisis v § 123

XIV The Spirant Mutation in British

§ 206 In Brit medial stops after consonants for the most part changed into spirants, v the paragraphs treating of the different sounds Moreover intervoc double stops gave /*x*/, /*þ*/, /*f*/

W *gwrach* 'hag', *brych* 'speckled', *peth* 'thing', *brethyn* 'cloth' § 73,
W *nyth* 'nest' (orig *zd* § 27), W *pechod* 'sin', *llythyr* 'letter', *cyff*
'stock, stem' (Lat borrowings), W *achul* 'narrow' (*ad + *cul*),
athrugar 'merciful' (*ad + *trugar*), *athref* 'abode' (*ad + *tref*) Ir
atrab

§ 207. (Spirant mutation in sandhi) The tenues are changed into
spirants in Brit   (1) After MlW *y* MnW *ei* (pron /i/) Co *y* Br *he*
'her' (g sg fem , *asjās)   MlW *y challon* MnW *ei chalon* Co *y*
holon Br *he c'haloun* 'her heart'   (2) After W *tri* Co *try* Br *tri*
'three' (masc)   W *tri chant* Co *tryhans* Br *tri c'hant* '300'   (3) After
W *tra* 'very, excessive' *trachas, tra chas* 'very hateful', MlW *tra*
'over, across', *ton tra thon* 'wave over wave', cf MnW *dra|chefn*
'again', *blith |draphlith*   (4) In W only, after *chwe* 'six', *a* 'and',
â 'with' *na* 'neque', 'than' (after a comparative MlW *no*), also
the compounds *gyda* 'with', *tua* 'towards', NW *efo* with' (earlier
ef a 'he and   MlW *llyma gor yn dyuot y mywn   ef a chorres* a
dwarf came in   with a female dwarf' RM 197)   (5) After MlW
ny MnW *ni* not', W *na* 'not, that not', also in early MlW after
the perfect particle *ry*, v § 240 (6) After W *o* 'if' (7) After MlW
cw 'where' ? *moi cv threia   duwyr   cr threuna* the sea, where
it ebbs water where it settles' BBC 88 (8) Br *k-* after the de-
finite and indefinite art in nom masc sg and nom pl fem   *ar*
c here the shoemaker', *eur c'here* a shoemaker', *ar c'heginou* 'the
kitchens', also in nom pl masc of nouns not denoting persons
ar c hestel 'the castles' (9) In Br *k, t, p* after *teir* (fem) '3' *peiar*
(masc), *peder* (fem) '4' (10) Spirant mutation does not occur after
substantives, but there are remains in Br *dour zomm* 'hot water',
sul Fask 'Easter Day', also in composition *leur-zi* 'floor' (cf OBr
Poucher, Poher = *Pou-caer* PN , *Pen-hoet* PN , cf W *Pencoed*,
Loth Chrest 77)

XV Provection

§ 208   After a homorganic sonant, spirants become explos-
ives in Ir and Brit , also, particularly in Ir , when in contact with
homorg spirants or explosives, and occasionally with non-homorg
spirants (*s, x, h*) Two homorg voiced spirants (or an orig voiceless
and a voiced spirant) give in Co and Br a voiceless explosive

§ 209 (*đ, þ > d, t* **after *l, n* medially in Ir)** OIr *dál-dde* gl
forensis Sg 57a 13, — *-réltar* 'is explained', *rélto* g of *rélad* 'ex-

planation', —*dóin-de* 'human' MnIr *daonna*, — OIr *dén-ti* 'faciendus', Ir *ingantach* 'wonderful' *ingnáth*

§ 210. (Explosive from spirant + spirant in Ir. medially and finally). (1) *g* + *g* OIr *tecnate* gl domesticus, MnIr *én n-etegnáith* 'of wild birds', from *tech* 'house' and *gnáth* 'usual' *g* + *x* Ir *trócaire* 'mercy' (*tróg* 'wretched', *carim* 'I love') *x* + *x* Ir *clocan* 'skull' (*cloch* 'stone', *cenn* 'head', MnIr *cloigeann*) — *g* + *x* Ir *cóica* MnIr *caoga* '50' § 156 *x* + *l* *secachnguidi* 'beyond every prayer' Wb 25 a 28 (for *sech cach nguidi*)

(2) *þ* + *d* OIr *túati* gl qui foris sunt MnIr *tuata* 'rustic' (*tuath* 'people', suff *-de*), OIr *date* 'agreeable' (*dath* 'colour'), OIr *tecnate* v (1) *d* + *þ* OIr *fletech* 'banqueting-house' (*fled* 'feast', *tech* 'house') *þ* + *þ* *ítige* (etymological spelling *ithtige*) 'granaries' Ml 98 a 4,5 (*ith* 'corn', *tech* 'house') — *t* + *þ* OIr *nerta*, gen of *nertad* 'exhortation' Wb 31b 11 *d* + *þ* *nád crette* 'that he was not believed' Wb 15 a 31 *d* + (*t* >) *d* *docotar* 'they have gone' (verb *tiag-*) Cf Ir *net* 'nest' § 27

(3) *ƀ* + *ƀ* OIr *nepuid* 'non-being' Ml 122 a 11 (*neb* + *buith*) Forms like OIr *atrefea* 'will dwell' are restored forms — *ƀ* + *b*, *p* *ropia, ro-bia-si* 'ye shall have' ("will be to you") Wb 16 a 13, 21c 17, *nepproinde* 'of not dining' Wb 19 a 10 (or perhaps *ƀ* + *f*, len of *p*)

§ 211 (Spirant becoming explosive owing to a heterorganic spirant medially and finally in Ir) (1) *s* + *g*, *x* is retained in OIr (Wb), but later becomes *sk* OIr *toschid* 'sustenance' (*to-saig-*) MlIr *taiscid* MnIr *taiscidh* 'keeping' (OIr *tasgid* Wb 29 a 13, etymological spelling '), MnIr *cois-céim* 'pace' — (2) *g* + *s* OIr *tuicse* 'chosen' (cf inf *togu* 'choose') *x* + *s* OIr, MlIr *ochsal* 'armpit' MnIr *asgall* — (3) *s* + *d*, *þ* had become *st* before the literary period OIr *bés-te* (adj) 'moral' (*bes* 'custom', suff *-de*), OIr *césto*, g of *césad* 'suffering' (IE suffix *-tu-*) — (4) *d*, *þ* + *s* had become *ts* (later *st*) before the literary period OIr *ro-n-moitsem* 'we have boasted' (inf *móidem*), OIr *baitsim* 'I baptize' MnIr *baistim* (OIr *baithis* 'baptizm'), OIr *fáitsine* 'prophecy' Wb (to *fáith* prophet', etym spelling Ml *faithsine*) Frequent before an enclitic *in chrut sin* 'thus', MlIr *i-trasta* 'now' (for *in tráth sa*), *do-adbat som* 'he shows' (cf pass *do-adbadar*) The *-t* originally caused by the *s-* of a supplementary pron often occurs in a number of pres tense forms without the pron *do-adbit* 'thou showest' Sg 159 a 2, *hore do-n-infet* 'because it inspires' Wb 4 b 3 (inf *infed*) The rare final group *-ts*

became -*s* OIr *ro-fitis* 'you know' from *ro-fitid-si* — For traces of
the old rules in MnIr dialects (Arr /*hagəx*/ 'he used to come', but
/*hagəd šē*/, wr *theagadh, theagadh sé*) v Asp ı Irsk 161   (5) *s* + *ƀ, f*
remains in Wb , later *sp*, both forms occur side by side in MnIr
OIr *esbe-tu* 'uselessness' Wb 9 b 15 (-*b*- = *ƀ*), but *espe* 'useless'
19 d 17, *espach* Ml 35 c 25, MnIr *easbaidh* 'need', but also *easbha* (Sc
easbhuidh, Arr /*asbə*/, but Don /*aswī*/, cf Henebry p 46 and p 9 —
(6) -*ƀ*- + -*s*- remained OIr *taidbsiu* 'show' (inf of *doadbadar* 'is
shown') MnIr *taidhbhse* 'ghost' Arr /*tɛɟȓə*/ Don /*tavšə*/ (IE *w*)

(7) *x* + *d, þ* OIr *onach-digtith* so that ye have not so gone'
Wb 9 b 19, MlIr *ni dichtim* 'I cannot go' LU 5181 OIr *docoid*
'is gone' (*di-con-* + root beginning with *w*-, § 639) But *þ* is very
frequently restored by analogy OIr *machdad, machthad, magthad*
'wonder', MlIr *machtad* — (8) *x* + *h* OIr *seccu* § 202

**§ 212 (Provection and spirant becoming explosive medially and
finally in Brit)** **(1)** Instances of spirants after homorganic sonants are
rare, occurring mostly in compounds or derived forms in which regular
development is disturbed by etymological consciousness W *tan-
dde* 'fiery', *cyn-ddaredd* 'rabies, madness' (*ci*, pl *cŵn* dog', dial
cyndaredd, cyndeirioq mad'), the regular development is seen in
OBr *cunnaret* gl rabies MnBr *kounnar* (*nd* > *nd* > *nn*)

(2) Instances of homorganic spirants or of homorganic spirants
and explosives coming together medially are rare in Brit   (a) Spir-
ant as last element Co *worto* 'against him' MlBr *outaff* Co *worth*
MlBr *ouz* with the ending seen in OW *rac-dam* etc (§ 350) 'before
him' but W *wrtho*, cf *gwrthrych* 'object' (*gwrth-ddrych*) MlW
gantaw 'with him' (OW *cant* 'with , also MlW *ganthaw* MnW
ganddo, dial *ganto*) Co *ganso* MlBr *gantaff* W *adyn* wretch' **ad-
dyn* (*ad-* < IE **ati-*), *edrych* 'look' **ati-drk'o-* **(b)** Spirant + ex-
plosive W *diwedydd* 'evening' (*diwedd, dydd*) MnBr *sei-tek* '17'
MlBr *seiz-dec*, MlCo *byteweth* 'ever' (*byth* 'ever', *deweth* 'end')

(3) *s* + *d* MlW *tros-taw* 'over him' MnW *trosto* Co *dres-to*
x + *d* OCo *mahtheid* gl virgo MlCo *maghteth* servant girl' etc v
§ 55 , MlW *uch-taw* § 350

(4) Provection of explosives W *cytir* 'common land' (*cyd-dir*),
llety lodging' (*lled-dŷ*), *wynepryd* 'face' (*wyneb-bryd*) Groups of
non-homorganic explosives are as follows in MnW *pt* (*b-d*), *pg*
(*b-g*), *tb* (*d-b*), *tg* (*d-g*), *ct* (*g-d*), *cb* (*g-b*), v Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg
§ 79 Cf Morris-Jones, WG 181ff

Provection and spirant becoming explosive in the initial in sandhi

§ 213   In Ir initial *d-*, *t-* are not lenited in sandhi after final *l, n*   OIr *amal tuthle* gl ut cancer Wb 30b 13, *cen torbatid* 'without profitableness' Wb 12d 33   Similarly after *s* *an as tech* 'what is best (*dech*)' Ml 37d 3 (but *as chóir* 'what is fitting' Wb 33c 15)

Lenition does not occur after a homorganic explosive or spirant *caich cenúil* 'of every nation' Wb 5c 3

§ 214   In W initial *d-* becomes *d-* in sandhi after final *s* in *nos da* 'good night' (*nos* fem), and (in spoken W) *yr wythnos diwethaf* last week'   The same occurred formerly in other cases also, v Morris-Jones, WG 186

§ 215   (Co) (1) *d > d* after *n* and *l* *vn ienyn da* 'a good woman, *pan deth* 'when he came'

(2) Explosive from spirant + spirant *d* becomes *t* after the verbal particle *y* (and *ma-y*) which originally ended in *d* *y tons* 'they come', *may teth* (*ma-teth*) 'so that there came' Also *maga* 'so, as' *maga ta* 'as good', *maga tek* 'as fair' *þ + d* *reth tenyrghys* 'has greeted thee' MC 115 (but *ath dynyrghys* 'who has greeted thee' PC 565) — *t* from *d* occurs in *yn ta* 'well'

(3) Provection of a spirant (len *g*, which later disappeared, was still *g* when provection occurred, through provection it became *h*) *y hyller* 'it is possible' (*gall-* 'be able'), *y whelas* 'he saw' (*gueles* see'), *y fyth* it will be' (*-b-*), *y fyn* 'he wants (*m-*), — *may halle* that be might', *may whane* 'that he pierced , *maga whyn* as white', — *reth fo* 'will be to thee', *ty a fyth* 'tibi erit' Also after adverbial *yn* and after *kyn* 'although' *yn harow* 'roughly' (*garou*), *yn fas* 'good' (*mas*), *kyn fy* 'quamuis sis'

(4) Provection of an explosive After the particle *ow* (Br *o* W *wrth*) *g, d, b* become *k t, p ow crowethe* 'lying' (*gr-*), *ow tybbry* 'eating' (*d-*), *ow peue* 'living' (*b-*) Cf *tothda, tovth ta, totta* quickly' PC 643, OM 1001, 1036 After *can* (*cans* '100') in *dek can quyth* (*gw-*) 'ten hundred times', after *mar* 'if', *mar calle* 'if he could' (*g-*), *mar teffa* 'if he would come' (*d-*), after *a* 'if', *a calla* 'if he could', *a pe* 'if he were'

§ 216   (Br) (1) *d* instead of *d* after *n* *ann douar* 'the earth', *milin dour* water mill' *p* instead of *f* after *m* *dam pec'hedou* 'to my sins' (but *em c'halon* 'in my heart'), *c'houi am pedo* 'you will ask me' (but *c'houi am c'haro* 'you will love me', *c'houi am zenno* 'you

will draw me' from *tenna* 'to draw'), v Legonidec, Dict br -fr p 10

(2) Explosive from spirant + spirant   The verbal particle *e* (MlBr *ez*), the conjunction *ma* 'that' (MlBr *maz* from *ma* + *ez*) and the prep *o* (MlBr *oz* W *wrth*) used in forming the pres participle, all of which cause lenition of *g-, gw-, b-, m-*, change initial *d* (through *d̄*) to *t̄ e tigouezaz* 'it happened', *gant ma teuot* 'provided that you come', *o tont* 'coming'

The initial *d-* of an adj does not undergo lenition after a fem noun ending in *-d, -t, -z, -s*

(3) Provection of a spirant appears in certain MlBr forms of *bezaff* 'to be' with the preceding verbal particle *ez effezo* 'will be' Such forms are still current in V and Cornouaille, v Loth, RC 9 354ff

(4) Provection of an explosive   *g, d, b* become *k, t, p* after *ho* 'you, your' (before vowels *hoc'h*, MlBr *hoz*) and after the in-fixed *-z* thee, thine' *me ho kalv* 'I call you', *me ho kwel* 'I see you', *me ho talc'h* I catch you , *ho tourn* 'your hand', *me az kalv* 'I call you'

XVI Lenition[1].

§ 217. In Celtic practically all non-syllabic sounds between two vowels and in certain other positions had a pronunciation different from that which they normally had, in those circum-stances they were lenited   In initial positions, too, (apart from exceptions mentioned in § 213—6) they were lenited before a syll-abic or non-syllabic vowel   before IE *p* (§ 25, 1) or before a sonant (for *sm-* cf § 26,11) if the preceding word originally ended in a vow-el and was in close grammatical connection with its following word

Note The fact that in the older literary periods initial lenition is not denoted orthographically does not mean the non-existence of lenition   In OIr originally only lenition of the tenues is regularly denoted (*ch* = /x/ *th* – /þ/), later (esp in Sg) len *f* and *s* were written *f*, *s* But the lenition of *r l n s, f* (partly also *b* and *m*) in OIr is proved by the form of the article *in* before the non-len sounds, *ind* before len sounds (Asp i Irsk p 75ff) *in sen-duine* 'the old man', *g ind sen-duini*

The two pronunciations of the non-syllabic sounds and conditions under which they occur

§ 218 Evidences for a double pronunciation of IE *w* medially are rare   The rules for the loss or retention of *w* medially in Ir

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[1] Cf Holger Pedersen, Asp i Irsk

(§ 18—19) afford a certain similarity to the rules for lenition (Ir *oac* 'young' *tarb* 'bull' = *fiche* '20' *marc* 'horse') Initially when uninfluenced *w* was pronounced with abnormal narrowing of the mouth-channel, and this over-narrow sound remained in Ir (later *f-*), while the normal *w*-sound was lost

§ 219 There is no evidence for an old double pronunciation of IE *ʒ* medially

§ 220. For IE *s* see § 24,3

§ 221 There are no grounds for maintaining an open and a closed pron of IE *p*

§ 222 The IE mediae and voiced aspiratae between vowels became *g*, *d*, *b* in Ir and in Brit , cf § 34,1, § 42, § 46 In Ir the tenues became *x*, *þ*, in Brit *g* *b*, *d*, cf § 50, § 55, § 60

Lenition of explosives occurs medially (1) between two vowels, (2) between a vowel and a sonant (the resulting spirant being sometimes vocalized, giving compensatory lengthening in Ir and a diphthong in Brit) § 36, § 44, § 48, § 53, § 58, § 62, (3) *g* and *h* are lenited between a vowel and an explosive (and partly later becoming vocalized) Ir *ocht* W *wyth* 'eight' § 52

§ 223 For *r*, *l*, *n*, *m* cf § 65—75 The lenited pronunciation occurs (1) between vowels, (2) between vowels and non-homorganic explosives or sonants (len *r*, *l* before *g*, *b* *k*, *k^u*, len *r*, *l*, *n* before *m*, len *m* before *r*, *l*, *n*), (3) between explosives or *m* and a vowel, (4) *r* is lenited in an old final (*athir* father') but not *n* (cf VKG I 158)

System of Lenition Contrast between medial and initial Analogy in initial lenition

§ 224 (1) Non-lenited pronunciation of sounds referred to in § 218—223 occurred (a) in absolute initials, (b) in gemination, (c) after non-lenited *s*, (d) *s* was not lenited before an explosive and after a nasal, and (in Ir) after an explosive

(2) As regards lenition and non-lenition, non-syllabic groups were treated in sandhi as they were medially But the further development of the lenited sounds which occurred medially did not take place initially thus OIr *dér* 'tear' (*-kr-*), but *ara-chrinim* gl defetiscor, etc

(3) There was a tendency to retain in initial position a lenited sound which was lost medially Thus len *s* disappeared medially

in Ir , but remains initially as *h* In Br /*g*-/ as a rule has become *c'h* *he c'har* 'his leg' (*gar*), but *n'ellan ket* 'I cannot' (*gallout* 'to be able'), also wr *n'hellan ket* Thus *c'h* has sometimes also spread to len forms of *gw* (IE *w*) *he c'hoad* 'his blood' beside *he oad*, also *he voad* with *v* inserted in hiatus (*gwad* 'blood', Léon *goad*), but the regular lenited form of Br *gw*- is *w*-

(4) Initial lenition has caused many analogical forms Ir *s* from *st*, which could not be lenited originally and which remains in Brit as *s*, undergoes lenition by analogy OIr *int serc* 'the love' Ir *p*-, which occurs in borrowings only and so was introduced after the period of lenition, was lenited to *f* (wr *ph*), by analogy with *k*- /*x*-/, *t*- /*þ*-/, it occurs already in Wb (*fo pheccad* 'under sin'), but twice as often *p* is left unlenited, later the lenition became general In colloquial MnW /*č*/ in borrowed words is sometimes lenited to /*ž*/ /*čain*/ 'chain' /*ə žain*/ 'the chain' (Sweet, Spoken North Welsh p 433, cf Fynes-Clinton, Vocab Bangor District p 554), SW /*čaf*/ 'chaff' /*inžin žaf*/ 'chaffing machine' ("chaff engine") In MnCo *f* is lenited analogically to *v* /*fordi*/ 'way' /*an vordi*/ 'the way' (Lhuyd p 241) In Br *s* is lenited to *z* *sae* 'jacket' *he zae* 'his jacket' — A media due to lenition is treated as an old media in Br *bete vreman* 'till now' (*breman* 'now' from *pred* 'time') Similarly in the W adj *beunyddiol* 'daily', from the adverb *beunydd*, mutated form of *peunydd*, cf § 196,4, in colloquial W *hen fobol* 'old people' (*bobl* mutated form of *pobl*)

(5) In sandhi one of the two (as len and non-len) historically alternating sounds is not infrequently replaced by another which to the mind of the speakers seemed to fit in (better or as well) with the other sound Thus IE *sw*-, *sp*- regularly gave the Ir alternation *s* *f* Ir *siur* 'sister' *mo fiur* 'my sister' § 24,4, § 25,1 In MnIr *s* *h* is substituted for it Occasionally, too, *p*- is made the radical for *f*- So *piuthar* 'sister', MIr *ar-do-petet* 'they play for them, entertain them' inf *air-fitiud* (cpd of *sét-* 'blow' W *chwy-thu*) — In Brit *b*- for the historically correct *m*-, or *m*- for *b*- is made the non-lenited form of *v*- W *men* = *ben* 'waggon' G *benna* 'genus uehiculi', MnW *bawd* 'thumb' OW *maut* (MnW *mod-rwy* 'ring') MlBr *meut* MnBr *meud*, Br *begin, megin* 'bellows' W *megin* Co pl *mygenow* — As *s*- and *t*- have in MnIr the lenited form *h*-, they are interchanged MIr *socht* 'silence' MnIr *tocht* (possibly influenced by MIr *tó* 'silent') As *h* cannot be palatalized, *š*- and

s-, *t'-* and *t-* are occasionally interchanged *silim, saoilim* 'I think',
Arr /*tōrəN'*/ 'boundary' *teora* — In Ir an *f-* is often made the non-
len form of a vocalic initial MIIr *uar* 'cold' (adj), *uacht* 'cold'
(noun) MnIr *fuar, fuacht* § 36, *anaim, fanaim* 'I wait' More rarely
an old *f-* is analogically dropped Ir *errach* 'Spring' § 26, 3, *espartain*
'twilight, evening' from Lat *uespertina* (*hōra*) Similarly in W a
non-historical *g-* occurs OW *ord* MnW *gordd* 'hammer', *allt, gallt*
§ 64, MlW *odidawc* 'rare' MnW *godidog* 'excellent', *wyneb* and
gwyneb 'face' This is less frequent in Br *goelo* 'weep' W *wylo*,
gober beside *ober* 'to make' An initial *g-* has been dropped in W
naws, Br *neuz* § 9, 2, in W *euog* 'guilty' MlW *geuawc* (from MlW
geu 'false' MnW *gau* OIr *gáo* Co *gou* MlBr *gou* MnBr *gaou*), and
in W *elor* 'bier' MlW *gelor* Co *geler* Br *geler*

Interchange of len and non-len forms *f* for *p* in MnIr *fairche*
'parish' (*pairche* < Lat *parochia*), MnIr *fromhadh* 'proof' MlIr *fro-
mud* OIr *promad* Lat *probō*, MnIr *failm, pailm* 'palm' *p* for *f*
in MnIr *préamh* = *fréamh* 'root', MlIr *peterlaicc* 'the Old Testa-
ment' OIr g *fetarlicce* Also in Br *golc hed* feather-bed' OBr
colcet gl agipam, from Lat *culcita*

In borrowings, the initial is frequently taken as a lenited form
Sc *sainnseal* 'handsel', MnIr *taisteal* 'hackle' from Eng *hatchel*,
W *mantais* 'advantage' from Eng *vantage*

Syntax of lenition.
Lenition of nouns and adverbs

§ 225 After the vocative particle Ir *a phopuil* 'O people!', MlW
a vorwyn O maiden!' (*morwyn*), Co *a das* 'O father!' (For the
W forms of the particle v Morris-Jones, WG p 450) The voca-
tive is frequently lenited in W when not preceded by a particle
Cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax p 172 ff

§ 226 After prepositions orig ending in a vowel. (a) Ir *ar* 'for'
etc (= G *are-* § 6, 1), cf OIr *ar-chiunn* 'before W *er-byn* against'
(*pen* 'head) Co *er-byn* § 181, 6 — (b) W *at* 'to' apparently from
the cpd prep **ad-to, *ad* gave OW *ad* = /ad/, v Ifor Williams,
BBCS 3, 261 — (c) Ir *cen* 'without' § 372 — (d) Ir *di* 'from'
(OW *di* MlW *y*, in MnW *o-ddi* occurring generally in compos with
other preps) To Lat *dē* — (e) Ir *do* 'to' OW *di* MlW *dy* /dy/, *y*
MnW *i* Co *the* OBr *do* MlBr *da, de* MnBr *da* § 121 n 1, **to* — (f) Ir
fo 'under' < **upo* (in Brit as prefix only, v § 30) — (g) W *gan*

'with' Gk *κατά* § 64,3   No len after Co *gans* Br *gant* — (h) Ir
im, imm- 'about' W *am* § 8,1 — (i) W *is* 'below' only in *islaw*
'below' (accented on ult) — (j) Ir *ó* 'from' W *o* Co Br *a* —
(k) Ir *ol* 'on account of, beyond' *ol sodin* 'therefore', *ol-chene*
'besides' — (l) Ir *tre* 'through' W *trwy, drwy* Co Br *dre*, **trei*
— (m) Ir *uas* 'above' W *uwch* (only in *uwchben* and *uwchlaw* 'above'
acct on ult) § 25,1

Note 1. No lenition after the living prep W *er* 'for, since' Co *er* 'for,
by' (in which no doubt etymologically different prepositions have been
mixed) But W *ar* 'on' Co Br *war* (= Ir *for*) cause lenition, this agrees
with the treatment of medial *b, d, g, m*, after *r* but contrasts with the treat-
ment of medial *rc, rt, rp*

Len occurs after some nouns which have come to be used as
prepositions, but this lenition cannot be regarded as sure evidence
for an original vocalic ending   Thus Ir *amal* 'as, like' § 24,2 (as a
conjunction it eclipses a verb § 192), Ir *fiad* 'in presence of' § 16,
W *hyd* 'as far as, till' (but radical after *ar hyd* 'along', *hyd* is really
a noun 'length')

Some preps cause lenition in some of the languages only, or
in certain periods only, not due to orig vocalic ending   OIr *eter*
'between' § 64,3 did not cause len , but MIr *eter chorcair 7 gorm*
'both purple and blue' LL 54a 36, MnIr Arr */ed'ir' v'og agəs wōr/*
'both small and great' *idir bheag agus mhór* — OIr MIr *tar* 'across',
no lenition, MnIr Sc len — W *tros, dros* 'over' causes lenition,
but not Co *dres, dreys* Br *dreist* (W *o* in proclisis from *ā*, Co Br *e*,
ei umlaut of *a*, for *ā a* cf § 121,1, cf W *traws* 'cross', *ar draws*
'across' Co *tres, trus* 'cross, adverse' Br *treuz* 'de travers') — W
wrth 'over against' MlBr *oz, ouz* MnBr *o* cause len (but cf § 215,4,
§ 216,2), but not Ir *fri* Co *worth, orth, ow* — W Co *heb* 'without'
cause lenition, but not Br *hep*, nor Ir *sech* (but cf *sech thech* 'past
the house' LL 117a46), v § 56 — W *tan, dan* 'under' Co *yn dan*
cause lenition, also Br *din-dan* in *dindan boan* 'under punishment'
only, not elsewhere

Note 2   In Br if a noun is followed by a dependent genitive or an ad-
jective, then lenition may not occur after a preposition   *dre toul (doul) an
alc'houez* 'through the keyhole' (Ernault, Gramm p 8), *war moriou diaes*
'on difficult seas', *war moriou ar C'hreistetz* 'on the seas of the south' (Vallée,
La Langue Bretonne 1926 p 69)

§ 227 After certain adverbs: W *mor* Co *mar* MlBr *mar* (RC
31,196 n 5) 'so'   W *mor ddu âʼr frân* 'as black as the crow', Co

mar rvas 'so great' They are weakened forms of W *mawr* 'great' etc (§ 9,3), for *o a* from *ā* v § 121,1 So this was orig a case of composition, cf MIIr *mór-dolig* 'very difficult' Initial *ll-* and *rh-* are not lenited after *mor* Similarly W Co *pur* 'fairly, rather' (W *pur garedig* 'rather kind', Co *pur wyr* 'quite true') See further § 244 — Co *maga* 'as' § 215,2 — Co *sul* Br *seul* '(so much) the' followed by a compar adj Co *sul voy ancov* BM 2351 'the more deaths', Br *seul vrasoc'h* 'the greater' (V *sel* does not cause len) — Co *the* '(so much) the' followed by a compar adj *the well* 'the better', *the voy* 'the greater' ZE 298

Note Co *the* in *the wyr* 'truly' corresponds to W *y* v Ifor Williams, PKM 122, G Melville Richards, BBCS 7 98ff , Henry Lewis, BBCS 7 279ff

§ 228. After conjunctions. Ir *no* 'or' W *neu*, and Ir *acus* 'and' (often wr OIr 7, cf *airde cáinchumrice et chóre* 'a sign of benevolence and peace' Wb 7b 4, where Lat *et* is a sort of compendium for Ir *acus*) In OIr (Ml) a verbal form is lenited after *no*, occasionally after W *neu* but generally not lenited In Mnli len is given up after *nó*, while it occurs after *agus* only if the preceding word is lenited *idir bheag agus mhór* § 226 p 131 — For Ir *ro-d-bo, ba (fa)* 'or' Br *pe*, v § 237,1 a β, 2 a

§ 229 After numerals orig ending in a vowel Ir nom acc g masc and g fem *da, dá* '2', W *dau* (masc) Co *dow, dew* Br *daou* Ir nom acc fem *di, dí* '2' W *dwy* Co *dyu, dew,* Br *diou* (For the eclipsing forms v § 189,7) Ir *tri* '3' and *cethir* '4' cause len when neuter Ir *cóic* '5' (nom acc dat) causes lenition v Bergin, Ériu 11 226 Traces occur in MnW of the expected len after *wyth* '8' (tenues only) — There are numerous analogical instances, '8' eclipses by analogy with '7, 9, 10', similarly W *pum(p)* 5', W *saith* '7' lenites tenues in a few cases by anal with *wyth*, cf MlW *hwech wraged* 'six women' WM 28 18 MlW MnW *cannur* 100 men', MlW *trywyr* 3 men', MnW *canwaith* '100 times' etc are all compounds In Ir '5' and '6' are influenced by the preceding declinable numerals (and so eclipse in g) In MnIr '3', '4', '5', '6' are joined with a non-len plural form or with a len singular form Exceptional len in Br *dek vloaz* 10 years' In V *vlai* 'years' follows all numerals but 1, 3, 4, 5, also *pet* 'how many?' MlW *pet* 'how many?' also causes lenition, v Morris-Jones WG 290

MlIr *tricha chét* '30 hundreds, cantred' is due to anal with *tri*

chét, cf *ocht trichait chét* The regular len after '1000' is found in MlW and Co MlW *mil vanyeri* '1000 banners', Co *myl woly* '1000 wounds'

For 'one' and the ordinal numerals v § 232, 3, § 233

§ 230. After certain indeclinable pronominal forms. (1) Ir *do*, *-t* 'thy' W *dy*, *-th* Co *the* Br *da*, Ir *mo*, *-m* 'my', Ir *a* 'his' MlW *y*, *-e* MnW *ei*, *'i*, *'w* (only in *i'w* 'to his') Co *y* Br *e* cf § 358 **(2)** After Ir pronouns in *-i* and after MlW *ynteu* Ir *ani thuas* 'that above', W *ynteu Gei* 'he, Cei'

§ 231. After forms of the article orig. ending in a vowel. In Ir after the nom sg fem and nom pl masc , dat sg of all genders, g sg masc and neut

Note 1 No len occurred after nom acc pl neut In MlIr and MnIr nom pl the form of the fem (and neut) art spread to the masc MnIr *na fir* 'the men' In MnIr use of cases has changed Even in MlIr instances occur of prepositions orig governing the accus being used with the dat *imni-on chorthi* 'around the columns' LL 73 a 28 In MnIr (where the nom form has taken the place of the accus) the art after a prep sometimes causes lenition (as in the old dat , thus after *do* = OIr *do* 'to', *di* 'from'), sometimes eclipsis (after the other preps *on bh-fear* 'from the man', *air an bh fairige* 'on the sea', *air an saoghal* 'in the world', but not before a masc or fem noun beginning with *d* or *t* or a fem beginning with *s on doras* 'from the door', *anns an teach* 'in the house', *air an t-sraid* 'in the street') The preps *gan* 'without', *idir* 'between' have the same rule as the nom *gan an t-aran* 'without the bread', *idir an t aer agus an t-uisge* 'between the air and the water'

In W the art causes len in fem sg and in the dual *y fren-hines* 'the queen', *y ddau ddyn* 'the two men', *y ddwy eneth* the two girls' — In Co the art lenites the fem sg and occasionally the masc pl *an venyn* 'the woman', *an vein* 'the stones', but *den menydyow* 'to the mountains' — In Br the art lenites the fem sg and also masc pl denoting persons *ar vaz* 'the stick', pl *ar bizier*, *ar verc'h* 'the girl', pl *ar merc'hed*, *ar veleien* 'the priests' (*beleg*) A noun masc pl or fem sg beginning with *d* is not lenited after the article Certain masc nouns denoting persons are never lenited in the plur (*tadou* 'fathers', *testou* 'witnesses', *priedou* 'spouses', *Turked* 'Turks', occasionally also *breudeur* 'brothers', *mipien* 'sons'), v Ernault, Gramm p 8, Guillevic & Le Goff p 9 For mutation of initial *k-* cf § 207, 8 In Br the art lenites a foll ordinal numeral even when masc sg *an drede deiz* 'the third day' V *en drivet* 'the third' (masc), Ernault, Gramm p 9, Guillevic & Le Goff p 9

Note 2. In W the art foll by *pobloedd,* pl of *pobl* 'people' causes lenı- tıon *y bobl, y bobloedd*

§ 232   After Ir *ın(d)* W. Co *yn* MlBr *en* in adverbial and predicative formulas. OIr *ın chorpdıd* gl corporalıter, *ınd fír* 'truly', W *yn dda* 'well', *yn faur* 'greatly', MlW *gororeu y dyffryn oed yn qoet* 'the sıdes of the valley were wood', Co *yn lan* 'cleanly', MlBr *en fat* MnBr *ervâd* 'well'   For W *yn llawn* v § 68, for Co *yn ta, yn harow* v § 215, 2 3

§ 233   After declinable pronouns. (1) The ınterrogatıve adj MlW *py, pa* MnW *pa* 'what' Co *py* Br *pe* W *pa le* 'where', Co *py gymmys* 'how many', MlBr *pedu* 'quorsus' (*tu* 'sıde', but MlBr *pe-tra* what'), after Ir *cıa* ın a few expressıons only   OIr *cıa chruth* 'ın what way', *cıa chuın* gl quando   MnIr *câ mhéad* 'how much "' may be a relıc of thıs lenıtıon, Se *co mheud,* and *co meud, cıa meud*

(2) OIr *cach* 'every', *nach* 'any', *alaıle* 'another', *ınd-ala* 'the one', *huıle* 'all', *cetne* 'the fırst , *ınonn* 'the same' lenıte ın the same cırcumstances as the artıcle   There are early devıatıons from thıs rule   *ınd-uıle teqdaıs* 'the whole house' [Wb] 33 a 3   *ınonn cretem* 'the same belıef' Wb 7 d 10

W *neb* Co Br *nep, neb* 'any' and W *pob* Co *pup, pop, pep* Br *pep, peb* 'every' do not cause lenıtıon — W *holl* all' Br *holl* always cause len — W *aıl* 'second' lenıtes the ınıtıal consonant of a foll fem noun, and thıs gradually spreads to masc nouns as well   Br *eıl* 'second' always causes lenıtıon   W *y naıll* MlW *y neıll* 'the one' lenıtes, thıs does not occur wıth Co *yll, eyll, nyl, neyl* before masc nouns, examples are wantıng of fem nouns   The ordınals after second' lenıte a fem , but not a masc ın W , they do not cause lenıtıon ın Co and Br — Other pronomınal words after whıch len occurs W *rhyw* 'some' and ıts compounds *unrhyu* 'any', *cyfryw* 'such', *amryw* 'varıous', Br *ar re ar re qoz* 'the old ones' (W *rhaı* does not causes len), — MlW *y sawl* as many' (adj) *y sawl vorynyon* 'all the maıdens', *y sawl velıneu* 'so many mılls', ıt ıs no longer used ın thıs way   For Co *sul* Br *seul* v § 227 , — W *aml* 'many a', pl 'many', *ambell* 'an occasıonal', *ychydıg* 'a lıttle', pl 'a few', — W *cwbl* 'complete'

Note   In MlW ın adverbıal expressıons a numeral ıs len after *pob* (*bob deu, d- = /d/,* 'two by two', MnW *bob yn ddau*) cf Morrıs Jones, Welsh Syntax 145 f

§ 234   (1) After adjectives When an adj comes before ıts noun, ıt forms a compound wıth ıt and so the ınıtıal consonant of the noun

is lenited OIr *inna sen-chomrorcan* 'of the old errors' Ml 2 a 6 ,
MIW *amrauaelon vwydeu* 'various foods', W *yr hen ŵr* 'the old
man', Co *guyr vres* 'true judgment', Br *e berr gomzou* 'in a few
words' — In Brit len does not occur after compared forms of the
adj Thus in W after the equative, comparative and superlative,
a few cases of len after *mwy* 'more' and *llei* 'less' are found in
MIW , Strachan, Introd 12f , in MnW len occurs sometimes after
the superlative, cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax p 47   Cf Co *an
gokye den* 'the silliest man', *guel guyn* 'a better wine' Br V *ged
braset pliiadur* 'with such great pleasure', Br *ar gwella den* 'the
best man'

    Note 1 Ir *oin* and Co *un* 'one' follow the rule of prefixed adjectives
(always lenition) but W *un* and Br *eun, eur* lenite only in fem W *un*
meaning 'same' causes lenition always (v Morris Jones, Welsh Syntax 138),
and there is always lenition of the infinitive after Br *enn eur cnn eur gana*
'singing'

    (2) Lenition of a following adjective. In Ir len of the adject
after nom sg fem , nom pl masc , dat sg of all genders, g sg
masc and neut , voc sg masc and fem , nom acc dual masc and
fem of *o-* and *ā-*stems OIr *i-rráe choir* 'at the right time' Wb
23 d 30, *di guttai fodlaidi* 'two separate vowels' Sg 54 a 14 Cf § 231

    The other stems in a number of instances follow the *o-* and *ā-*
stems MIr *gnuis chorcra* 'a purple face' LL 55 b 36 (nom *i-*stem),
in chon chetna 'of the same dog' (g *n-*stem) Traces of the regular
influence of the orig endings are found, nom masc *cú* 'dog' *k'wō*
causes len *(mo chú charm chain* 'my dear fine dog'), len is not found
after the nom pl masc of *i-* and *u-*stems

    In W , Co , Br an adj is lenited after a fem sg noun, in Br
also after the nom pl masc of personal nouns In Co too len may
occur after a pl masc noun In MIW lenition occurs after the
dual *deu vilgi vronwynnyon vrychyon* 'two white-breasted speckled
greyhounds' RM 225 , this is found even without the numeral, thus
golygon dduon 'dark eyes', v Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax p 67f

    Note 2 In NW *bach* 'small' is not lenited after a fem sg noun *yr
eneth bach* the little girl' Cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax p 19

    An adj following a proper name as an epithet is lenited in W
and Br W *Hywel Dda* 'H the Good', Br *Pipi Goz* 'Peter the Old' ,
cf also Br *vikel vraz* 'grand vicaire' (Ernault, Gram p 10) There
are several exceptions in W *Rhodri Mawr* 'Rh the Great' (but
Alexander Fawr), Ifor Bach 'I the Small', etc

§ 235 Lenition of the genitive and other case-forms foll. a noun.
(1) In Ir noun-forms which lenite a foll adj lenite also a foll
genitive in close connection with them   (a) This occurs in Wb
when both nouns practically form a compound or when the g has
the value of an adjective   OIr *do immarchor chóre* 'on an errand
of peace' Wb 5 a 5, *trebaire chollno* 'prudence of (the) flesh' 3 d 30,
ciall chesta 'passive sense' Sg 142 b 1   (b) In later OIr and in MIIr
len occurs when the governing noun functions prepositionally, or
as an infinitive, or as denoting number   OIr *hua chiunn chomair*
'from before' (gl e regione) Ml 119 a 9, MIIr *i cind chóic mbl (iadne)*
'after five years, at the end of five years' LL 63 a 14, OIr *do ta-
bairt chomairle* 'to give advice' Ml 23 d 12, MIIr *a triur churad* 'the
three heroes' ("in their three-men of heroes') Wi 293 1   But in
Wb *iar cúul caích* 'behind everyone' 31 c 15, *do irgairiu cotulta* 'to
prohibit sleep' 25 c 12   (c) In later OIr and in MIIr len occurs in
the g of *cách* or of a proper name   OIr *iar n-grad cháich* 'according
to the rank of each' Ml 116 b 5, *esérgi christ* 'of the resurrection
of Christ' Ml 81 d 1, MIIr *do gním chon* 'owing to the feat of Cu(chu-
lainn)' LL 60 17   The g of *cách* remains unlen in Wb

The rules in late OIr and in MIIr practically prevail in MnIr
(cf MnIr *a measg mhadradh állta* 'among wolves')   Len after a
dat infinitive does not occur in MnIr   Len of a proper name which
occasionally occurs in MIIr after a non-leniting case (*dolleic i m-
budin Chonaill Chernaig* 'he betook himself to the army of C (''
Wi 257 7) has in MnIr become general *mac Thaidhg* 'son of
Tadhg' (the old rule remains only in surnames *O' Domhnaill, Mac
Domhnaill, g Ui Dhomhnaill, Mic Dhomhnaill*)

(2) In W a g noun used as an attribute has lenition after a
fem sg noun   MIW *llech varmor* 'a marble slab' RM 167, MnW
noduydd ddur 'steel needle, *y felin wynt* 'the windmill'   A proper
name is frequently lenited after a fem sg noun   *Branwen verch
Lyr* 'B daughter of Llŷr', *Llan Badarn* ("the church of Padarn"),
len occurs after *tŷ* 'house MIW *ty wrach* 'the house of a hag', *ty
vurgeis* 'the house of a burgess', *ty gustennin* 'the house of C ''
RM 119, and this has survived in *Tyddewi* St David's', and *tŷ
Dduw* 'the house of God' Cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax p 22 ff ,
37—44 The infin (verb-noun) is generally followed by the radical,
but *bod* 'to be' is very frequently lenited after a verb-noun   *a menegi
uot y crydyon wedy duunaw ar y lad* 'and saying that the shoemakers

had united to kill him' RM 52 Cf Lloyd-Jones, ZCP 17 81 ff —
Co MlCo *fynten woys* 'a fountain of blood', *benneth Varya* 'the
blessing of Mary', *carek Veryasek* 'M 's rock' Also after a masc
MnCo *cletha dan* 'a fire-sword' — **Br.** *avel dro* 'whirlwind', *poan
galoun* 'heart-ache', *milin vreac'h* 'handmill' After masc *laer vor*
'pirate', *dour vor* 'sea-water'

§ 236. **Lenition of a noun in apposition** occurs when both nouns
are closely connected, particularly in surnames MnIr *Maighdean
Mhuire* 'the Virgin Mary', *Muire Mhàthair* 'Mary Mother', MlIr
a popa Choncobair 'Father C l' Wi 209 14

In W len is common in surnames and titles MlW *Llud
vrenhin* 'King Lludd', *Pryderi uab Pwyll* 'P son of P ', *Aranrot
verch Don* 'A daughter of D ', MnW *Ioan Fedyddwr* 'John the
Baptist', *Mair Forwyn* 'the Virgin Mary', *Dafydd frenin* 'D the
king' When the title precedes, len occurs after a fem only *y
forwyn Fair, y brenin Dafydd*, but *arglwydd* is frequently foll by
len *yr Arglwydd Dduw* 'the Lord God', *arglwydd ganghellor* 'lord
chancellor

Note A noun in apposition describing a name of relation is lenited in
W MlW *ath ewythyr ditheu, vrawt dy fam* 'and thy uncle, thy mother's
brother RM 201 *nei y Arthur uab y chwaer* 'A s nephew, his sister s son' 114.

Br *sant Iann Vedezour* 'St John the Baptist', *ann Itroun
Varia* 'Lady Mary'

§ 237. **Lenition after verbal forms. (1) In Ir. (a) Lenition of the
predicate-noun and of the subject after the verb 'to be'** (a) The pred
noun is lenited after the rel form of the copula when the rel is
subject *is hed as chomairlle lim* '(it is) this (which) is my advice'
Wb 16c12, *in mairb ata thestis* 'the dead (who) are witnesses' 30a11,
nií bes chotarsne 'something which is contrary' 11a24, *nad choir*
'which is not fitting' Ml 37a8

Note 1 After an adverb rel len did not occur *is do is coir indocbaa*
'to him is praise fitting' Wb 7c14, but it occurs in MlIr *is dait as chóir a
thabairt* 'it is right to give it to you' Wi 257 Len for rel eclipsis *doadbadar
as choms(uidigthe)* 'it is shown that it is a compound' Sg 207b9 Len is
also found in early MnIr *nídh sa-mho* '(something which is) more' Now
nios mó

The subject is not len after rel forms of 'to be' in Wb *ferr
oldaas cách* 'better than everyone', but len occurs in later OIr
is laigiu son indaas chumachtai doinachtae crist 'is less than (the
measure) of the power of the Manhood of Christ' Ml 26b6

(β) After copula forms denoting 'or' *rodbo chosmilius* 'or a similitude' Wb 14c 24, *im fochróib bá chían* 'near or far' Sg 151b 2

(γ) The pred noun is len after the copula forms *da* 1 sg , *dan*, *ban* 1 pl , *da*, *ba* 2 sg , *bad* 2 pl , *bo*, *bu* 3 sg , *bad*, *bed* 3 sg ipv and ipf , *bat* 3 pl , *masu* 'if it is', *cesu*, *cetu* 'though it is, they are', *issi* 'it is' (before a fem noun) *ni-ta-chumme se friu som* 'I am not like them' Wb 20c 25, etc

Note 2 Len was gradually extended to other forms as well *am chéli se* 'I am a companion' LL 70b 28 In MnIr only the forms of the 3 sg of the cop are used, len after *gur nior*

(δ) In Wb *cách* as subject is len after *biad is-samlid inso no-biad chách* 'it is thus that everyone would be' Wb 9d 25 No other subj is len in Wb , but later *ro-bói chocad* 'there had been war' Ml 137c 8 This len does not occur in MnIr

(b) **Lenition of the object and of the subject after other verbs**
Neither the subj nor the obj is len after the other verbs in Wb , except that *cách* as obj is len after those verbal forms which correspond to the leniting forms of the verb 'to be' *nertad chách* 'let him encourage everyone' 5d 11 In later OIr and in MlIr there are numerous instances of the len of the object *toglúaset chombairt* 'they abort offspring' Thes II 235 5, *atchiu churach* 'I see a boat' LL 108a 37 Len of the subj is much rarer *ní tæt chomsuidigud friu* 'there is no composition with them' ("comp comes not to them") Sg 197a 4, *citabiat chluasa* 'which ears perceive' Sg 3a 1 In MnIr len of the object has been given up — For lenition in the Ir construction described in § 392,2 (*an feur irrofaideamar thig* the man in whose house we have slept') v Thurneysen, KZ 44,117

(c) **Postverbal lenition of adverbs** does not occur in Wb , but does later in OIr *contoat chucai* 'who turn to him' Ml 46c 1 Also when the adv is separated from the verb *ní-r-bu cognomen challéic* it was not a cognomen however' Sg 31b 22 The len form of some adverbs gradually became constant *cach pronomen dano chene* 'also every pronoun besides' Sg 203b 1 This constant len is very frequent in conjugated preps in MlIr (*chucund* 'to us', *forru* on them'), and in *chaidche* 'ever', *chétus*, *chétumus* 'at first', *thra* then' This continues in MnIr *chugam* 'to me', *orm* 'on me'

(2) **In Brit** postverbal len is plentifully found in W (a) **Lenition of the predicate-noun and of the subject after the verb 'to be'**. Len of the pred occurs in **MiW.** after most forms of the verb 'to be',

instances occur in MIW after indic pres sg 1 *wyf*, 2 *wyt*, 3 rel
yssy(d), pl 1 *ym*, 3 *ynt*, consuetudinal pres and fut sg 1 *bydaf*,
2 *bydy*, 3 *bit, byd* (rarely), pl 1 *bydwn* 3 *bydant, bint, bynt*, ipf sg
2 *oedut*, 3 *oed*, pl 3 *oedynt*, consuet imperf sg 2 *bydut*, 3 *bydei*,
pl 3 *bydynt*, ipv sg 2 *byd*, 3 *bit*, pl 1 *bydwn*, 2 *bydwch*, subjunctive
pres sg 1 *bwyf*, 2 *bych*, pl 1 *bom*, 3 *bont, bwynt*, ipf 1 *bewn, bydwn*,
3 *bei, pei*, pl 1 *beym*, 3 *beynt*, perf sg 1 *buum* (rare), 2 *buost*, 3 *bu*,
pl 3 *buant*, plpf sg 3 *buassei*, for copious examples see VKG I
458, Strachan, Introd p 15, Baudiš, RC 49 348 (subject and
predicate are mixed up), Lloyd-Jones, Geirfa, p 60ff (the older
poetry) Len of the subject in MIW occurs after indic pres sg
3 *oes, yssit*, consuet pres sg 3 *bit, byd* (rare), ipf sg 3 *oed*, consuet
ipf 3 *bydei*, subjunctive pres sg 3 *bo* (rare), ipf sg 3 *bei*, perf
sg 3 *bu*, exx as above — If the subj or pred is separated from
the verb len can occur after all forms *y mae yno wr du* 'there is
yonder a black man' RM 240

Note 3 In MnW len of the pred can occur as above and also after
indic pres pl 2 *(yd)ych*, consuet pres pl 2 *byddwch*, ipf and consuet ipf
all forms, ipv sg 3 *bydded boed* subjunctive pres sg 3 *bo* pl 2 *boch* ipf
sg 2 *byddit* pl 2 *byddech* perf pl 1 *buom*, 2 *buoch*, plpf, all forms

Co   *vs vas* 'which is good', *cusyll nag-o vas* 'counsel which was
not good' Br len after *pe* 'or' only *daou pe dri* 'two or three'

(b) Lenition of the object and the subject after the other verbs The
object is lenited **in MIW.** after practically all verbal forms, but is
less frequent after some forms than others Thus after indic pres
sg 3 and pl 3, pret sg 3, and subjunctive pres sg 3 non-lenition
is more general For examples v VKG I 459f , Strachan, In-
trod 14f , Baudiš, RC 49 340ff Lenition of the obj may occur
after all verbal forms when it is separated from them Lenition
after the impersonal forms is very rare *pan dreithir draethawd*
when a song is sung' LIH 36, *ual yd las ureichuras y urawd* 'as
his brother Breichfras was killed' ib 177

After verbs denoting motion towards, len is general *gwyr a
aeth ododin, gwyr a aeth gatraeth* 'the men who went to Gododdin,
to Catraeth' BA 2, *dybyd gymry gwarth* 'shame will come to the
Welsh' RP 582, len occurs even after the verb-noun *yn mynet
gamlan* 'going to Camlan' Cymmr 7 129, cf Lloyd-Jones, ZCP
17 98ff

Lenition of the subject is rarer It occurs chiefly after the
3 sg ipf and plpf *ny doei wr* 'no man would come' RM 33, *yr*

atteb a rodassei Uatholwch 'the answer which M had given' 30
Instances occur of len after pret sg 3 *a fan welas Uranwen y mab*
'and when B saw her son' WM 55 (*a phan welas Branwen* RM 39),
a phan gigleu Gei eu bot yn dyuot 'and when Cai heard they were
coming' RM 214, also after ipv sg 3 *ymgeffylybet bawp ohonawch
ae gilyd* 'everyone of you match together' RM 223   Three instances
occur of a len subj after subjunctive pres sg 3 in BBC 35f   *A[th
uendicco-de] vastad   A[th uendicco-de] vuchet   A[th uendicco-de]
vascul* 'may the level,   life,   male bless thee'   When a pl
subject follows a pl verb, the subject is generally lenited   *yt ganant
goqeu* 'that cuckoos sing' RP 1034, v Henry Lewis, ZCP 17 107ff ,
cf 1 b above   Of course len is common when the subject is separated
from the verb

Note 4   The modern rule is non-len of the subject, len of the obj
when they immediately follow the verb   Many of the MlW rules described
above were observed up to the end of the 16th century (cf Henry Lewis
Darn o'r Ffestival p 14, also Morris Jones Welsh Syntax, p 1924f)   Sub-
sequently the present custom has become established   The subject is now
always lenited when separated from the verb   The impersonal forms are
followed by the radical

Co.   As a rule both subject and object are not lenited, with
very few exceptions in the case of the object   *nefre ny thebraf iare*
'never will I taste bread' OM 2186, *a henna my ny wraf vry* 'I shall
not make account of that' PC 2244, *na wre iry* 'that he made no
account' MC 26, also after the verb-noun   *gul vry* 'to make account'
OM 519 — **Br**   Len is rare   *grit vad d'ann dud holl* 'do good to
all people', *ne ra van* (also *man*) 'he pretends not to', also *ober vad*
'to do good', *ober van* 'to pretend'   The subject is len after *eme*
'said'   *nann, eme Varc'harit* 'no, said M '

(c) Postverbal lenition of adverbs.   Except at the beginning of a
sentence, a noun   pronoun or adjective used adverbially to denote
time, measure or manner has its initial consonant lenited   MlW
ac yno erchi gwr y ymwan deir gweith   and then bid a man fight
three times' RM 242, *bot vlwydyn yn llys Arthur* 'to be a year in
A 's court' 198, *nac ewch bellach hynny* 'do not go further than
that' RM 23, *mynet a wnaethant law yn llaw* 'they went hand in
hand' 214   The lenition is not confined to the position immediately
after verbs, it occurs after all words   *y dyd gynt* 'the day previous'
229, *yr deu hynny ac yr vn gynt* 'to those two as to the one before'
224   For further exx v VKG I 461f , Strachan, Introd 16 , Baudiš

RC 49 356f This len is the rule in MnW , cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax, p 72, 144ff , 171f   At the beginning of a sentence non-len was formerly the rule, but len is gradually spreading here too in MnW   The adv forms *mwy, mwyach* 'henceforth' are never lenited

Co. *cleves vyth nyth kemerse* 'sickness never had seized thee' etc ZE 202 b, *na anothans y bys voye me ny settyaf gwuile gula* 'nor of them ever more will I set the stalks of straw' CW 1355 **Br** V *deh vitin* 'yesterday morning', *arhoah vitin* 'to-morrow morning'

Lenition of the verb.

§ 238   Lenition after the infixed (non-relative) pronouns In Ir after sg 1 -*m*-, -*dom*-, 2 -*t*-, -*dot*-, 3 neut -*a*-, -*e*-, nil, -*d*-   OIr *mani-m-chobrad rad da̋* 'unless God's grace should help me' Wb 3 d 16, *cindas persine at-tot-chomnicc* what sort of person art thou ?' (lit "befalls thee, reaches thee") 6 b 13 , *r-a-chualatar* they have heard it' 5 a 8, *ni cheil* 'he does not conceal it' 5 b 5, *nach thoimled* let him not eat it' 11b 18, *in linn no-d-chreitfea* 'they who will believe it' 4 d 7   *ni-con-* (§ 381) causes lenition (later sometimes eclipsis)

Note In *no m choimmdiu-coima* may the Lord protect me' Thes II 290 11 the pron *m* lenites the subst *coimmdiu*

In Brit len occurs only after the pron sg 2, in Co and Br this has been further restricted by provection, resulting in MnBr non-lenition MIW *nyth gredaf* MnW *ni 'th gredaf* 'I believe thee not', Co *mar nyth wolhaff* 'if I wash thee not', *reth fo* 'may there be to thee', MIBr *tregont digner   az vezo antier* 'thirty pennies shalt thou have (shall be to thee) entirely' ZE 375 (MnBr *az pezo*)

§ 239   Relative lenition and lenition after preverbs in loose composition in Ir **(1)** Preverbs (even ending in a vowel) in loose composition did not produce len of the initial consonant of the verb in OIr thus *ní ceil som* 'he does not conceal' Wb 4 d 16 , *is cumme ad-ciam-ni* 'similarly we see' 12 c 11, *for-cain* 'he teaches' 27c 8   *is fri-de im-tiagam* 'it is by day that we travel' 6 a 30

If however such a verb is used relatively, the relative being subject or object, the unaccented preverb produces lenition (also eclipsis if the rel is object, v § 193)   Len is due to an infixed element which is seen in a few cases only (after *ar-* and *imm-*)   OIr *ni torbe do an imdibe ad-chi cách* 'no profit to him the circumcision which everyone sees' Wb 2 a 2 , *inti for-chain* 'he who teaches'

5 d 10, *is hed inso ara-thá* 'this is what awaiteth' 10 b 3, *is hed ar-thá inso* 'it is this that remains' 30 d 13, *innani prechite et imme-churetar cori* 'of those that preach and carry peace' 5 a 5, *dund óis nad chaithi cach tuari* 'to the people who do not eat every food' 6 e 11 — The copula is not len even when relative *intí ro-po magister* 'he that was master' Wb 13 a 12 — Len is naturally restricted by the rules in § 213 *dundi con-tuarcar* 'to him who is pounded' Ml 34 a 27

    Note 1 In later OIr len occurs when the rel is neither subject nor object *ni fris ru-chét* 'not for that was it sung' Ml 64 a 13, *risiu ad cheth* 'before he saw' 38 c 9

(2) In MIIr len of the active verb occurs after all pretonic preverbs even in non-relative sentences, and after *ni* even without an infixed object MIIr *ni thibér sa mo tharb* 'I will not give my bull' LL 55 a 25, *at-chíu-sa cairptech* 'I see a charioteer' Wi 275 22 (MnIr *do-chím, chídhim* 'I see', cf MnIr *do-chuaidh, chuaidh* 'he went') In MnIr those tenses which in OIr and MIIr were accompanied by temporal preverbs (ipf , conditional, pret) are always lenited except where eclipsis is required (*ghlanainn* 'I used to cleanse', *ghlanfainn* 'I would cleanse', *ghlanas* 'I did cleanse')

    Note 2 Analogically MnIr *thainig* came' *thug gave' So *thubhairt* (MnIr *dubhairt*) 'he said'

    Note 3 MnIr *na* before the ipv or the optative subjunctive does not cause len *ná deuna gaid* 'thou shouldst not steal' In early MnIr *nach* 'that not' did not modify the initial of the foll verb but now it produces eclipsis The predicate remains unchanged in MnIr as in OIr after a negative (*ni, nach*) *ní maith é* 'it is not good'

    Note 4. Len of the passive does not occur after a (lost) temporal preverb or after *ní* in MnIr *glantaoi é* 'he used to be cleansed', *glanadh e* 'he was cleansed' Even in MIIr len of the passive did not regularly occur after *no, ro ní* In Scotland the passive as well the active is lenited *do bhualadh mi* 'I was struck', v KZ 45, 370 ff

(3) Non-compounded verbs when relative remain unlenited in OIr *dondí creites* 'to him who believes' Wb 2 b 27 In later OIr len occurs after *intí* and *amal ani chanas* 'what it says' Ml 24 d 14, *amal chondegam ni* 'as we ask' 107 c 8 Len further occurs, as under (1), when *intí* or *amal* does not precede the verb *chontar-chomraic in pecthach* 'which the sinner collected' Ml 57 a 14, *cid folad sluindes* 'what substance it signifies' Sg 25 b 17 This extended later, as under (2), to cases where the rel was neither subject nor object *is do thucad* for this it has been put' Sg 45 d 19 This

remains in MlIr and MnIr   MlIr *is do thánac sa* 'for that have I come' LL 71b 26, MnIr *an fear, mholas* 'the man who praises', *an fear, mholas sé* 'the man whom he praises', *an tan bhíos ag gleic* 'when he is fighting' Bergin, Keat 183   An *a* is frequently inserted before the len verb *an fear a mholas*, by anal with the cases in which *do* has been lost § 105

Note 5   This len is not found in the passive in MnIr , v KZ 35 369

§ 240. Relative lenition and lenition after preverbs in loose compounds in Brit   (1) There is evidence in the older W poetry that the same rule once existed in W as in OIr regarding non-len after preverbs except when the verb was used relatively, the rel being subject or object   The examples in W occur with the temporal preverb *ry* and with the negative *ny*, v Strachan, Énu 3 20ff   When the verb was non-relative, *ny* and *ry* were followed by the spirant mutation (k-, t-, p- > x-, $\flat$-, f-, g-, d-, b-, ll-, rh-, m- were unchanged)   *ny chenir buyeid ar ffo* 'the Beatitudes are not sung in flight' BBC 8 11, *ny phercheiste guener* 'thou respectedst not Friday' 21 6, *ni cheuntoste pader* 'thou didst not sing the Paternoster' 21 8, *ry chedwis detyf* 'he kept the law' 14 7, *rythrychynt* 'they cut down' BT 76 18, *ryphrydaf y iawn llin* 'I sing its true lineage' BT 19 22   (Cf the affirmative particle *neu   neu cheint* 'I have sung' BT 19 1, *neu chollersy arglwyt   neu chyuyd ynof cof* 'I have lost a lord   memory rises in me' LlH 126 27,29)   For exx of the other consonants v Morris-Jones, WG 423   When the verb was relative, *ny* and *ry* were followed by lenition   *a quir ny gilint rac gvaev* 'and men who would not flee from a spear' BBC 72 6, *neb drut ny drefnwy gwascawt* 'any fool who may not arrange protection' RP 1176 1, *pawb or pobloed ny bara* 'all the people who will not last' 1175 2   For word-forming prefixes v § 242, v G P Williams, ZCP 7,347ff , Loth, RC 31,365

(2) In later MlW and in MnW these rules were changed   After MlW *ry* and its compounds len of all consts became regular, after MlW *ny* (*o-ny, po-ny*), MnW *ni* (*o-ni*) len of mediae and sonants, spirant mutation of tenues   Similarly *na* 'that not', 'not' (with the ipv)   Traces of the early rule linger in the later MlW poetry in the non-len of *m*- and *b*- after the negative   *Ni mynnen' am ei einioes Noethi crair* 'they would not lay bare a relic for his life' D ab Edmwnd (80 1), *Ni boddy, ni'th rybuddiwyd* 'thou wilt not be drowned, thou hast not been warned' D ap G (Ifor Williams,

Cywyddau D ap G 48 23), *Oni baidd f'wyneb iddaw* 'if my face
dare not approach it' Ieuan Deulwyn (84 24)   In MnW only forms
of the verb 'to be' in *b-* may remain unlenited   In MlW the pred
is len in *na wir* 'it is not true' (so in MnW), *na well* 'it is not better'
(in answers)

In Co and Br there is no trace of the distinction between rel
and non-rel forms   Len occurs after Co *re* Br *ra*, Co *ny* Br *ne*
'not', Co *na* 'not, that not' MlBr *na*, there are a few instances of
non-len   Co *praga dampnys re-bee* why he was condemned'
MC 187, cf G P Williams, ZCP 7 347, Loth, RC 31 365

(3) (a) In positive rel sentences not containing a temporal
preverb the relative when subject or object has the form *a*, which
lenites the following verb   *yr erchwys a ladyssei y carw* 'the pack
which had killed the stag' RM 2, *y peth a orynnaf ytti* 'the thing
which I ask of thee', Co *neb a thue* 'anyone who will come', *pur
wyr a lauaraf thys* 'it is the real truth which I say to thee', *pan-dra
wylly* 'what (thing) thou canst see' (with elided *a*), Br *ar re a garo
Doue* 'they who love God', *Doue a garann* 'I love God', *pet tra
oulennom-ni* 'how many things shall we ask for' (with elided *a*) —
In W *a* is often elided before a vowel, and sometimes before a
consonant, particularly in verse

(b) When a verb is preceded by a predicate (complement) in
W the verb is len   MlW *gwr idaw vydaf* 'I shall be his man' RM 199,
kynoethawc vydut 'thou wouldst be rich' 223   The relative *a* has
spread by analogy into this construction in MnW   *mawr a fydd ef
ryw ddydd* 'great will he be one day', but it is unnecessary   The
analogy is probably due to the len , to the elision of *a* in relative
construction, and was perhaps strengthened by such expressions as
pwy fydd 'who will he be ?' beside *pwy (a) fydd* who will be ?'   The
former corresponds to the pres tense *pwy yw* 'who is he '' the
latter to the pres tense relative *pwy sydd* who is ?' — Co *lader
rye* 'he was a thief', *gwel rya* 'it were better' — MlBr *guell ue
gueneff* 'I should prefer'   Cf ZE 197

(c) The particle MlW *yd* or *yt* /ǝd/, used only before verbs
beginning with consonant, causes len   It occurs at the head of a
sentence *yd welese guendolev* 'I saw Gwenddolau' BBC 53,16, but
more frequently after an adverbial expression *tec yd gan ir adaren*
'finely does the bird sing' 107 6, *vrth cant id lathei* '(it was) by the
hundred that he would slay' 96 8   Cf Strachan, Introd p 54   This

part has been displaced by *y*, which does not modify a foll init cons (before vowels, MlW *yd* = /ə𝑑/, MnW *yr*) The corresponding Co *y* (*yth* before vowels), Br *e* (*ez* before vowels) orig. caused len , which was modified by the rules in § 215, 2, 3, § 216, 2, 3

Note 1 At an early period the personal forms of the verb could probably be preceded at the head of the sentence by the corresponding simple personal pronoun In the early literature this has developed to the extent that *ef* 'he' is found before forms other than the 3 sg *ef gwneif* 'I shall make' BT 63 22, *ew kuynhiw* I shall lament' BBC 100 15, *ef dyf gorofyn* 'fear will grow' LlH 63 31 The pron had become a preverbal particle When the object was an infixed pron the preverbal pron was followed by *a ef ae tawd* 'he will melt them' BT 41 4, *wynt ach [c]aran* 'they will love you' 53 18 *mi ae gowinneis* 'I asked it' BBC 84, 2 also with an indirect obj *ef am rodes med* 'he gave me mead' BT 43 14 Then the pron + *a* came to be used as a particle leniting the verb *mi (myfi, minnau) a wnaf* 'I shall do', etc In MnW the *a* is frequently omitted, the len of the verb remaining *mi wnaf mi gawn* 'we shall have' The forms *e, fe, fo* frequently occur before the verb in MnW literature and in spoken MnW *fe* (SW) and *mi* (NW) are used before all forms Cf Morris-Jones, WG p 427, Welsh Syntax pp 184 7, also § 399 n

Note 2 For Co *as* = MlW *yt* (RD 40 *as wrussough cam tremene* 'you have done wrong' "a wrong passing") cf Henry Lewis, Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol p 80

§ 241 Lenition of verbs after conjunctions and adverbs. (1) In li after *ó* 'since', *co* 'until', *cia* 'though', *ma* 'if' Len does not occur in Wb after *ar* 'for' (= prep 'for'), but does occasionally in Ml and Sg , probably by anal with len before nominal forms, cf *amal* 'as' § 239 3 After *camaiph* 'however' *camaiph thechtait ainmnidi* 'however they have nominatives' Sg 209 b 3

(2) In Brit after W Co *pan* 'when', Br *pa* 'when' (*aba* since'), after MlW *tra* 'whilst', Co *hedre*, Br *endra*, after MlW *yny* 'until', Co *erna* (these forms contain the negative), Co *kyn ken* 'though' (§ 215,3) In MnW *tra* is generally followed by the radical, occasionally even by the spirant mutation (*x-, þ-, f-*), *oni* (for MlW *yny*) by the spirant mutation of the tenues and the soft mutation of the other mutable consonants

Len after the W interrog part *a*, after Co *del, fattel, fettel* as' (*del* = Ir *delb* W *delw* 'form'), *kettel* 'as' (temporal), MlW *cwt* *kūd/* 'where ', Co *pe, p-le* 'where' (with provection *pe feste* 'where have you been' OM 467, *ple fugh why* RD 2243)

§ 242. Lenition after prefixes in close verb-compounds. In close compound verbal forms len occurs in Ir after prefixes orig ending

in a vowel (*aith-, air-, di-, fo-, imb-, ind-, ro-, to-*), also after *rem-, iarm-, tarm-* (but not after *iar-*) *diand-remthiasat gníma* 'if works go before it' Wb 5 a 22, these formations being late (*rem-* from *remi-* which contained a pronoun) Anal len occurs in *nad frithchomart* 'who did not injure' Ml 47a 2 (anal with *aith-*) Also confusion between *for-* (non-len) and *fo-r-* (from *fo-ro-*, len)

In Brit distinction between close and loose composition with word-forming prefixes has not been kept (it is only in the older literature that infixed pronouns are inserted after these prefixes) As a rule len is found after prefixes orig ending in a vowel MlW *dy-gwydaw* 'fall', MnW *di-gwydd* 'befall, happen' (*cwyddo* 'to fall'), Br *digouezout* 'happen', W *ym-olchi* 'wash', Co *myghtern nep a ym-wra* 'whoever makes himself lord' PC 2222, Br *en em wiskann* 'I dress myself', V *ni hum gar* 'we love ourselves' Non-len after a prefix orig ending in a consonant is seen in W *gorffen* 'finish', *gwarchadw* 'guard' (the mediac and *m* are len after *r* W *gor-foli* 'over-praise', but cf Co *gormel* 'praise' BM 1420 2241 MnCo *gormola* 'praise', in loose comp the *r* should not cause len)

There are however in W traces of non-len in loose composition *dychanu* 'to sing, to satirize' and *dyganu* 'to sing', *dyfforthi* and *dyborthi* 'to bear', *dybrysio* and *dyfrysio* 'to hasten', *gogel* and *gochel* 'to avoid', v Strachan, Ériu 3 26f

Note The finite verb is not compounded with a nominal stem as a rule in Ir beside *nuie-thicid* gl neophytum Wb 28 b 29 cf *nuie tanuc cuccum-sa* 'he has newly come to me' 7c 7 where *nuie* is an independent adverb For further exx , Vendryes, RC 31 515 An adverb preceding the verb which it modifies often forms a compound with it in W causing len MlW *hi a hawt borthes* 'she easily sustained' MA 227 b 53 *iaun obeithaw* 'to hope rightly' RP 1182 21 (cf 1183 3, 4 1165 28, 30), *dyrieit ny haudbeit hedwch* 'the wicked does not easily endure peace' BBCS 4 6 This is still common in W Br *eil-zimezi* 're marry', *peur zibri* 'eat entirely'

Lenition in Nominal Compounds

§ 243 As in the cases of close compound verbs, when a compound noun is formed with a prefix the latter if orig ending in a vowel produces lenition, but not if it orig ended in a consonant If the first element of the compound was a noun-stem, this always ended in a vowel and produced lenition

But lenition often occurs by analogy, beside the old compound of **k'om-* and *tromm* 'heavy' OIr *cutrumme* 'equal' (cf MlW *cy-*

thrymmet evenly') comes MIlr *comthrom* 'of the same weight' MnIr
comhthrom, OIr Wb *forcenn* 'end' W *gorffen*, but *forchenn* Ml 118 b 6,
W *gorthwf* and *gordwf* 'overgrowth'

§ **244.** In many cases len is really due to composition though
to the present linguistic consciousness the first element is a separate
word   Thus after W *go* 'rather', *rhy* 'too' Co *re* Br *re* (W *go dda*
'rather good', *rhy ddrwg* 'too bad', Co *re got* 'too short', Br *re vraz*
'too big', cf MnIr *ró-mhoch* 'too early')   In Sc len after *co* 'as',
but in Ir no len after *chomh* (except when the compound is felt
to be so, as in *chomh-mhór* 'equally great'), W *cyn deced* 'as fair'
(anal len), after Br *ken, ker* no len   *ker bras* 'as big'   Also len
after W *lled* and *pur* 'somewhat' *lled dda* 'rather good', *pur
ddymunol* 'somewhat desirable', W *prin* 'scarcely', Br *hanter zall*
half blind'   Cf § 227, § 234,1   In W when a genitive precedes
the noun on which it depends a compound is formed, and the latter
noun is lenited *bore wawr* 'the morning dawn', *daear lawr* '(the
floor of) the earth', MlW *radeu wallofyad* 'bestower of gifts',
pechawt ordyfneit 'being accustomed to sin' (*gorddyfnaid pechawd*)

XVII. Length" of Consonants.

§ **245** Double consonants were rare in IE , probably occurring
only when two morphological elements came together

New double consonants arose in various ways   For the assimi-
lation of groups whose last element was *s*, *v* § 25, § 26,10, § 63
Double explosives arose partly through assimilation with a following
n (§ 73), partly through assim with a preceding explosive *gg*
in OIr *accaldam* 'addressing' MnIr *agallamh*   OIr *ad-gládur* 'I
address', *kk* in OIr *accobor* 'desire' MnIr (Keat) *accobhar* OIr *ad-
cobra* 'desires', Ir *accais* 'poison, spite' W *achas* 'hated' (from *ad-*
and Ir *cais* 'hatred' W *cas*), *bb* in OIr *opad*, *obbad* 'refusal'
MnIr *obadh* (*od + bo-n-d-*)   Two similar explosives often come
together in composition Ir *atrab* W *athref* 'abode' § 206   For
IE *zd* > C *dd* v § 27   Later combinations of homorganic explos-
ives or of explosives and *h* are discussed in §202f , §210, 212   For
OIr *rr, ll, nn, mm* cf § 69, § 26, § 65,4, § 75,5   Exx of late comb-
inations of two similar sonants (through loss of vowel) OIr *do-
arrchet* 'has been prophecied' (*to-air-ro- + can-*, cf W *darogan*), Ir
firin-ne 'righteousness', from *firian* 'just' and a suffix like that in
cairddine 'friendship'   In both branches occurs assimilation of *ng*,

ld, nd, mb to *m̄m̄, ll, nn, mm* (§ 37, 4, § 45, § 49), MnIr *tl > LL,
tn > NN* (§ 68, 3, § 71, 2 c), *n̄n̄ > ŃŃ* § 252, in W in certain cases
m̄m̄, nn, mm from *n̄k, nt, mp*, cf also W *càlyn* from *canlyn* 'follow'

The IE habit of expressive doubling in hypocoristic names
(VKG § 404) was continued in *C*, thus, G -Lat *Eppius, Eppo,*
from a name compounded with *epo-* 'horse'   Cf Ir *macc* § 55

§ 246. (Gemination In Ir) (1) In the oldest Ir literature (particul-
arly Wb) gemination chiefly denoted the length of a consonant,
but the orthography even in Wb is not consistent in this respect
An originally long consonant is frequently written single, particul-
arly in unaccented syllables or after a long vowel or in consonant
groups (*do-ar-chet* often for *do-arr-chet* 'is prophecied', — 1 sg pres
-im, more frequently than *-imm*, *béim* 'blow' § 26, 11, *cuimse*
'suitable'   MlIr *commus* 'power', — *peccad* 'sin', rarely *pecad*, but
as a rule g *pectho*, occasionally *pecctho*)   Intervoc *-cc-* is very
frequent, *-tt-* comparatively rare, intervoc *-pp-* does not occur
Also *-ff-* is not found

Doubling is frequent in certain consonant groups   *tessl* 'wit-
ness', *cossce* 'reprimand', *serce* 'love', *olcc* 'evil', *claindde*, g of *cland*
'children', etc

In sandhi every non-len sound can be represented by a double
cons   *i-ssundiu* 'in this', *i-ccach lucc* in every place', *di-ssi* 'to her'
do-rrigeni 'he has done', *do-lleicet* 'they leave'   *do-mmeicither* thou
dishonourest'   For Wb *inn-a chorp in oen chorp* v VKG § 165

(2) Ml deviates considerably from Wb as regards writing
double consonants   Most interesting is the use of gemination to
denote the quality of the sound   *accubui* 'desire', *macc* 'son' (*-kk-*)
but *acaldam* 'addressing', *bec* 'small' (*-gg-*)   In Sg and MlIr *-gg-,*
-dd-, -bb-, -mm- often denote merely non-len pronunciation   The
more exact representation of lenition in MnIr has made gemination
unnecessary for this purpose

§ 247. (Gemination in Brit.) (1) Lengthened explosives arising
from secondary combination of expl + expl or *h* were long in MlW
before vowels and consonants   MlW *teckaf* 'fairest', *cyn hackret* 'as
ugly', *lletty* 'lodging', *atteppych* 'thou mayest answer   But the
orthography is not consistent   *bwyta* 'to eat' beside *bwytta*, *-p-* is
not doubled as a rule   The doubled explosives were (aspirated)
/*k, t, p*/, while *-c, -t, -p* were in MlW pronounced *g, d, b*, gemination
therefore could also denote quality, as well as quantity   Mainly

however it denoted length   The long quantity was common Brit ,
cf Co *hackre* 'ugher' (v § 203)   — The spirants x, b, f (§ 206, § 25, 1,
2, 4, § 203), whose representation (*ch, th, ff*) precluded doubling,
were short as the vowel quantity shows (§ 136, 1, § 137)   The same
applies to Co and Br

Note 1 In the OW glosses on Mart Capella gemination seems to in-
dicate lenition *carrec* 'stone' pl *cerric*, *casulhetic* gl penulata, *coihauc*
gl augur, *custnudetic* gl confecta *guocelesetic* gl titillata *leuesic* gl ca-
rientem *deccolion* gl decadibus *catterraul rettetic* (sella curulis), *uncenetti-
cron* gl solicanae *hepp* said' *leteinepp* 'page' Cf also *eceluys* 'church' in
Lib Land

Finally *ss* was regularly shortened in MIW   *nes* nearer',
nessaf 'nearest', Co *nes, nessa*, MlBr *nes, nessaff* The corresponding
shortening of *ll* can only be deduced from MnW (§ 136, 1, § 137)
The voiced sonants (*rr, nn*) were not shortened finally in MIW (it
was not necessary to write *mm* as non-len short -*m*- -*m* did not
occur)   In Co the sonants were shortened finally and before a
consonant *ter* 'breaks', *torsans* 'they broke' from *terry* to break'
For *nn, mm* . MnCo *dn, bm* v § 72, § 75, 5   In MlBr forms like
ber 'short', *pel* 'far', *pen* 'head' occur, *mam* mother , pl *mammou*
is regular

Note 2 Gemination can also denote quality in Brit (particularly in
W) W *ll* – /l/ (§ 68) *ff* 'f' W *dd* /d/ is later (it occurs as early as
the 14th cent) § 42

(2) The only consonants now doubled in W are intervocalic
rr nn after the accented vowel (*pen* 'head', pl *pennau*, *carreg*
stone'), v § 137   In MnBr the only consonants usually written
double are *rr, ll, nn mm* (medial and final)

XVIII. Non-syllabic Groups.

§ 248 (Origin of non-syll. groups.) The non-syll groups in Celts
are partly derived from prim IE , and partly new developments
in Celt itself The most important source of these new groups is
due to the loss of vowels occasioned by the accent particularly
prevalent in Ir   Non-syll groups have been simplified in various
ways

§ 249 One of the sounds in a non-syll group may become
syllabic, or may be separated through svarabhakti from its neigh-
bouring consonants § 103, § 158—161

In other cases an explosive is partially or fully **assimilated to the**

preceding vowel. In Ir complete assimilation (compensatory lengthening) is mostly the case, partial assim in the case of the diphthong *eo, iu,* v § 134,2   In Brit a number of diphthongs have arisen through partial assimilation

§ 250 Non-syll groups are frequently simplified by loss of a sound **Initially** Loss of the first sound *k, gh* before "IE *þ*" (Ir *tinaim, dú* § 28), *t* before *s* § 25,5, Br Trég *daou lâ* 'two years', Léon *daou vloaz* — Loss of the middle sound *gwr-, gwl-, gwn-* in Brit § 17, IE *spr-, str-, spl-, skn-* § 26,2,5,8 — Loss of the last sound *dw- > d-* etc § 17 — **Medially** Loss of the first of two sounds W *gwybod* 'know' (**gwyddbod*), Br *pevar* 'four', *mw > w* Ir *coir* 'fit' etc § 19 — Loss of the latter of two sounds MnIr *adeir* 'says' OIr *atbeir* 'he says it' *[-db-/*, W *ymaith* MlW *ymeith* 'away' from *ymdeith* — Loss of the first of three sounds IE expl before an *s-* group § 25,2,5, § 26,1,11   MlIr *escop* W *esgob* 'bishop' (< Lat *episcopus*) *-ltr-, -ntr-, -ntl-* § 64,2,3   *-mbr-, -mbl-* § 49 *-ngw- >* Brit *-(g)w-* § 37,4 — Loss of the middle sound IE *s* between sonant and expl § 26,1, IE expl bet *s* and sonant, or sonant and *s* § 26   In Ir a nasal is frequently dropped between two consonants OIr *forgare, tairgire* beside *forngaire* 'command' (cf *a forchon-gair* 'what he orders'), *tairngire* 'promise', *frecdairc* 'present' Thes II 229,32 beside *frecndircc* (*frith-com- + *dork'i-*) — Loss of the last of three sounds OIr *apstal* 'apostle' MlIr *apsal* (< Lat *apostolus*, but v § 254) — **Finally.** Loss of *-r* and *-l* in W and Br § 160 Secondary *-ts* became *-s* in Ir (not medially) OIr *ro-fitis* 'you know' from *ro-fitid-si*, *beres* 'who carries' from *berid* 'carries' + a suffixed *s*

§ 251. Often in a non-syll group **a glide develops** which may become a full sound *t* between *s* and *r, l* OBr *strum* § 26,3, in a secondary group Br *stlaoñ* 'young eel' from **sil hañv* Medially in Ir *-p-* develops between unlen *m* and *n* OIr *timpne* 'commandment' beside *timne*, cf *ní-mp-tha fírion* 'I am not righteous' Wb 8d 24, and Br *ms > mps* etc § 75,5

§ 252. **Partial or complete assimilation** is frequent Partial assim is seen in the modification in the colour of a cons (§ 170,1), in the change in place of articulation (cf § 70,1), in the change of a spirant into an explosive as in the case of *đ, þ* becoming *d, t* (§ 209, § 212), in cases of nasalization (*g'ń > ɲń > Ń́Ṅ* in OIr *dorigni* 'has done' MlIr *doringni* MnIr *do rinne, gn > nn* in W *deng*

niwrnod 'ten days', etc § 196,3, IE *-bn-* > Ir *-mhn-* in *domun* 'world' § 48), in cases of unvoicing (*macthi* 'childish' acc pl , *aithche* beside *aidche*, g sg of *adaig* 'night')

Complete assimilation produced double consonants, for examples v § 245

§ 253 Dissimilation often occurred in non-syll groups Thus *tl* > *kl* (change in place of articulation) W *clws* for *tlws* 'pretty', colloq *clawd* for *tlawd* 'poor', Br *gwentlou* 'labour-pains', Trég *war oenklo* in labour-pains' Spirant > explosive beside *s*, *x*, *h* § 211—2

§ 254 Metathesis in non-syll groups For *gwr-*, *gwl-* in Brit v § 17 (and Grammont, La métatèse en breton armoricain, Mélanges H d'Arbois de Jubainville p 83—96) IE *st* > C *ts*, IE *sp*, *sk* > *ps*, *ks* (in Brit) § 25,1,2,5 Later in Ir , and occasionally in Brit , a consonant + *s* tended to become *s* + consonant OIr *ascnam* 'strive after', vb nn to pres and 3 pl *ad-co-snat*, OIr *ochsall* 'armpit' MnIr *ascall*, OIr *baitsim* 'I baptize MlIr MnIr baistim*, MnIr *páiste* 'a child' from E *page*, *-pst-* > *-spt-* > *-sp-* in OIr *apstal* MnIr *easpal* apostle' § 250 In Brit W *asgell* 'wing' Co *ascall* Br *askell* (< Lat *axilla*) — Ir *lub-gort* > *lugbort* 'garden' § 47, OIr *bibdu* 'guilty' (pl *bibdid*) MlIr *bidba* 'enemy' MnIr *bíodhbha* defendant, enemy, robber' OW *bibid* gl rei MlBr *beuez* coupable', orig a perf part *bhibhidwōt-* 'who has injured', to Lat *findō* etc — OIr *bélre* 'language' (to *bél* 'lip', g *bérli* once in Wb) MnIr *Béarla* 'English' V *berpet* 'always' Léon *bepred* (*bep pred* every time') Ir *rétglu* > *rétla* 'star' pl *rétglanna*, *rétlanna* MnIr *réalt* pl *réaltanna* (influenced by Mlli *réil* 'clear) OW *enmeituou* gl pei nutus OBr *enmeitiam* gl innuo MnW *amnaid* 'a nod' W *defnydd*, colloq *denfydd* Br *danvez* § 21,4

XIX Assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis of separated non-syllabic sounds

§ 255 Assimilation. Partial assimilation occurs when a final *-n* becomes *-m* under the influence of a labial W *offrwm* 'offering' Co *offryn* (< Lat *offerenda*), W *saffrwm* 'saffron', but in some cases, *-n* > *-m* in W is not due to a preceding labial (*rheswm*, from MIE *resoun*), v Parry-Wilhams, English Element in Welsh p 246f Br *patroum*, *patrom* 'portrait, patron' from Fr *patron* MnIr *meamram* W *memrwn* 'parchment' (< Lat *membrāna*)

Assim of an *s*- sound to an *š*-sound Br V *choñjal* 'think'
from Fr *songer*, *chujet* 'sujet', *Jojeb* 'Joseph' — In the common
Celt period init IE *p*- became *kᵘ* if the foll syll began with *kᵘ*
Ir *cóic* OW *pimp* etc '5', W *pobi* 'bake' etc — MlIr *tascrais*
'released' (*to-scar*-), beside *ro trascair* 'laid low', fut pass *trascer-
thar*, falsely analysed ipf ind *dorascrad som* LU 4989, MnIr vb
nn *trascairt* — MlIr *coemchlód* 'exchange' (§ 156), also *cloechlód*
MnIr *claochlódh*

§ 256. **Dissimilation.** Very frequent in the case of sonants An *r*
is lost by dissim in W *brawd* 'brother' § 9, § 89, W *trawst* 'beam'
Br *treust* from Lat *transtrum* (MlW pl *trostreu*), W *rhef* 'thick'
Ir *remor* Similarly after a vowel W *berw* for *berur* water-cress'
§ 178, 3, OIr *comrar* gl capsa (with suffix *-rā-*, to Lat *cumera*
'corn-bin') MlIr *comra* 'shrine' MnIr *comhra* 'coffin' — *r* became
l by dissim in Ir *irar* (Thurneysen KZ 48 61), *ilar* MnIr *iolar*
'eagle' W *eryr* OCo *er* MlBr *erer* MnBr *er* *eriro- to Gk ὄρνις
'bird' Goth *ara* 'eagle' (v BBCS 4 140f), Ir *biror, bilor* water-
cress' MnIr *biolar* with suff *-ro-, -rā-* to *gᵘeru- (Ir *bir* etc § 178, 3)
ultimately rel to OHG *kresso* 'cress' (Falk og Torp, Et ordb
II 506), Br *arar, alar* 'plough' § 2, Br *tarar, talar* 'auger' § 62
The latter of two *r*'s > *l* MnIr *contrál-ta* MlW *cythrawl* MlBr
contrell from Lat *contrārius* § 83, 3, W *Chwefrol* beside *Chwefror*
MnCo /*hwevral*/ from Lat *Februārius*, cf Parry-Williams, EEW 249

l can become *r* by dissim OIr *alaile, arele* § 111 W *arall* Co
arall Br *derc'hel* § 37, 3, *teurel* 'throw', part *taolet* W
taflu Co *tevlel*, Br *gervel* 'call', part *galvet* W *galw* Co *gelwel*
(also Br vb nn *delc'her, teuler, gelver*), W *llefrith* sweet milk
OCo *leverid* gl lac dulce Br *livriz* 'beestings' Ir *lemlacht* sweet
milk' (explained by Cormac as "warm milk", MnIr *leamh* 'unsalted
raw') — *l* can become *n* Ir *lemnacht* (MnIr *leamhnacht*) = *lem-
lacht*, *lomnán* 'very full' = *lomlán*, MlIr *lelap* and *lenab* child
MnIr *leanbh* Br *kountell* from Lat *cultellus*

n can become *l* by dissim (from *n* or *m*) V *velim* 'poison', cf
Fr *venim-eux* 'poisonous', Co *lemmyn* 'but' W *namyn*, OCo *lin-
haden* gl urtica Br *linad* 'nettle' (associated with *lin* 'flax and
had 'seed') Ir *nenaid* Further *N* can become *d*, len *m* can become
b So *deanntag* (also *ionntag* with loss of the first *n*) MlW *dynad*,
sg *dynhaden* MnW *danadl* 'nettles' (SW dial *dynad*, also *dyned*
and even *dryned*, the *-ed* probably by anal with spoken pl forms

in -*ed* for -*aid*, *dr-* probably by association with *drain* 'thorns', the literary form *danadl* is probably by anal with *banadl* 'broom', the orig was prob **ninasati- *ninosati*, or if W and Co *h* is due to popular etym , **ninati-*), Ir *mebuir* from Lat *memoria* A nasal may be lost by dissim Br *eñvor* < Lat *memoria*, OIr *snisni*, *sním* and *sisni, sinni* 'we , MnIr *sinn*

§ 257. Metathesis (Cf Ernault, Glossaire p 457) Due to anticipation of a *w* (which was originally the first part of a diphthong) Br *oade, ode* 'gap in a hedge' Ouessant *ado* (Loth, RC 29 70), from **adoe* W *adwy* breach, pass', Br *moger* 'wall' OBr *macoer* W *magwyr* Br *c'hoalenn, holenn* 'salt', Br Trég *noade* needle' MlBr *nadoez* § 26,9 , MlBr *quoalen* MnBr *kolen* 'whelp' § 36 Anticipation of an *h*, v § 205, of an *s* Mllr *fertas* MnIr *fearsaid* § 64 *s* *ll* > *ll* *s* in W *sallwyr* > *llaswyr* § 83,3 c — *v* *d* ; *d* *v* W *crefydd* and *creddyf* religion' cf Ir *crabud*, *tangnefedd* and *tangneddyf* peace' *d* *v* > *r* *d* W *cleddyf* 'sword' pl *cleddyfau* and MlW *clefydeu cleddyfod* stroke of a sword' and MlW *cleuydawt* — Anticipation of an *r* Ir *cosecraim* MnIr *coisreacaim* I consecrate' § 83,1 c , W *gwregys* 'girdle' (for **gwe-grys < *gwa- + crys*) OCo *grugis* gl cingulum Ir *fochrus* Br *gouriz* V *grouiz* (with *griw-* from *gur-*, cf § 17 and v Grammont. Mél d'Arb de Jub p 92) Postponement of an *r* MnIr *searmóin* and *seanmóir* 'sermon' from E *sermon* (infl by Mnli *seanchas* tale'), Bi Trég and Corn *gregon-enn* 'wild plum' MlBr *goagronenn* — Anticipation of an *l* Br *gouestl* V *gloestr* vow , W *casglu* colloq *clasgu* collect' *n* *l* *l* *n* Br *halan* 'breath' W *anadl*, colloq *anal* Bi *balan* and *banal* 'broom' § 62

XX. Pronunciation of the Explosives.

§ 258 Interchange between tenuis and media initially in Celt occurs rather frequently, quite apart from IE alternation It is due mostly to analogy with the regular syntactical mutations (lenition or soft mutation in Brit , eclipsis in Ir) Examples of *k* and *g* OIr *caile* spot' MlIr *gaile*, Oli *coll* gl luscum Thes II 236 3, Mllr *goll* 'one-eyed' Ir *géc* branch' *gésca* W *cainc* *t* and *d* W *drem* and *trem* 'sight', Ir *treitell, dreitll* pet' from W *drythyll, trythyll* ('wanton'), Ir *druim* 'back' W *drum trum* 'ridge', Oli *druailned* corruption' *di uailnithe* corrupt' Mllr *ro truaillned* 'has

been corrupted' MnIr *truailleadh* 'corruption', MnIr *truid, druid*
'starling' MlW *drydw, trydw, drudwy* etc (v Ifor Williams, PKM
188f) MnCo */trožan/* Br *dred, tred*   *p b* in Lat borr   Ir *béist*,
MnIr *péist* 'a beast' < Lat *bēstia*

§ 259. The four types of IE explosives (§ 1) became two in
Celt , b, d, g and (aspirated) *(p)*, *t*, *k*   The mutations gave rise to a
third type pure tenues, which however soon became mediae, the
mod languages therefore have only two types

Note The two types are sometimes mixed in post tonic sylls in MnIr
minic 'often', earlier *menicc* W *mynych* Co *menough* (Goth *manags* 'much'),
but Sc *minig*, MnIr *éiric* 'ransom' OIr *eric* Sc *eirig* (to *as-renim* 'I pay,
give away') Sc *reic* 'sell' OIr *dat reicc* (*renim* 'I sell') Cf Thurneysen,
Handb 1 89 MlIr *fertas* MnIr *fearsaid* § 257

§ 260 The new mediae (older pure tenues) have developed
in Ir. from prim Celt aspir *t*, *k*, *kᵘ* in the foll cases (1) eclipsis §187,
(2) two homorganic spirants (due to len) coming together second-
arily § 210, (3) in proclisis § 108 (aspir *t*, *k* becoming pure tenues
directly), (4) after *s* and *x*   Many instances of pure tenues
(> mediae) occur in (Lat and Celt) borrowings from Brit   OIr
suff -*óc* MnIr -*óg*, MlIr *secul* MnIr *seagal* 'rye' < Lat *secale*

§ 261. The change from pure tenues to mediae was complete
in OIr or at least was completed in that period, but the use of
the symbols for the tenues was retained in the OIr and MlIr
orthography   For occasional deviations v § 187

§ 262 In Brit mediae have developed from tenues (1) in cases
of lenition § 222 (2) in proclisis § 122, (3) in W after *s* (MnW *sg,
sb, st*, for groups of spirants + explosives v Orgraff vr Iaith
Gymraeg, p 53f) In all cases the mediae came from pure tenues

Co. $t > s$[1].

§ 263 An original *t* appears in Co medially and finally, in
most cases, as -*s*- -*s*, which according to Lhuyd's orthography is
to be pronounced sometimes /z/, sometimes /ž/ (rarely /č/) Two
kinds of change have been considerably mixed (1) final *t* became
/s/ > /z/, the intermediary stage between *t* and *s* was probably /c/,
cf $t > $ /c/ (wr z) in High German, also -*tw*- > -*sw*-, — (2) -*t*-, -*d*-
before /j/ or a front vowel became /č/, /ž/ (with palat /t'/, /d'/ as
intermediary stage) The z of (1) was extended to medial positions

[1] Cf Loth RC 18 402 – 422

(e g in plurals in *-ow* of nouns), and also the /č/, /ǯ/ of (2) was extended analogically to finals and the position before back vowels

(1) (a) The change *-t > -s* occurred in two different periods After *l* and *n* it appears already in OCo *sols* gl pecunia § 77,2, *gols* gl caesaries § 3,4, *als* gl litus, *mols* 'wether' § 64,2 (MlCo *mols* MnCo *molz*), *dans* 'tooth' § 8,1 (MnCo *danz*), *cans* 'with' § 64,3, *guins* gl uentus § 5,2 (MlCo *gwyns* MnCo *gwenz*) The *s* was extended to a medial position beside *els* gl priuignus (*altjo-s, cf MlIr *com-alta* 'foster-brother') the fem *elses* 'step-daughter', *cam-hinsic, eun-hinsic* § 64,3, *denshoc dour* gl luceus, "dentatus aquae" (derived from the pl of *dans*), *brians-en* gl guttur § 35,6 (cf n 3 below) Otherwise OCo has *-lt-, -nt- altor* gl altare, *altrou* gl uitricus § 64,2, *caltor* 'cauldron', *guaintoin* gl uer § 24,3, *mantel* gl mantellum Final *nt* occurs twice *skient* (MlCo *skyens*) knowledge *sant* gl daps (from OE *sand* meal') — probably remains of an earlier orthography

Note 1   OCo *collel* gl cultellus *dannel* gl dentes are W words

(b) After a vowel *-t* remains in OCo *hoet* duck', *tauot* 'tongue', *tat* 'father' (but *bros* gl aculeus Ir *brot* goad' MnIr *brod* Br *broud*) The change is probably explained thus, pure tenuis *-t > -t' > c ⁓ s ≳ z* (*-s* since 1300) MlCo *hos* 'duck' MnCo /hâz/, MlCo *taves, tavas* 'tongue' MnCo *tavaz*, MlCo *tas* 'father' MnCo *tāz* Extension to medial position OCo *lagat* 'eye' MlCo *lagas*, pl *lagasow*

(c) *tw* became /cw/ not only finally (cf Germ *Zwerg, zwingen* and *tw > ss* in Gk τέσσαρες '4'), /cw/ regularly became /ʒw/, and was then confused with *ʒ* by anal MlCo *peswar* '4' (MnCo /paʒar/), MlCo *lusow* 'ashes' § 162 (MnCo *hdzhin* /hžu/), MlCo *nasweth* 'needle' § 26,9 (MnCo /naʒed/)

(2) The change *t > /t'/ > /c/, d > /d'/ > /ǯ/* occurred before /j/ (and /ǯ/ so formed can be extended to forms without /j/ MlCo *y a nyg* 'they fly'), further, it occurred also before every unaccented front vowel MlCo *pysy, pygy* pray' Bi *pedi pidi* MlCo *cresy, crygy* 'believe' § 45 (3 sg pres *pys, peys crys creys* to be explained as (1) above, the *-s* being orig /z/, these forms have /ǯ/ in MnCo , Loth, op cit 405, already in MlCo *t, d* were anal changed in forms of the paradigm where they should have remained according to rule MlCo *pysaf* 'I pray', *pysough* 'pray ye', *nyn cresons* 'they will not believe it'), — *wose, woge* 'after' W *wedi* Br *goude* § 181 3 MlCo *resek* run' W *rhedeg* Br *redek*, -- before /o/ from

IE *ā, ō*, Lat *ā* MlCo *dewsys* 'Godhead' W *duwdod trenses trengys* 'Trinity' from Lat *trīnitāt-em*

The palatalization did not occur before *-er, -el, -en* MlCo *broder* 'brother', *lader* 'robber', MnCo *padal* OCo *padel* from Lat *patella*, MlCo *cuntel* 'collects', *fynten* 'fountain' § 77,2 MnCo /*miʒar*/ 'reaper is influenced by /*miʒi*/ reap' It is also wanting before back vowels MlCo *caradow* 'lovable', *ledan* 'broad' § 7, 1 — The enclitic pron 2 sg appears as *-sy -gy, -se -ge*, also as *-ta* — Palatalization is not found in late E borrowings MlCo *redye* 'read' MC 187, *settyas* 'placed' ib 71

Note 2. Anal formations MlCo *ganso* 'with him' after *gynsy* with her', *ganse* 'with them to *gans* 'with (1) above, *legessa* 'catch mice (W *llygota* Br *logota*) after MnCo /*ləgaʒan*/ 'mouse' (*ss = /ʃ/*)

Note 3 /ʒ̆/ often occurs where /z/ would be expected When *z*/ and /ʒ̆/ alternate in a paradigm /z/ is often displaced by /ʒ̆/ In other cases /ʒ̆/ appears to be a palatalized /z/ OCo *brians-en* > MlCo *bryangen* MnCo (Lhuyd) *brandzhian* /*branʒan*/ (cf the treatment of old *s* in MlCo *martegen* for *martesen* perhaps MnCo *vendzhia* voudrait Loth op cit 416 Lhuyd p 253)

The Celtic Spirants

§ 264. (Sonority of the spirants) (1) In Ir spirants which arose out of explosives vary with regard to sonority The main rules have already been given A tendency to become voiceless finally is seen only in the case of non-palatalized non-rounded back spirants (/-*g* > /-*x*/ § 35, n 1), /*gᵘ*/, /*gʹ*/, /*d*/ and /*b*/ remain voiced finally (for /*gᵘ*/ v Thurneysen, Handb 78, Ir *tiug* 'thick', OIr *deug* 'drink', but MlIr and MnIr *deoch*, for /*b*/ cf § 47 for /*d*/ cf § 43, n 1) — The originally voiceless sounds tend to become voiced in unacc sylls, except only non-pal non-rounded back spirants, /*rᵘ* /*x*/ after an unacc vowel become /*gᵘ*/, /*gʹ*/ medially and finally (OIr *sechtmogo* '70', *attlugud* 'thank', vb un of *atluchur* 'I thank', *tossug* and *tossuch*, dat of *tossach* 'beginning', *hiressach* pl *hiressiy* § 51,2, but /*x*/ can remain medially *soinmiche* 'luck') /*b*/ as a rule became /*d*/ in final unacc sylls § 61,3, also medially except in a third syll ending in *r* *adcotade* obtained' (§ 636), *sonartaidir* 'as strong' beside *lerithir* 'as diligent' (Thurneysen, ZCP 12,412), -*f* became /-*b*/ after an unacc vowel OIr *felsub* philosopher' — Initially /*b-*/ > *f-* § 109, this occurs also in the second member of a compound OIr *find-fadach* 'blessed' (*is find ambethu* gl beati, "white is their life" W *gwyn ei fyd* 'blessed is he' Co

gvyn agan beys 'blessed are we' MlBr *ez vezo guenn hoz bet* 'votre sort sera heureux') —

(2) (a) **In W.** both forms of articulation have been preserved to this day For the change /d/ /þ/, /v/ /f/ medially due to a following *h* v § 203 For -*xw*- -*w*- cf MlW *erchwys, erwys* 'pack of hounds', *damchwain, damwain* 'happen, accident' v Ifor Williams, PKM 94 Also *chware,* MlW *qware* 'play', *darware* id In SW dials *xw*- does not occur, but *hw*- (*wh*-) or (Glam and Gwent) *w*-, in late borrowings *ku - chwarter* 'quarter' SW *cwarter*

(b) **In Co** final voiced spirants tend to become voiceless § 43, n 3 § 47n *s* > *z* in MnCo OCo *seit* gl olla (-*t* = /þ/) MnCo *záth,* MnCo /zowz/ 'Englishman' < Lat *Saxō*

(c) **In Br** the back spirants and *x̌* incline to be voiceless, the other spirants to be voiced Old /*x*/ and V /*x*/ or *h* from old /þ̣ remain voiceless Br *sac'h* 'sack', V *eih* '8' — For initial /r/ from /g/ v § 224,3 — In certain Br dials *z* (< *s, þ, d*) became *h* (Loth, RC 17 287)

For *s* *z* in sandhi cf § 224,4 Medially and finally after vowels *z* prevails *kazek* 'mare', *miz* 'month', *braz* 'big' But compar *brasoc'h* 'bigger', *brasa* 'biggest', *s* from *s* + *h* — In Br old /þ/ and /d/ have become mixed with common Brit *s* (but not in all dials), this *s* also became *z* and is regularly so written since 1300 (Loth Chrest p 184) This *z* too becomes *s* in compared forms *qwaz* 'worse' (W *gwaeth* Co *gweth*) superl *qwasa* — Voiceless *x̌* from *s* + *j, þ* + *j* § 180, also from /d/ + *j grisienn* 'root', pl *grisiou, grichou* § 22, further from *t* + *j* after *l* and *n heñchou* § 180, MlBr *melchonenn* MnBr *melchen-enn* trefoil' OW *mellhionou* gl uiolas MnW *meillion* 'clover' (MHG *melde* orach') *z̆* from *d* + *j* § 180

The change *f* ⸗ *v* occurs in V and Trég V *sul vask* Easter-day', *korv* 'body', Trég *hon veden* 'our prayer', *vui* 'wise' For a difference between the old *v* and the new *v* (from *f*) v P le Roux, Ann de Bret 12,4 (and J Le Gall, Ann de Bret 19,266)

§ 265. (Interchange of spirants and explosives). A regular change of *j*-like sounds of various origins to *g* occurs in Munster Ir , v Hene-brv, p 64ff , Asp i Irsk p 16

In a district of Cornouaille old /þ/ has become finally *d eid* eight *meurd* 'Tuesday , v Loth, RC 17 59—63

B. Accidence and Syntax.

XXI. Gender

§ 266 (406) The three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, of the IE nouns, were to a slight extent denoted by their proper form, but chiefly by the forms of the accompanying adjectives (Lat *nouus rex, noua arx* etc.) These distinctions are mostly lost in Neo-Celt due to the loss of endings, but new signs of gender arose owing to the effect of these old endings on a foll initial, and also on the preceding vowel in the root-syll (*-u-*, *-i-* > *-o-*, *-e-* in the fem in Brit § 184)

§ 267 (407) Syntax (1) The masc is used in Ir to denote some indefinite person, even in some cases where it is clear that such a person is a female Mllr *issi ro-bad ban-rígan in chóicid uli, inti dib cétna-ragad i-ssa tech* 'she would be queen of the whole province, who (*inti*) first reached the house' Wi 260 31f The neut is found in the same sense OIr *cechtar n-ái, nechtar n-ái, cechtar n-athar, ind-ala-n-ái* § 189, *ni ru-bi nechtar de cen alail* 'neither of them (man and woman) can be without the other' Wb 11c 17

(2) A neut pron can refer to a prec masc or fem OIr *ba hé cúrsagad maid ma d-a-choisged dílgud* 'that were a good reproof (masc) if forgiveness should follow it (neut)' Wb 14d 19, *mad aill duib cid accaldam neich duib, d-a-rigente* 'if ye desired even to converse with any of them, ye could do it' (*-a-* is neut, *accaldam* fem) Wb 13b 3

A pronoun representing an indefinite neuter 'it, this' as subject has the same gender as the predicate noun *na-bad hé for n-imbradud* 'let it not be your opinion', *is sí trebaire* 'this is prudence', *is sí regnum* 'this is the kingdom' (Ir *flaith* fem) Wb 6b 6, 3d 30, 6c 10 But the pron refers to a definite substantive in the following.

ıs hed a dúlchınne 'that ıs ıts reward' (*bás* 'death' neut) Wb 3 b 16,
ıs he a dúlchınne (*bethu* 'life' masc) 3 b 18, *ıs sı ede dulchınne* (*lann*
'crown' fem) 11 a 5

§ 268. (The neuter) (1) In OIr. the three genders still occur, but
during MIIr the neut dısappeared   Old neuters as a rule became
masc , rarcly fem (-ı-, -s-, -n-stems chiefly, a few -jo-stems)   Thus
OIr (MIIr) neut , MnIr masc   *bás* 'death', *bunad* 'orıgın', *dlıged*
'law', *bıad* 'food', *cenél* 'race', *scél* 'story',   — *dorus* 'door',   — *dún*
'fort', *tech* 'house',   — *aınm* 'name', *druım* 'back' (*céım* step' MnIr
masc and fem)   OIr (MIIr) neut , MnIr fem   *ré* 'tıme', *tuıle*
flood', *muır* 'sea', *glún* 'knee', *nem* 'heaven', *tír* 'land', *léım* 'leap', etc

Note   Sıgns of the dısappearıng of the neut are found ın OIr   The
foll oscıllate between neut and masc , *lın* 'number , *ımmthanad* change',
recht law , *aıs oıs* age , between neut and fem *fetarlıcc* law and *ré* tıme'

(2) In Brıt the neut remaıned long enough for **Latın** neuters
to be taken as neuters ın Ir   *ór* 'gold', *fín* 'wıne', *lín* 'net', *scríbend*
'wrıtıng' (MnIr *sgríbhınn* fem), *arm* 'weapon'   The ınstances ın
whıch a Lat neut appears ın Ir not as neut are possıbly due to
the loss of neut ın Lat , not ın Brıt   OIr *corp* 'body', *peccad* 'sın',
tempul 'temple', *testımın* text' (Lat *testımōnıum*), all masc

(3) In the hıstorıc perıod the neut was gıven up **ın Brıt.**, orıg
neuters becomıng masc or fem   Masc   W *tro* 'turn' (Br *tro* fem),
W *bwyd* 'food' Br *boed, boued*, W *galar* 'grıef' (Br *glac'har* fem),
W *aur* 'gold' Co *our* Br *aour*, W *drws* 'door', W *môr* 'sea' Co
Br *mor*, W *tŷ* 'house' Co *chy* Br *tı*, W Br *glın* 'knee'   Fem
W *dyled* 'debt', *cenedl* 'natıon', *cathl* 'song' Br *kentel* 'lesson' (Ir
cétal 'song' neut), *nef* 'heaven' (Br *eñv* masc)   Thıs accounts for
some nouns of vacıllatıng gender W *braıch* 'arm' from Lat *brac-
chıum*, *chwedl* 'story' MIW masc , MnW fem , Br *kel* masc , *grudd*
cheek' m and f (OIr *gruad* neut , MnIr m and f), *llyn* 'lake'
m and f (OIr *lınd* n , MnIr *lınn* f)

Traces of the old neut are found   A certaın example ıs the
treatment of Br *tra* 'thıng' sometımes as masc , sometımes as fem
ann dra 'the thıng', *eunn dra vad* 'a good thıng', but *daou zra, trı
zra* (wıth masc numerals) 'two, three thıngs', v Loth, RC 15 96,
Ernault, ıb 386 (MIW *tra* 'thıng' ıs fem , Ll H 59 2 *a gennıw
pob tra trwydı beruet* 'who sees everythıng rıght through')   Non-len
after W *dau* 'two', as ın *dau cant* '200', *dau tu* 'two sıdes' (also
dau gant, dau du) may be a relıc of the neut , cf Br *daou chant*

XXII. Plurals and Collectives.

§ 269   In prim IE the plural was distinguished from the
singular by the fact that plural case-endings differed from singular
case-endings   The collectives in IE were distinguished from the
plurals not only by difference in meaning but also (to a greater
degree) by syntactical rules of concord   Thus with a plur subject
the verb had plur endings, but not necessarily with a collective
And the distinction was always strictly maintained in the case
of an accompanying adjective   Irish has preserved the distinction
between plurals and collectives, due to its retention of inflected
cases   But in Brit collective formations have to a large extent
been fused with the old plurals

§ 270. In Ir , collectives which hardly differ in meaning from
plurals, are frequent   They are partly compounds (*ech-rad* 'horses ,
ingen-rad 'maids', *én-laith* 'birds' *flaith* 'kingdom' , *dét-gen, dét-gein*
'teeth'), partly derivatives (*bu-ar* 'cows', *lebr-ar* books'), partly
simple words (*cland* 'children')   They were accompanied by a
singular adj (*én-laith gle-gel* 'bright-white birds' Wi 259 5)   In
OIr and MIr a plur verb occurs often with such forms   *tibit in
macrad* 'the youths laugh' Wi 286,10

Note. For Ir plurals v § 284 314 MnIr retains the old ways of
forming the plur but certain endings have spread greatly (esp those derived
from t- and -k stems), *igcal* story pl *sgéal-ta obair* work pl *oibr-eacha
liac* 'a stone' pl *leac-racha, linn* 'a pool', pl *linn-treacha* For MnIr nouns
with numerals v § 333

§ 271. In Brit. the endings of collectives functioning as plurals
are -i (W *llestr-i* vessels' OCo *listr-i* 'ships', sg *lester* Br *listr-i*
sg *lestr*, sg collective, W *celli* fem 'grove' OCo *kelli* § 12, etc),
Br -*ad* (V *gouri-ad* 'roots', *tuéz-ad* 'ears of corn', sg coll *karr-ad*
'wagonful', *bag-ad* boat-load'), MlW -*ot* MnW -*od* (*hydd-od* 'stags'
llydn-od 'young animals'), MlW -*et* MnW -*ed* (*merch-ed* 'girls' Co
myrhes Br *merc'hed*, cf sg *lluched* 'lightening OCo *luhet* MlCo
luhes Br *luc'hed*), MlW -*eit*, -*yeit* MnW -*aid*, -*iaid* (MlW *mackwy-
eit* 'youths', MnW *pechadur-iaid* 'sinners'), MlW -*awt* MnW -*od*
(MlW *gorwydawt,* pl of *gorwydd* 'steed', *edystrawd,* pl of *eddystr*
steed' , MlW *pyscawt* MnW *pysgod* 'fish' Co *puskes* Br *pesked*
Lat *piscātus*) , MlW -*awr*, -*ar* (*kledyu-awr* 'swords', *bydin-awr*
armies', *byss-awr* 'fingers', *yscwyd-aur* 'shields', *llyfr-awr* 'books'
gwayw-awr 'spears', later *gwaewar* whence by anal vowel change
gweywyr which gave MnW *gwewyr* 'pains', but MlW *gwaewyr*

'spears' also occurs, Co *pren-y-er*, *prenn-y-er* 'trees', Br *kleze-i-er*
'swords' pl of *kleze*, *kle-ı-er* 'bells' pl of *kloc'h*)

Note 1 The terminations derived from -*t* suffixes are very frequently
used in names of animals, sometimes in names of persons, as the above
examples show, *et*, *awt* fell together in Co and Br , Br has also *ed* for
MIW -*ot* irregularly MIW *llydn-ot* MnW *llydn-od* Bı *loen-ed*, the original
Co ending *es* paved the way for Eng plurals like *streks* blows

The sing of coll -plurs with no ending was formed by means
of singulative terminations, W -*yn* (masc), -*en* (fem) Co -*en*
Bı -*enn* W *plent-yn* child' pl *plant*, W *gwın-wydd-en* 'vine' from
gwŷdd 'trees' Co *gveth-en* 'tree' pl *gveyth* Br *gwez-enn* pl *gwez*
Cf Br *kloareg* 'clerc', pl *kloer* In Br the sg is sometimes denoted
by a non-related word *tud* 'people' pl of *den* 'man' *chas* 'dogs'
(Fr *chasse*) pl of *kı*, *saout* 'cows' pl of *buoc'h*

The following plur terminations are derived from old plurals
W -*edd*, -*oedd*, -*ydd*, OW -*ou* MIW -*eu*, -*yeu* MnW -*au*, -*ıau*, W -*aınt*,
-*yr* -*on*, -*ıon*, -*en*, MIW -*eın* (W *gwrag-edd* 'women', MIW *gwlad-*
oed MnW *gwled-ydd* countries', W *crys-au* shirts', *cer-aınt*
kinsmen', *brod-yr* brothers' *lladr-on* thieves', *ych-en* oxen', OW
enu-ein MIW *enw-eın* names'), also a few isolated forms W *taı*
houses' *cŵn* dogs' further, plurals formed by internal vowel
change, derived from -*o*-stem inflections *gwŷ* 'men', pl of *gŵr*,
v the section on the declensions For forms of the nouns with
numerals v § 333 names of parts of the body which are in pairs
often form compounds with the numeral '2' in Brit W *deu-lın*
'knees' (sg *glın*) Co *dow-lyn* Br *daou-lın*, Co *defregh* arms' Br
dıvreac'h, W *dwylaw* (*dwylo*) is the ordinary pl of *llaw* hand' (cf
am gleddav en llau   am gledde dwyddwylo 'for a one-handed
sword for a two-handed sword' Rep of Welsh MSS 1 554)

Note 2 It is not always easy to distinguish between Brit plur endings
derived from old collectives and those derived from the old declension Thus
the *t* plurals may well be derived from the old declension as well as from
old collectives W *llyg* mouse, pl *llygod* corresponds to Ir *luch* g *lochad*
(but cf the sg W *llygod-en* OCo *logod en* MnCo *logos an* Br *logod enn*)

XXIII. Cases of nouns.

§ 272. Prim IE had 8 cases nominative, vocative, accusa-
tive, instrumental, dative ablative, genitive and locative The
system was simplified in Celt In Ir the instrumental, ablative
and locative fell together with the dative the resulting case being

called dative   Case inflections have disappeared in the Brit
dialects

Note. Remains of cases in Brit Accus W *beu nydd* § 196,4, Br *bem-
dez* (*-m* from *-pn-*) Dat W *erbyn* against Co *erbyn* – Ir *ar-chiunn*
before , W *heddiw* 'to-day Ite

Use of Cases.

§ **273.** The **Accusative** denotes the object Ir *connessat in
gnúm n-olcc* 'they condemn the evil deed' Wb 1d 7 , — destination
do-sn-icfa cobir 'help will come to them' 5 c 5 , *tiagait báas n-anapaig*
'they go to premature death' 11d 12 , cf MlW cxx in § 237,2 b,
— a space of time *ni imdidnibt[h]er ainech and a-llae sin* 'no person
will be protected there on that day' Wb 15 c 25 , *ro-airius inn
aithchi n-uili* 'I have watched the whole night' Ml 95d 9 , cf W
beunydd 'every day', for the dat in the same sense v § 281 , —
destination, after the preps Ir *fo* 'under', *for* 'on', *i n-* 'into' (which
govern the dat after the question 'where?'), — it comes after the
prep *ar* 'for' in various uses (destination *techt ar-chenn crist* 'to
go before Christ' Wb 25 d 25 , — price, aim *ar biad et étach* 'for
food and raiment' 24 d 14 , *do-mm-anucul ar cech n-duine* 'to secure
me against every man' Wi 56 , *ni ar oén-fer na dis ro-cess* not for
one man or two did he suffer' Wb 4 b 13 , — as' *ní ármi som ar
chumactte* 'he does not count it as a power' 6 a 1 , — v § 274 for
ar with dat), — after *co* 'to, up to', *fri* 'against', *tar* 'across, over',
sech 'past', *ol* 'on account of', *cen* 'without' *im* 'about' *eter* 'between',
echtar outside', *sechtar* 'outside', after (originally substantives) *la*
'with, by' and *amal* 'as' In MlIr the dat often takes the place
of the accus *fri-sna il-tuathaib* 'according to the many tribes'
LL 57 b 3 , *im Ultaib* 'about the Ulstermen'

In a comparison the equative is followed by the accus OIr
sonartaidir slébe as strong as mountains' Ml 90 b 4 , MlIr *mór
béolu midchuaich* as large as the mouth of a meadcup' LU 4882

§ **274.** The **Dative follows prepositions** in an instrumental, ab-
lative or locative sense Instrumental after Ir *co n-* 'with' — Abl
after *di* 'from', *o* 'from, since', *a, ass-* 'out of', apparently also after
do 'to' — Loc after *fo, for*, *i n-* after the question 'where ' , after
ar in various senses (after the question 'where ' *hóre nád robe
iti ar-mo-chiunn* 'since Titus was not ahead of me Wb 14 d 29 ,
— instead of' *foirbthe ar anfoirbthiu* 'a perfect (number) for an
imperfect' 9 a 10 , — reason *ni ar formut frib-si asbiur-sa inso* 'it

is not because of envy towards you that I say this' 12 c 29), after *oc* 'at', *fiad* 'in presence of' (orig a substantive), *ís* 'below', *ós* 'above', *iar* 'after', *re n-* 'before'

§ 275 The Ir dat represents the old **instrumental without a preposition** in denoting manner *in chruth as coir* 'in the way that is proper' Wb 7 b 1, *condroch óir sen-mesib sen-airotib* 'with a circlet of gold according to old standards' Thes II 239, *is é no-benfad a crand óen-bémim di bun* 'he would cut the tree at one blow from the trunk' LU 4829, *léir ingnu* 'with diligent science' Thes II 293 16, *huarib* 'at times'

§ 276. This use of the dat -instr leads directly to its use as apposition case *a triur* 'all three' ("in their three-men"), *tussu th-óenur* 'thyself alone' ("thou in thy one-man"), *ba miscuis atroillisset dib línaib* 'it was hatred they had both deserved' Wb 4 c 15, *isnini firiónaib* 'we being righteous' 33 a 7

In MIr the prep *i n-* precedes the possessive pron *is bés dúib-si in-farn-Ultaib* 'it is usual for you Ulstermen' LL 112 b 47, *dúinni n-arn-Ultaib* 'to us Ulstermen' LU 4637f In MnIr a predicate-case with the substantive verb has arisen out of the MIr OIr apposition-case *tá sé 'n-a rígh* 'he is king', but with the verbum assertivum *is rígh é* 'he is a king' Cf ZCP 2 377f., 17 307ff

§ 277. Examples of the apposition-instrumental are found also in Brit OW *hin map di iob* gl Ioue dignus '(as) a son of Juppiter', MlW *gororeu y dyffryn oed yn goet* 'the sides of the valley were wooded', MnW *Duw a alwodd y goleuni yn ddydd* 'God called the light day' Co *deugh yn rag yn kettep quas* 'come forward, every fellow' PC 1350

Note In some cases an older instrumental is expressed in W by a construction with *ar* , MlW *mi a af ar vyn deudecuet* 'I will go with eleven others' (on my twelfth") Cf Strachan RC 28 207

§ 278 The instrumental of an adj (as a rule accompanied by *ind, in*) functions in Ir as an adverb OIr *in chruth as coir et as inricc sanctis i. ind inricc donaib nóibaib* 'in the way that is proper and worthy sanctis, i e worthily of the saints' Wb 7 b 1, *in chotarsnu* 'contrary-wise' Sg 17 b 9 As the particle came to be regarded as the essential mark of the adverb, and as many adjectives had the same forms for nom and dat , forms like *ind immdae* 'abundantly' Sg 26 a 5 *in madœ* in vain' Wb 19 d 16 arose Further, adjectives in *-de, -the* used as adverbs took as a rule the

ending -*id* *in* *chorpdid* 'bodily' Instrumental forms without the
particle used as adverbs *arailiu* 'otherwise' Wb 21a 13 (= *alailiu*
chruth Ml 98 d 1), *talmaidiu* 'suddenly' Ml 35 d 1, *sainriud* 'specially'
120d 2 , *airi-siu* *sund* *bic* 'wait here a little' LL 68 a 33

The adverbial instrumental forms are also abundantly used in
W and Co , preceded by *yn*, less frequently in Br (the adj can
function as an adv in Br alone and unmodified) W *yn dda* 'well',
yn bell 'far' (also with the IE prep **en* causing eclipsis *ymhell*), Co
yn fras 'greatly', *yn harow* roughly' cf §215,3   MlBr *en* or *ent* *ent*
seder 'tranquillement', *en mat* 'well' MnBr *ervad*

§ 279. An actual **Dative** occurs in Gaul   *Doiros Segomari ieuru*
Alisanu 'Doiros, son of Segomaros, made [this] for Alisanos'   In
Ir and Brit such expressions have been supplanted by the use of
the prep **to* with (presumably) the abl   OIr *ind indocbál doratad*
do crist 'the glory which has been given to Christ' Wb 4a 18 , MlW
rodi bonclust mawr y Wenhwyfar 'he gave a strong blow to Gwen-
hwyfar'   In Neo-Celt only the infixed pronouns functioned as
datives (mostly with 'to be') OIr *massu bethu frecndirc tantum*
no-m-thá 'if it is a present life only that I have' ("is to me") Wb 13c
10, MlW *nym dawr* 'I care not' ('it matters not to me') Co *ny-m*
der PC 682, *ny-m duer*, *ny-m dur* 'I care not , mar a-th dur* 'if thou
carest' RD 1897, 1059, 845, Br *ne-m-deur* 'je ne veux pas' etc
Cf Lloyd-Jones, ZCP 17 90ff

§ 280 In the sense of the old **ablative** the dative **without a**
preposition denotes the second member of a comparison after the
comparative in Ir   OIr *na-bad lia dus no thriur* 'let it not be
more than two or three persons' Wb 13 a 4   *ni diliu nech limm*
alailiu 'no one is dearer to me than another' 23 a 14

§ 281. As the earlier **locative** the dat **without a preposition** denotes
place where Ir *siu* 'here', *cinn rehe* 'at the end of a space' Wb
4c 11 (MnIr *i g-cionn*), — time when OIr *ind-echt-so* 'now , Ii
in-diu 'today' W *heddiw* etc , *aidchi* 'one night' Ml 55c 1

§ 282. The adverbial genitive is rare It occurs in Ir denoting
time *oenach dognithe la Ultu cecha bliadna* 'a fair was held by the
Ulstermen every year' Wi 205 Further some adjectives in li are
joined with the g *be sóir mo brethre* 'I shall be free as regards my
word' Wb 4c 18, *am essamin-se precepte* 'I am fearless in preaching'
23 b 7, *gréssich foigde* 'constant in begging' 31 b 23, *réil ærsoilcthe*
beoil 'manifest in the opening of the mouth' Sg 14 a 16   *am irlam*

techte martre 'I am ready to go to martyrdom' Wb 13c 8, *nidan chumachtig forn-irisse* 'we have no power over your faith' 14c 41, *am tualang dano a hétarcerta* 'I am fit also to interpret it' Wb 12d 22 (also with accus *is tualaing Dia sin* 'God can do that' ZCP 7,306, v Thurneysen, IF Anz 33 26)

§ 283. The adjectival genitive occurs frequently in Ir with different shades of meaning (possessive descriptive, objective, genitivus generis, rarely as partitive) and can be attributive or predicative OIr *rad dǽ* 'the grace of God', *is dǽ int soilse amal as-n-dǽ inna dorche* 'the light is God's even as the darkness is God's' Ml 140c 5, — *muince III n-ungae* 'a necklace of three ounces', *bás etarscartha corp et anme* 'death of separation of body and soul' Wb 13c 1, — *icc in domuin* 'the salvation of the world' Wb 5c 14, *oc tuiste dúile* 'in creating the elements' 5c 16, — *mór n-amri* 'much of marvel' Wb 13a 33, *ocht fichet* ' eight of twenty'' twenty-eight' The genitivus generis and the partitive genitive are however mostly expressed by means of the prep *di   mór di maith* 'much of good'

The g follows most nouns used as preps   *cinn rehe* 'at the end of a space', *dochum Poil* 'to Paul', *is archenn focheda dodechommar* 'it is to meet suffering that we have come' Wb 25a 12

Note In prose the g regularly follows its governing noun It is by means of this word-order that the old construction could be retained in Brit after the loss of the inflection MlW *drws y pebyll* 'the door of the tent', Co *both ou thas* the will of my Father *then beth men* to the stone grave' RD 157, 389, Br *tud an ti* the people of the house' Cf exx § 235,2 A prepositional expression is substituted for the old construction far more frequently in Co and Br than in W Co *yn beth a ven* in a stone grave' RD 2, Br *an dud euz an ti* the people of the house', Ernault, Gramm p 14

In Ir poetry the g can precede its governing noun, OIr *fairggæ find folt* the ocean s white hair' Thes II 290 4 For the same in W v § 244

Inflection of the -o-stems.

§ 284 Ir. paradigms· *fer* man' masc , *cenél* 'race' neut

	Sing	Plur		Dual
N	*in fer*	*ind fir*	N A	*in da fer*
V	*á fir*	*á firu*	D	*don dib feraib*
A	*in fer n-*	*inna firu*	G	*in da fer*
D	*dond fiur*	*donaib feraib*		
G	*ind fir*	*inna fer n-*		
N A	*a cenél n-*	*inna cenél, cenéla*		*in da cenél n-*
D	*don chenéul*	*donaib cenélaib*		*don dib cenélaib*
G	*in chenéuil*	*inna cenél n-*		*in da cenél*

Note 1 Exx of vowel infection *crann* 'tree' (neut) D *crunn*, Gen *cruinn*, *ball* 'limb', D *bull*, Gen *boill*, Pl N *boill*, *baill*, A *bullu*, *baullu*, *rath* grace' (neut), D *rath*, Gen *raith* (similarly *macc* 'son'), *son* 'sound , D *sun*, Gen *suin*, Pl A *sunu*, *folt* 'hair , D *folt* (MIr *fult*), *ech* 'horse', D *eoch*, Gen *eich* Pl A *eochu*, *nert* strength' (neut) D *neurt*, Gen *neirt*, *lebur* 'book', D *libur*, Gen *libuir*, *cenn* head (neut), D *ciunn* (*cinn* § 110), Gen *cinn*, *fiach* debt', D *fiach*, Gen *féich*, — in post ton sylls *galar* illness' (neut), D *galar*, *hiressach* faithful, believing , D *hiressach* Gen *hiressich*, *hiressig*, Pl A *hireschu* (§ 174 n), *saithar* 'labour, trouble' (neut) D *saithir*, Gen *saithir*, *biad* 'food' (disyll , neut) D *biud*, Gen *bud*

Note 2 **Brit remains** Sing v § 272n Brit plurals formed by umlaut are derived from Pl N W *march* horse Co *margh*, Pl W *meirch* Co *mergh*, W *mollt* 'wether Br *maout*, Pl W *myllt* Br *meot*, W *oen* 'lamb Co *oan* Br *oan*, Pl W *ŵyn* MnCo *an* Br *ein* Such pl formations were greatly increased by analogy.

§ 285 **Reconstruction** of the orig forms (by means of the rules of vowel modifications in Ir and Brit , cf § 163—184, of sandhi-rules, cf § 187—207, § 217—242, and of Gaul and Ogam forms, together with a comparison of other IE languages) The endings were

Sing Masc N -*os* Gaul Σεγομαρος MN, cf Gk λόγ-ο-ς — V -*e*, cf Gk λόγ-ε (v § 178, n 5), — A (and N neut) -*om* Gaul νεμητον 'sanctuary', cf Gk λόγον, Lat *dominum*, — D -*ū* (> Brit *ī*), Gaul *Alisanu* MN, this -*u* came from -*ō* which represents IE -*ō* (instrumental, Skr *vṛkā* 'by the wolf'), IE -*ōi* (D , Gk λόγῳ), IE -*ōd* (Abl , OLat *Gnaiuōd prognātus* 'of Gnaeus begotten'), the IE locative ending -*oi* was replaced by -*ōi*, on the analogy of the -*ā*-stems, whose D and L ended in -*āi*, — Gen -*ī* Og MAQI 'of the son', Gaul *Segomari* MN, cf Lat g in -*ī* (*dominī*) and Skr adverbial case in -*ī*

Plur Masc N -*oi* cf Gk λόγοι, Lat *dominī* The ending -*oi* was orig pronominal, nouns had the ending -*ōs*, cf Goth *wulfōs* 'wolves', — V -*ōs* (the old N ending), — A -*ōns* cf Gk Cret οδελ-ονς 'obols', — N A neut -*ā* (Ir *cenél*, the form *cenéla* has an ending taken from the fem) The Brit forms with umlaut (W *erydr* 'ploughs' Br *erer*) are analogical, — D -*o-bhis* (possibly, though the vowel before the case-ending cannot be decided, the Ir -*a*- may represent various sounds, v § 106,1), cf Skr instrum *vṛkē-bhiš* 'by the wolves' Gaul had a case-ending derived from -*bhos* with a dat function (in an -*r*-stem and an -*ā*-stem, ματρεβο *Namausikabo* 'to the Nemausian Mother-goddesses'), cf Lat fem

deā-bus, — Gen *-ōm* > *-om* (§ 91)   Og TRIA MAQA 'of the three
sons' (for *-a* cf § 90), cf Gk *ϑεῶν*, Lat gen pl *deum*

Dual. Masc N A *-ōu* > *-ou* (cf. § 13,3), cf Skr *vṛkāu* 'the
two wolves', — neut N A in IE had the same endings as fem
-ā-stems, in Celt (as in Gk and Lat) the masc ending was taken
over, but the neut took eclipsis (§ 189,7), — D *-o-bhēm* possibly,
cf Skr *vṛkā-bhyām* 'to the two wolves', — Gen *-ou* possibly, for
sandhi-rules v § 229

§ 286 -o-stems with retained finals (§ 95)   Paradigm Ir *beo*
'living'

	Sing	Plur
N	*beo*	*biu* > *bi*
V	(*biu* >) *bi*	
A	*beo n-*	MIIr *bíu* (and *beoa*, *beou*)
D	*i-t biu* 'in thy life'	(MIIr *beoaib*)
G	*biu* > *bí*	*beo n-*

The paradigm N A D *dia* 'god', V Gen *dé*, Pl N *dé*, A *deu*,
D *déib*, Gen *dia* shows loss of final vowel in the same cases as the
paradigms in § 285, and the reduction of prim Celt *ē* (< IE *ei*)
to *e* (later *ē*) in hiatus

§ 287. -jo-stems.   Paradigm Ir *céle* 'fellow'

Sing	N	*céle*	Pl N	*céli*	Du N A	*réle*	
	V	*á chéli*		*á chéliu*	D	*célib*	
	A	*céle n-*		*céliu*	G	*céle*	
	D	*céliu*		*célib*			
	G	*céli*		*céle n-*			

The special neut forms N A sg (and N A du) *cride n-*
heart' N A pl *cride*   Where palatalization is lost the ending *-e*
is represented by *-e* > *-ae* > *-a*, *-iu* by *-u*, *-i* by *-i*, *-ai*   N *dalte*,
daltae, *dalta* 'fosterling', D *daltu*, Gen *dalti*, *daltai*

This declension could not give different forms for sg and pl
in Brit   New plurals were formed analogically   W *dynion* 'men',
creiddiau 'hearts'

§ 288. Isolated irregular forms   Ir *demun* 'devil', g *demuin* is
inflected in the pl like a neut *-jo*-stem   pl g *demne* Wb 11b 13,
N *demna*, *na demna* LU 3236, 4036   — The *-jo*-stem Ir *duine*
'man' /*duńe*/ is supplemented by a pl *-i-*, *-ī-* or *-jā*-stem with a
diphthong in the root-syllable.   N A *dóini* /*doińi*/, D *dóinib*, Gen
dóine (for sg *doen* v Vendryes, RC 40 440)   — Cf § 301 n 1

Inflection of -ā-, -ū-, -jā-, -i-stems.

§ 289 Paradigm of -ā-stems: *tuath* 'people'

	Sing		Plur		Dual
N	*in tuath*	N A	*inna tuatha*	N A	*in di thuaith*
V	*á thuath*	D	*donaib tuathaib*	D	*don dib tuathaib*
A	*in tuaith n-*	G	*inna tuath n-*	G	*in da thuath*
D	*don tuaith*				
G	*inna tuaithe*				

Note 1 Exx of vowel infection *(all sense* A D *ceill* Gen *ceille, tol* 'will', A *toil* D *tuil*, Gen *tuile, delb* form, A D *deilb*, Gen *delbe, delbac, delbu qabal* taking' A D *qabail*, Gen *gabalae*, N A D *deacht* 'divinity Gen *deachte* > *deachtae* > *deachta* Verbal nouns often use D A forms as N *qabail* taking', *brith* carrying (beside *breth*) In Mulr even other A D forms have frequently become the nom *seilbh sealbh* 'possession'

Note 2 British. For lowering of *u* and *-i* in the root-syll of the fem v § 184 Some old -ā- stems have plurals formed by umlaut W *maneg* glove' (< Lat *manica*) pl *menig* (older *menyg*) W *asgell* Br *askell* wing (< Lat *axilla*), pl W *esgyll* Br *eskell*, W *carreg* stone Br *karrek*, pl W *cerrig* (older *cerryg*) Bi *kerrek*, W *iâr* hen' Br *iar*, pl W *ieir* Bi *ier*, v § 290

§ 290. Reconstruction of the inflection of -ā-stems. Cf MSL 3 79—80, Mél H d'Arbois de Jubainville, pp 229—236

Sing N -ā Og INIGENA 'daughter', cf Gk χώρᾱ, — V -a cf Gk νύμφα, — A (in Ir) -em The IE ending was -ām (Gk χώρᾶν, Lat *terram*) which may appear in Gaul *lokan* 'grave', — D -āi (IE D and loc, cf Gk χώρᾳ), the IE instrum in -ā is not represented in Ir, — Gen (in Ir) -jās (like -ī- or -jā-stems) The IE ending was -ās (Gk χώρᾱς), seen in Ir *mná* § 291

Pl. N -ās, cf Skr *sēnās* 'armies' The Brit plurals formed by internal vowel change are either by anal with the masc, or are old duals (cf Gk χῶραι, Lat *terrae*, thus **manicai* would regularly give *menyg*), — A either -ās (cf Skr *sēnās*) or -āns (cf Cret δαρχναντ 'drachmas'), — D -ā-bhis (IE instrum, cf Skr *sēnā-bhiš*) The IE D appears in Gaul Ναμαυσικαβο § 285, cf Skr *sēnābhyas*, — Gen -ōm > -om

Dual N A -ai, — D -ā-bhēm cf Skr *sēnā-bhyām*, — Gen ending terminated in a *w*-diphthong

§ 291 A retained final appears in most cases of the paradigm *ben* 'woman'

		Sg				Pl				Du	
Sg	N	*ben*		Pl	N A	*mná*		Du	N A	*mnái*
	A	*mnái n-*			D	*mnáib*			D	*mnáib*
	D	*mnái*			G	*ban n-*			G	*ban*
	G.	*mná*								

The A sg is formed by anal with D sg (for an old A sg *bein* v Thurneysen, KZ 48 65) In both these cases and in N A dual *-ā̆i* is a diphthong (MnIr D. sg *mnaoi*), the D form *mnáib* is to be read /mnāb'/, cf MnIr *mnáibh* The root-svll shows the IE alternation *gʷenā, *gʷnā-, *gʷnnā-

§ 292. The *-ū-stems* ended in *-wā*, which in certain cases (esp N sg) alternated in IE with *-ū* The Celt inflection was N *-ū̆*, D *-wāi*, Gen *-wās* By loss of *-w-* after certain consonants (§ 19) the *-wā-* cases fell together with the inflection of pure *-ā-stems*, only the N sg preserves a form which points to the ending *-ū̆* Ir *muicc* 'pig', D A *muicc*, Gen *muicce* (N A pl irregularly *mucca*) cf *deug* 'drink' (§ 178, n 7), D A *dig*, Gen *dige* If the *-w-* in the *-wā-* cases could not disappear, the ending *-wā* penetrated into N OIr *delb* 'figure'

A trace of the *-ū-*declension occurs in W *cainc* branch' with pl *cangau* like *-u-*stems

§ 293. Paradigm of *-i̯ā*-stems *insce* 'speech'

Sg	N V	*insce*	Pl	N A	*insci*	Du	N A	*insci*
	A	*insci n-*		D	*inscib*		D	*inscib*
	D	*insci*		G	*insce n-*		G	*insce*
	G	*insce*						

Only the N A pl shows ending different from *-ā-stems*, possibly the *-ī-* stem endings were adopted

§ 294. In the inflection of *-ī-stems* the stem-ending *-ī-* alternated with *-i̯ā-* or *-i̯ē-* **Irish paradigm** *adaig* 'night'

Sg	N	*adaig*	Pl	N A	*aidchi*	Du	N A	*adaig*
	A	*aidchi n-*		D	*aidchib*		D	*aidchib*
	D	*aidchi*		G	*aidche n-*		G	*aidche*
	G	*aidche*						

The N sg represents a form in *-ī*, the A sg a form in *-i̯ēm* (Ir *-i* < *-i̯e- in an unaccented final) The N A dual is formed by anal with *-i-*stems

Further exx *sétig* 'wife' (lit "companion", from *sét* 'way'), A D *sétchi*, Gen *sétche*, *Brigit* FN, A D *Brigit*, Gen *Brigte* The *-ī-*stems have in Ir passed over to the *-i̯ā-* decl (the N sg form without an ending being suppressed MIr N *aidche* 'night' MnIr *oidhche*), or have on the anal of the *-i-*stems extended the forms without an ending to the A D OIr *méit* 'size', A D *méit*, Gen. *méite* This led in some cases to complete passing over to the *-i-*decl

(*colinn* 'flesh', g *colno*, cf W *celain* 'corpse'), or to the *-ā-* decl
(*rigan* 'queen', g. *rígnæ* > *rígna*, cf W *rhiain* 'maiden')   For mixed
inflection cf *inis* 'island', MIIr A D *insi*, OIr Gen *inse* and *inseo*

§ 295. The Brit. *-ī-stems* had nom sg in *-ī* (which caused vowel
affection), and nom pl in *-iyās* (which gave W *-edd*)   W *celain*
'corpse', pl *celanedd*, *rhiain* 'maiden', pl *rhianedd*, *ynys* 'island',
pl MIW *ynysedd*, *blwyddyn* 'year', pl (after numerals only)
blynedd, W *neidr* 'snake', pl *nadredd*

Inflection of the *-u-*, *-ū-*, *-i-*, *-ị-*-stems

§ 296   **Paradigms of *-u-*stems**   *mug* 'slave' masc , *rind* 'star' neut

	Sing		Plur		Dual
N V	*mug*	N	*moge, moga, mogi*	N A	*mug*
A	*mug n-*	A	*mugu*	D	*mogaib*
D	*nug*	D	*mogaib*	G	*mogo, moga*
G	*mogo, moga*	G	*moge n-*		
N A	*rind n-*	N A	*rind*	N A	*rind n-*
D	*rind*	D	*rendaib*	D	*rendaib*
G	*rendo, renda*	G	*rende n-*	G	*rendo, renda*

Note 1. Exx of vowel infection, N A D *cath* battle   Gen *catha*,
daur oak , *daro*, *guth* voice' *gotho*, *mid* mead, *meda* *both* 'world',
D *bruth*, Gen *betho*, *gin* mouth' D *giun* Gen *gino*   *mess* judgment', D
mess, Gen *messo*   N A D *gním* deed , Gen *gnímo*   *césad* 'suffering , *cesto*
foilsigud manifestation , *foilsichtho* *foilsigthe*   The D pl of *mind* neut
'diadem' is *mindaib*

The consonant preceding the endings *-e*, *-i* is non palat , whence *-ae*, *-ai*
In N pl masc *-e* is the older ending, very frequently occurring in Wb , but
-i predominates in MI , adjectives have *-i* in the oldest period (*ili* many)
In later OIr the N pl masc ending occasionally occurs in the A pl , *ce*
no-tectad il-gotha 'that it should possess many sounds   Sg 197a 11   The
neut *-u-* stem *dorus* door has N A pl *dorus* and (like *-o-st*) *doirsea*, cf
beura spits § 178, n 7   The *-u-* and the *-o-* declensions are sometimes
mixed *torad* fruit', Gen *toraid* Wb 3 b 29 (neut *-o-st*)   N pl *toirthi* MI 46 c 14
(masc *-u* st)

Note 2   In Brit the plurals in OW *-ou* MIW *-eu* MnW *-au* etc   § 18
belong to this declension   W *cad* battle , pl *cadau*, W *crys* shirt , pl
crysau (= Ir *criss* girdle   *crius* Thes II 42, 16, pl *cressa*, whence W
gwregys girdle' pl *gwregysau* Br *gouriz*, pl *gourizou* Ir *fochrus* § 257)
Some old plurals have become sing   W *genau* mouth (pl *geneuau*), orig
pl of *gên* jaw' § 72, *angau* death' § 8,1 (orig pl v RC 28 202), The
ending *-ou* etc became very productive in Brit   When added to old *jo-*,

jā- stems it became OW *iou* etc   OW *hestoriou* sextam (-g *hestaur*)
This new ending in its turn spread and often replaced the older form

§ 297. Reconstruction of the inflection of the -*u*-stems   Sing N
masc -*us* cf Lat *fructus* — A masc -*um*, cf Lat *fructum* —
N A neut -*u* cf Gk μέϑυ, Skr *madhu* 'honey' — D -*ū* (IE in-
strum), cf Gaul βρατου-δε, the IE loc (in -*ēu*) may be represented,
with dat function, in Gaul *Taρavoov* 'to Taranus' — Gen -*ous*
(Og CUNAGUSSOS), cf Lat *fructūs*

Plur. N masc -*owes* from -*ewes* Gaul *Lugoues* Ir -*e* could
in Wb become -*a* before an enclitic (*ar-pectha-ni* our sins' Wb 2 a 6,
like *intain diagma-ni* 'when we go' 3 a 15) this -*a* spread analogi-
cally to absolute finals *gnima* Wb 5 a 30 The ending -*i* is taken
from -*i*-stems, the non-pal quality of the preceding consonant
being on the anal of the old -*u*- inflection — A masc -*ūns* —
N A neut -*ū* — D orig -*u-bhis,* but the Ir form has not developed
regularly from this — Gen had the ending of -*i*- stems, preceded
however by the timbre of the old -*u*- inflection

Dual N A -*ū* — D -*u-bhēm* (with remodelled vocalism as D
pl) — Gen -*owou*

§ 298. Stems in a *w*-diphthong, monosyllabic -*w*-stems   (1) Ir
die 'day' N *die* (Cormac), OIr prochtic *dia* (*dia brátha* 'dooms
day', *dia domnich* 'Sunday') < *dyču-s,* cf Skr *dyāu-š* 'sky' (W
dydd Co *deth,* *dyth* Br *deiz*), — A *fri-de,* *fri-dei* 'by day' <
diǰēm, cf Skr *dyām,* Lat *diem,* —D *in-diu* 'to-day' (W *heddiw* etc)
< (instrum) *diǰū,* cf Lat *diū* 'by day', in W *dyw* is also used
prochtically, MIW *dyw ieu* 'Thursday' (MnW dial /*diwia*/) etc —
In W an old plur form occurs, chiefly after numerals   MIW
dieu MnW *diau* < *diǰewes,* also extended MIW *dieuoed* (*diewed,*
diewoed, *dioed* Dingestow Brut **41, 209 227**) The usual plur is
the re-formed *dyddiau*

(2) Ir *bó* 'cow', A D *boin* Gen *bou,* *bó,* pl N *bai,* *ba,* A *bú,*
D *buaib,* Gen *bó,* *bao* (Sg 22 b 11) In MIW the forms *biw* (some-
times sg , mostly pl) and *bu* (pl , after numerals) occur, v Lloyd-
Jones, Geirfa, 56, 81 It has been replaced by MIW *buch* MnW
buwch, pl *buchod* OCo *buch* MICo *bugh* Br *buc'h*

(3) Ir *nau* 'ship', A D *noi,* Gen *naue,* *noe,* pl N *noa,* D *noib*

§ 299. Paradigms of the -*i*-stems. Ir *fáith* masc 'prophet' (the
feminines like *súil* 'eye' have the same endings as the masc),
muir neut 'sea'

Sing	Plur	Dual
N V *fáıth*	N A *fáthı*	N A *fáıth*
A *fáıth n-*	D *fáthıb*	D *fáthıb*
A *fáıth*	G *fáıthe n-*	G *fátho, -a*
G *fátho, fátha*		

N A *muır n-*	N A *muıre*	N A *muır -n*
D *muır*	D *muırıb*	D *muırıb*
G *moro, ınora*	G *muıre n-*	G *moro, mora*

Note 1. Pecuhar vowel changes *aıg fem ıce* g *ıqa*, *qraıq* neut herd *g qırqa taılın* fem sling g *telma lıaıg* masc doctor, g *lega*, *bıaıl* fem *ıxe*, g *bela* Some borrowed words show no ending ın g sg (through the ınfluence of -o-stems) *abbgıtır* alphabet, *testımın* text *poınt* posıtıve Varıatıons ın N A pl neut OIr *drummaı* (after masc and fem) from *dıımm* back' MIIı *ınara* seas (after -o-stems)

Note 2 From -ı- stems developed the W plur endıngs *-oedd* and *-ydd* MIW *guladoed* countrıes' MnW *gwledydd* pl of *gulad* MIW *reıthoed* (also *ıııthea* BT 11 19 cf EMnW *jeıthav* D Ffest 91, cf Br *ıez* 'dıalect, manneı of speakıng', pl *ıezou* Troude 302, *ieçzıou* Ernault, GMB 332) MnW *reıthoedd* languages' pl of *ıaıth* In an old neut, MIW *moroed* MnW *moroedd*, pl of *mór* sea The endıng *oedd* sometımes replaces an older *ode* § 295 MIW *ynyryed* ıslands MnW *ynysoedd* (*Ynyse* PN)

§ 300. Reconstruction of the Inflection of the -ı-stems Sing. N masc *-ıs* Gaul *Ναμαυσατις* 'a Nemausıan', cf Lat *turrıs*, *hostıs* — V *-ı*, cf Gk *ὄφι* — A masc *-ım* Gaul *ratın* 'rampaıt', cf Lat *turrım* — N A neut *-ı* cf Lat *mare*, Gk *ῐδρι* 'skılful' — D represents IE ınstrum ın *-ī* and IE loc ın *-ēı* (Gaul *Ucuete* D besıde *Ucuetın* A) — Gen Og -OS IVACATTOS The Ir endıng ıs probably taken over from the -u-stems (The IE endıng was *-oıs*)

Plur. N masc the old endıng *-eıes* (Skr *ávayas* Lat *ouēs* sheep') appears ın W *-oedd* § 21 n, possıbly also ın Ir *-ı* — A masc *-īns*, cf Goth *gastıns* 'guests' — N A neut *-ıja*, cf Lat *marıa* — D *-ıbhıs* (old ınstrum) — Gen *-ıjōm* cf Lat *aurıum* Thıs gave W *-ydd* ın *gwledydd* etc

Dual. N A *-ī* — D *-ı-bhēm* — Gen took over the endıng of the -u-stems The regular endıng would be **-e* < **-ıjou*

Inflection of the -s-stems.

§ 301. Paradigm of the -os-stems: *slıab* neut 'mountaın'

Sing N A *slıab n-*	Plur N A *sléıbe*	Dual N A *slıab n-*
D *sléıb*	D *sléıbıb*	D *sléıbıb*
G *sléıbe*	G *sléıbe n-*	G *sléıbe*

Note 1 Exx of vowel infection *mag* plain , D *maig*, *muig*, Gen *maige*, *muige* *nem* heaven , D *nim*, Gen *nime*, *leth* side' D *leith*, Gen *leithe*, *tech* house' D *taig*, Gen *tige*

Variations between -*os*- and -*o* inflections *cuimrech* bond , D pl *cuimrigib* Wb 23 b 11 but *cuimregaib* 26 d 21 D sg *cuimriug* N A pl *cuimrega*, – N pl *tosge* Ml 96 b 5, *ochtarche* Wb 9 a 7, *étaige* (MlIr), from *o*-stems *tossach* beginning', *ochtrach* dung *etach* garment' — *loq* 'price', D *log*, Gen *loge*

Variations between *os* and *i*-inflections, OIr *lend* gl líquamen Thes II 42 21 *lind* Sg 73 a 8 MnIr *linn* pool (also an -*u*- stem MnIr *lonn* ale) OIr *tir* land D *th* Gen *tire*, pl N A *tire*, MnIr N sg *tir* /t'ï'/

Note 2. Brit. W *nef* heaven', pl *nefoedd*, *tir* land', pl MlW *tired* MnW *tiroedd*, *llyn* lake , pl MlW *llynnen* MnW *llynnoedd* *glyn* valley pl *glynnoedd* Foi W *tŷ* 'house' pl OW *te* MlW *tei* MnW *tai* v § 35 4 (Bi *ti* pl *tiez* Trég *tie* Ernault Gramm 21)

Reconstruction. Sing N A -*os*, cf Gk τέγος 'roof' — D -*es* — Gen -*esos*, cf Gk τέγεος — **Plur.** N A -*esa*, cf Lat *genera* — D Celt -*es-o-bhis* (IE instrum -*es-bhis*) — Gen -*esōm*, cf Lat *generum* — **Dual** N A by anal with -*o*-stems (IE -*ī*) — D remodelled in the same way as D pl — Gen -*esou*

§ 302 -*us*-, -*is*-**stems; -*s*-stems with old hiatus** The orig -*us*- stems passed over to the -*u*-decl The best ex is Ir *bun* 'trunk', g *bona* W *bôn* pl *bonau* (cf Ir *bunad* 'origin' MlW *bonhed*, MnW *bonheddig* noble'), further, OIr *hucht* 'breast', g MlIr *ochta* Lat *pectus* g *pectoris*, Ir *crim* 'garlic' g *crema*, v § 178, n 7 (*crem*, MnIr *creamh* are remodelled after g) — The survival of -*is*- stems in Celt is doubtful — The -*s*-stems with old hiatus (after loss of *s*, *p* or — in Ir — *w*)) cannot be distinguished with certainty from other classes *au* 'ear' *ous Gen sg *aue* N pl *hoe* ˃ *oa*, N du *dá n-ó* (and *dí óe*), — MlIr *clú* fame' (OIr *clúu*) neut Gen *clua* (*clue* Wi III 38 § 27) Gk κλέος 'rumour' (? N -*ū*, instead of -*ō*, taken from the other cases) — OIr *gné* 'form, look' (W *gne* colour') varies between -*os*- and -*o*-declensions sg N A *gné*, D (as -*s*-stem) *gné*, Gen (MlIr , -*s*-stem) *gnee* du N *gne*, pl N (-*o*-stem) *gne*

§ 303 The -*ns*-**stem** Ir *mi* month (masc) has the regular inflection of the cons stems (cf § 304) sg N *mí* *mēns A *mís* n- *mēns-n, D *mís* *mēns-i (loc) or *mēnsai (D) also *mí* in OIr poetry (loc without ending) Gen *mís* *mēns-os, pl N *mis* *mēns-es, Gen *mís* n- *mēns-ōm The du N A *dá mí* imitates the -*o*-stems this form also spread to the du g (the regular *dá mís* also occurs

in MIIr) — The non-N form was standardized in Brit W OCo MlBr *mis* MnBr *miz*

Inflection of the stems ending in explosives.

§ 304. Monosyll *-g-* **and** *-k-***stems** Paradigm Ir *rí* 'king'

Sing	N V	*rí*	Plur	N	*ríg*	Dual	N A	*ríg*
	A	*ríg n-*		V A	*ríga*		D	*rígaib*
	D	*ríg*		D	*rígaib*		G	*ríg*
	G	*ríg*		G	*ríg n-*			

Also Ir *brí* fem hill', A *brig n-*, D *brig* and *brí* Gen *breg*, *trú* one fated to die', A D *troich*, Gen *troch* (Lat *trux* wild', Thurneysen, IF 14 130)

Reconstruction. Sing N **rēg'-s* Gaul Εσκιγγο-ρειξ cf Lat *rēx* — V **rēg'* or **rēg'-s* — A **rēg'-m*, cf Lat *rēgem* — D **rēg'-i* (IE loc) or **rēg'-ai* (IE D) IE had also a loc without an ending, this would give in Ir a form identical with N This similarity between N and D spread in Ir — G **rēg'-os* Og LUGUDECCAS, DECCEDDAS

Plur N **rēg'-es* — V took the form of A like the *-o*-stems — A **rēg'-ns* (Gaul-Lat *Lingon-as*) — D **rēg'-bhis*, remodelled to **rēg'-o-bhis* — Gen **rēg'-ōm*, cf Lat *rēgum*

Dual N A **rēg'-e* — D **rēg'-bhēm*, remodelled to **rēg'-o-bhēm* — Gen **rēg'-ou*

§ 305. Polysyllabic *-k-***stems. (1)** With a short vowel, disappearing in N sg , before the *-k-*, *-ik-*stems *daur* 'oak , g *darach*, *sail* fem 'willow', D *sailig*, Gen *sailech* (Lat *salix*) *ail* fem rock', D *ailig*, Gen *ailech*, *foil* 'ring', D pl *failgib*, *Lugaid Lugid* MN, g *Luigdech*, *Lugdach* (Og g LUGUDECCAS), *nathir* fem snake', Gen *nathrach* A pl *nathracha*, *cathir* fem city', D *cathraig* and *cathir* Gen *cathrach* As *-ik-* was mostly a derivative suffix, stems without *-k-* could occur side by side with *-ik-*stems *daur*, g *daro* beside *dair*, *darach*, W *neidr* from **natrī* beside Ir *nathir* Later, many words ending in *-i-* assumed the *-k-* inflection OIr *lassar* 'flame', D *lassir*, MIIr Gen *lassrach*, OIr D pl *húasal-athrachaib* patriarchs' Wb 30d 1, from *-r*-stem *athir* 'father', Ir *Temair* 'Tara', g *Temro*, later *Temrach* Thes II 314k, *Findabair* (W *Gwenhwyfar*), g *Findabrech*

(2) With a long vowel, retained in N sg , before the *-k-*, *-āk-* OIr *eola* experienced , N pl *eolig* (cf Lat *aud-ax*, *aud-ācem* in

Ml , a re-formed N sg *eulach*), — MlIr *mala* 'eyebrow', D *malaig*, Gen *malach*, du N A *malaig*, pl A *mailgea* (palatalization by anal with forms like *cairtea*, § 307), D *mailgib*, — MlIr *caera* 'sheep', Gen *caerach*, pl N *cairig*, A *cáircha*, D *cairchaib*, v § 30, and cf Gaul *Caerac-ates* , — MlIr *ara* 'temple of the head', Gen *arach*, OIr dual N A *da are* (Thes II 249 2), but cf Thurneysen, KZ 59,13 — *-ōk- Eochu* MN, g *Echach* , OIr *Coonu* MlIr *Cuano* MN, A D *Cuanaig*, g *Cúanach* Cf Lat *uēlox*, *uēlōcem*

(3) The vowel before the -k- was retained in cases of old **hiatus** Ir *eo* 'salmon', g *iach* MlW *ehawc* etc § 95, 3, *ceo* 'mist', A *ciaich n-*, *ciaig n-*, Gen *ciach* **kiwok-*, — Ir *aire* 'noble', D *airig*, Gen *airech* stem in *-jāk-* or *-jak-*

(4) *-nk-* Ir *lie*, later *lia* 'stone' masc , D *liic*, Gen *liac*, pl N *lieic*, A *lecca*

§ 306 Dental stems (1) Polysyll. -d- and -t-stems **with short vowel** before -d-, -t-, -et- Ir *cing* 'warrior' g *cinged*, cf Gaul - Lat *Cinges* MN, g *Cingetis*, — *traig* 'foot', A *traigid n-* (also *traig*), Gen *traiged* pl N *traigid*, A *traigthea*, — *seir* 'heel , D *serid*, du N A *di pherid* (W *ffêr* 'ankle', pl *fferau*), — *eirr* 'fighter in a chariot', Gen *erred*, pl D *erredaib*, — loanwords *míl* 'soldier', A *mílid n-*, pl D *miledaib*, Gen *míled n-*, *ap*, *abb* 'abbot', Gen *apad*, pl D *apthaib* — *-ut-* Ir *cin* masc 'sin' (MnIr *cion*), A *cinaid n-*, D *cinaid*, Gen *cinad*, pl N *cinaid*, A *cinta*, anal A sg *cin* (D *cin* may be old) — Ir *luch* 'mouse', A D *lochaid*, Gen *lochad*, pl A *lochtha* *pluk-ōt-s, g *pluk-ot-os cf W *llyg*, pl *llygod* (whence sg *llygoden*) The development in Ir is irregular, *-ōt-s* should have given *-u*, *luchu, while *-ŏt-s* would have given *loch, in the N

(2) **Polysyll -t-stems with long vowel** before -t- (Ir N disyllabic) *-āt-* OIr *tenge* 'tongue' MlIr *tenga*, Gen *tengad*, pl A *tengtha*, *ascae* 'rival', pl D *ascadib*, Gen *innan ascad* (pl V *á ascadu* by anal with *-o-*stems), MlIr *ara* 'charioteer', D *araid*, Gen *arad*, pl A *arada* — *-ēt-* OIr *fili* 'poet', D *filid*, Gen *filed*, pl A *fileda*, *oegi* 'guest', pl N *óegid*, A *oigetha*, Gen *oiged n-* — *-ōt-* *bibdu* 'guilty person', Gen *bibdad*, pl N *bibdid*, *coimdiu* 'lord , D *coimdid*, Gen *coimded* (**k'om-mēd-uōt-*, to *nad coimmestar* gl nequierit Ml 127a 19, cf Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1891—94 457) — *-ūt-* *bethu* 'life', A *bethid*, *bethith*, D *bethu*, cf W *bywyd*, similarly many abstract nouns in *-tu*

(3) **Cases of hiatus.** Ir *cré* fem 'clay', A *crieid n-*, Gen *criad*,

— Ir *scé* 'hawthorn', g *sciath* (remodelled *sciach*, MnIr pl *sceacha*, sg *sceach* fem), — Ir *dé* 'smoke', g *diad*, — MlIr *gleo* 'fight', A *gliaid* LL 68 b 20 (*glied* LU 5283), Gen *gliad* *ghliwot-s*, also irreg N A *gleo n-* (D *gleó* may be old), pl Gen *gleó*, — Ir *niæ* 'nephew', g *niath* (Og NIOTTA, *nieth* Annals of Ulster, a 692) — -*d*-stems *drui* 'druid', g *druad*, *sui* 'a sage', g *suad* — Stems in -*jāt*-, -*jat*- or -*jot*- Ir *lérne* fem 'shirt', D *lénith*, Gen *léned*, pl A *lénte*, — *seiche* fem 'hide', A *sechid n-*, pl D *sechedaib*, — *slige* fem 'road', D *sligid*, Gen *sliged*, pl A *sligeda*

§ 307 -*nt*-**stems.** (1) **Non-neuters.** Stem -*ont*- OIr (Ml) *rechtmogo* 'seventy', g *sechtmogat*, -*a* appears early for -*o* OIr (Carlsr Bede) *tricha* '30', pl *trichit*, OIr (Sg) *cóica* '50', g *cóicat* The -*a* is puzzling in archaic *feda* 'lord' g *fedot* Thes II 244 later N *fiado*, *fiadu*, g *fiadat* — -*unt*- OIr *dínu* lamb', D *dínit* — The stems in -*ānt*- have N -*e* without preceding palatalization OIr *care* 'friend' (> MlIr *cara*), D *carit*, *carait*, Gen *carat*, pl N *carit*, *carait*, A *cairtea*, D *cairtib* (W *câr* 'kinsman', pl MlW *carant*, later, by anal with -*o*-stems, *ceraint*) — Stems in -*nt*- (and -*ent*-) have N -*e* with preceding palatalization Ir *fiche* '20', g *fichet* (MlW *ugeint*, v (2) below)

Note. Analogical -*nt*- plurs in W   MlW   *neyeynt* MnW   *neiaint* nephews , pl of *nia* (*t*-stem) (§ 306 3), *gofaint* smiths pl of *gof* (*n*-stem pl MlW *goivyn*)

(2) **Neuters** *dét n-* 'tooth' D *déit* Gen *dét*, pl N A *dét* (later *déta*, *déoit*), D *détaib*, Gen *dét n-*, *lóchet n-*, *lóchat n-* 'lightening', D *lóchait*, Gen *lóchet* N sg -*nt*, pl -*nta*, dual -*nti* MlW *ugeint* '20 v (1) above, cf MlW *deint* teeth' Co *dyns* Br *dent*, pl of W *dant* Co *dans* Br *dant* (W *daint* is also sg , generally so in NW, the pl is *dannedd*) The word for tooth' in the other IE languages is not neuter

Inflection of sonant stems.

§ 308 The -*r*-stems Paradigm OIr *athir* father' (MnIr *athair*)

Sg	N V	*athir*	Pl	N	*aithir*	Du	N A	(*athir*)
	A	*athir n-* (V)		A	*aithrea*		D	*aithrib*
	D	*athir*		D	*aithrib*		G	*athar*
	G	*athar*		G	*aithre n-*			

So *bráthir* *máthir* *siur* 'sister', A D *siair*, Gen *sethar*, pl N *sethir* (Fél 30 Sept) A *sethra* D *sethraib* du N A *dí siair* *dí fieir*

Anal forms (-*k*-stems) D pl *húasal-athrachaib* Wb 30d 1, MIIr
N pl *sethracha*

Brit remains: W *brawd* 'brother', pl MlW *broder, brodyr*
MnW *brodyr* Co *broder, bruder*, pl *breder, bredereth*, MlBr *breuzr,*
pl *breuder, breudeur* MnBr *breur*, pl *breudeur* In MlW *brodoryon*
occurs as pl for *brawd*, also in the sense of 'fellow-countrymen'
In MnW it has come to mean 'natives', and a new sg *brodor* has
been deduced Cf MnW *cymrodorion*, where the vowel *-o-* is regular
(cf Gk ἀ-πάτωρ πατήρ) — W *chwaer* 'sister', pl MlW *chwiored,*
chwioryd MnW *chwiorydd* (Br *c'hoar*, pl *c'hoarezed*)

§ 309. Reconstruction of the inflection of the -*r*-stems. Sing. N
IE **patē *swesō*, Celt **patēr, *swesōr* (with *-r* taken from the
other cases, cf Gk πατήρ, Lat *pater, soror*) — For other case-
endings v § 304 The IE alternation *-ter-, -tr-* (cf Gk A πατέρα,
D πατρί Gen πατρός) in the stem occurred in Celt also Ir g *athar*
< **pati-os* — **Plur** N Brit *-ter-es -or-es* (W *brodyr* is by anal
with *-o-*stems), *-edd*, later *-ydd* was added to **chwior*, the orig form
of the pl of *chwaer* Ir N *aithir* < **patr-es* — Ir D *aithrib* <
*patr-bhis *atribis (cf Gaul ματρεβο) it was thus identical in
form with *-i*-stems, and the analogy spread to the g pl *aithre* (the
IE form was **patr-ōm*)

**§ 310 Masc. and fem -*n*-stems with lost final in nom sing. Ir.
paradigm·** *brithem* 'judge

	Sing		Plu		Dual
N V	*brithem*	N	*brithemin*	N A	*brithemin*
A	*brithemin n-*	(V) A	*brithemna*	D	*brithemnaib*
D	*brithemin*	D	*brithemnaib*	G	*brotheman*
G	*britheman*	G	*britheman n-*		

Besides *-min* are found *-main, -muin*, besides *-man* appears
-mon — Further exx Ir *deruce* 'acorn', g *dercon*, *Miliucc* MN ,
g *Milcon*, *esc-ung* fem 'eel', g *esconqan* The *-u*-affection in N sg
does not occur in words with *-a-* or *-e-* (from *-ja-*) in the final syll
talam (masc , MnIr sometimes fem) 'earth', D *talam*, Gen *talman*,
pl D *talmanib*, du A *talam* (irreg), *triath* 'sea' g *trethan*, *dúlem*
'creator', *suanem* masc 'rope' etc

British W *ych* 'ox', pl *ychen* (the anal form *ychain* also
occurs in MnW , and is current in the Gwyn dialect, but it is now
discarded in literature), MnCo *ohan* MlBr *ouhen* MnBr *ouc'hen,*
oc'hen (for the sg are used OCo *odion*, Br *ijenn*), — W *lleidr* 'thief',

pl *lladron* Co *lader*, pl *laddron* MlBr *lazr*, pl *lazron* MnBr *laer*,
pl *laeroun* (< Lat *latrō*), W *Sais* 'Englishman', pl *Saeson* MnCo
/zowz/, pl /zowzon/ Br *Saoz*, pl *Saozon* (< Lat *Saxō*), W *cenau*
'whelp' *qanawō, pl MlW *kanawon, canaon, cynawon, cynavon*
(v Morris-Jones, WG 211), MnW *cenawon* — The plur ending
-*on* spread in Brit Br V *aer* 'adder', pl *aeron* (W *neidr* § 295),
W *Iddew* 'Jew', pl *Iddewon* Co *yuthewon*, W *meddyg* 'physician',
pl *meddygon* (< Lat *medicus*) W -*ion* is more common, the -*ɟ*-
is partly due to the palatalized finals of -*o*- and -*ɟo*-stems *mab* 'son',
pl MlW *meib* (after numerals only) *mapī, whence OW *mepion*
MlW *meibon, meibion* MnW *meibion*, Co *mebyon* Br *mipien*, cf
W *gwas* 'servant', pl MlW *gweisson, gweision* MnW *gweision* Co
guesyon MlBr *guisien*, W *dyn* *dunɟos man', pl *dynion* The -*ɟ*-
is frequently omitted in SW dial particularly in plurals of mono-
syllabic words /dənon/ 'men', /uɟron/ *wyrion* 'grandchildren'
Br *gad* 'hare' has pl *gedon*, with umlaut of the old -*o*-stem but
without -*ɟ*-

Reconstruction. Sing N -*ō* Gaul *Frontu* MN cf Lat *sermō*
For the other endings v § 304 (D pl perhaps -*en-o-bhis* -*on-o-bhis*)
N pl -*en-es*, -*on-es*

§ 311 **Monosyllabic (or with hiatus) masc. and fem** -*n*-stems.
Ir *cú* masc 'hound' A D *coin*, Gen *con*, pl N *coin*, A *cona*, D
conaib, Gen *con n*-, W *ci*, pl *cŵn*, OCo *ki* MnCo *ky*, pl *ḱuen* (i e
/kon/, Lhuyd *kên*), Br *ki* pl *koun* — Ir *braó, bró* 'quern', A *bróin n*-,
Gen *broon, brón*, W *breuan* (with non-N stem *qʷrāwnn-) OCo
brou Br *breo* (N form *qʷɟāwō) — Ir *leo* 'lion' (Lat *leo*) pl
Gen *leon* (but N *leom* LL 57b 41, pl *leomain* Ml 80a 10) — Ir *bru*
'belly', D Mllr *bruinn, broind, brú*, Gen Mllr *brond* pl D *bion-
naib* *bhrusō, Gen *bhrusno-s Ir *rét-glu*, 'star', pl D *rét-glannaib*,
du N A *dí rétglainn*

§ 312. **The -*ɟen*-stems** Paradigm Ir *toimtiu* fem meaning'

	Sing		Plur		Dual
N	*toimtiu*	N	*toimtin*	N A	*toimtin*
A	*toimtin n*-	A	*toimtena*	D	*toimtenaib*
D	*toimtin, toimte, toimtiu*	D	*toimtenaib*	G	*toimten*
G	*toimten*	G	*toimten n*-		

The D -*e* represents the regular development of the loc which
had no ending -*iu* is by anal with the N On the other hand -*e*
sometimes occurs in the N *díle* 'flood' Ml 48d 17 (*diliu* frequently

ın MIIr), D *díle* (Gen *dílenn* v sub), *coibse* 'confession' Thes II 238

Many nomına actionıs and other nouns are declıned lıke *toımtıu*, also *nóıdıu* 'child', *genıtıu* 'genitive', Gen *genıten*, pl A *genıtne* If the last syll begıns ın *r*, *l*, *n*, not *-n* but *-nn* occurs *ırıu* 'land' g *írenn*, *Hérıu* 'Ireland', D *Hérınn*, Gen *Hérenn* (W *Iwerddon*), *Derdrıu* FN , g (MIIr) *Derdrend*, *Brıcrıu* MN , Gen MIIr *Brıcrend*, *ımblıu* navel', g *ımblenn*, MIIr *dílıu*, g *dílenn*

With lost palatalızatıon (§ 170,2) *tíchtu* comıng' A D *tíchtaın*, Gen *tıchtan*, *ríchtu* 'arrıval', *epeltu* death', MIIr *ortha* 'prayer' (*-a* from OIr *-u* < Lat *ōrātıō*), MIIr *lurga* 'shın-bone', pl D *luırgnıb*, du N A *lurgaın*, OIr *orddu* thumb', MIIr *Albu*, *Alba* Scotland', g *Alban*, *ulcha* beard', D *ulchaın*, *Mumu* 'Munster', D *Mumaın* *Mumu*, Gen *Muman* If the last syll begıns with *r*, *l* *n* fınal *-nn* Ir *aru* 'kıdney', g *árann*, MIIr *Áru*, *Ara* 'Arran', D *Araınd* *obla* consecrated host', g *oblann*, *gualu* shoulder' g *gualand*, *dernu* palm of the hand', g *dernand*

Reconstruction In all cases but the N the stem suffıx was *-jon-*, cf Og g INISSIONAS The loc ended ın *-jon* (or *-jen*)|

§ 313 Mıxed and anomalous torms. (1) Some Lat or Celt nomına actionıs vacıllate between *-n*-declensıon and vocalıc declensıon Ir *bendacht* 'blessıng' (< Lat *benedıctıō*), A *bendachtın*, Gen *bendachtan* *bendachtae* (cf W pl *bendıthıon*), Ir *maldacht* curse' (< Lat *maledıctıō*), A *maldaıtın* Gen MIIr *mallachtan*, pl A OIr *maldachta* (cf W pl *mellıthıon*), *fortacht* 'help', A *fortacht* Wb , *fortachtaın* Ml *duthracht* desıre', D *dúthracht* Wb , Gen *duthrachtan* Ml , N A D sg , N A du *accuıss* 'cause', A sg , N pl *aıcsın*, D pl *aıcsenaıb* (W pl *achosıon*), *aısndís* fem 'exposıtıon', A D *aısndís*, but (ın Ml) Gen *aısndısen*, pl A *aısndısnea* — OIr *anım* *anımın* fem 'soul' (*anaım*, *aınım*), A D *anım* *anmın* *anmaın*, *anmuın* Gen *anme*, pl N *anmın* *anmaın*, A *anmana* D *anmanaıb*, Gen *anman*

(2) Several *-nā*-stems pass over to the *-n*-decl ın MIIr OIr *persan* 'person', Gen *persıne*, pl N *persın* (? *-o*-decl), MIIr N *persu*, *persa* A D *persaın*, *persaınd*, but Gen *persaıne*, *persaınde*, MnIr *pearsa*, Gen *pearsan* MIIr *coloma*, *columa* 'column' (for *coloman < Lat *columna*), the old ınflectıon ıs seen ın MIIr N pl *colomna* OIr *ıngen* fem 'fıngeı-naıl' § 37,4, D *ıngın*, N pl *ıngnea*, MIIr *ınga*, MnIr *ıonga*, Gen *ıongan*

(3) Unexplained are Ir *menme* (later *menmae, menma*) masc 'mind', A D *menmain, menmuin*, Gen *menman* (Sg *menmann*), pl A *menmana*, D *menmanib* § 75,4, and MlIr *goba* 'smith', D *gobaind*, pl Gen *goband*, W *gof*

§ 314. **The neuter** -*n*-**stems**   Paradigm   Ir *béim* 'blow'

Sing	Plur	Dual
N A *béim n-*	N A *béimen, béimenn*	N A *béim n-*
D *béimimm, béim*	D *béimennaib*	D *béimennaib*
G *beime*	G *beimen n- béimenn n-*	G *béimen, béimenn*

ainm n- 'name' has non-palat consonants before all endings D *anmaimm, anmimm* Gen *anme* > *anma*, pl N A *anman anmann* etc — The N A pl later has the ending -*a anmanna* — *senim* 'sound', D *senmuim*, pl N *senman, gein* 'birth', D *geinim*, Gen *geine, imb* 'butter', D MlIr *immim*, Gen *imbe, mír* 'morsel, portion', pl A MlIr *mírend*

British W *cam* 'step', pl OW *cemmein*, MnW *caman*, OW *anu* 'name', pl *enuein*, MlW *enw*, pl *enwein*, later *enweu*, MnW *enw*, pl *enwau*, Co *hanow*, pl *henwyn, hynwyn* Co *tam* 'bit, piece', pl *tymmyn*, Co *brain* 'fart' pl *bremmyn* Co *bom* 'blow' pl *bommyn*, Co *colm* 'knot' pl *colmennow*, W *rhwym* bond pl OW *ruimmein*, MnW *rhwymau*

Reconstruction   Sing N -*n* cf Lat *nōmen*, Gk ὄνομα — D *-n-bhi* (cf Armen *anuam-b* instrum of *anun* name') — G -*en-s* — Pl N A -*na*

XXIV. Adjectives.

§ 315   (Position)   The attributive adj in Ir and Brit stands as a rule after the noun   Olr *miad mór* great honour , W *dyn da* a good man' Co *gobar bras* a great reward , Br *gwin gwenn* 'white wine

Pronominal words and numerals are placed before the noun , cf § 233   Adjectives may precede the noun, in such cases the adjective causes lenition § 234, 1 and is indeclinable in Ir   But in W when an adj is placed before a fem noun the fem form of the adj is used   *gwen eneth* 'a fair maiden', similarly, as a rule, the plur form of an adj before a plur noun   *eich mwynion resymau chwi* your kind reasons'

§ 316   **Agreement of the adjective**   In Ir an attrib or predicative adj agrees with its noun in gender number and case   *airde serce*

móre 'a sign of great love' Wb 24c 2, *ıt móra na bretha* great are the judgments' 17b 2   But a neuter predicative adj can refer to a fem abstract noun *ba erchoıtech n-doıb toımtıu* 'thinking was hurtful to them' Ml 35b 25, cf § 267,2   Also a neuter predicative adj ıs used when the subject of the sentence ıs expressed by the "nominatıve with ınfinitive" construction *uısse* (neut sg) *ın boıll do áss ó-n chıunn* ıt ıs proper for the members to grow from the head' Wb 22a 17, v §475 2b   In MnIr the pred adj ıs uninflected *gu-rab cosmhaıl cuırp na n-daoıne ré taoısleadh crıadh* so that men's bodies are like a lump of clay', *go rabhadar na súıle dall aıge* so that hıs eyes were blınd'   — **In Brıt.** The attributive adj ın W alwavs agrees with ıts noun ın gender   It also agrees with ıts noun ın number ıf the pl of the adj ıs formed by change of vowel, agreement ıs optional when the pl ıs formed with a pl endıng, but ıt occurs often, cf Morrıs-Jones, Welsh Syntax, p 16ff   A predıcatıve adj need not agıee with ıts noun *llym awel* 'keen ıs the wınd'   The adj ıs ındeclınable ın Co and Br , cf § 184

§ 317. Declension **(1)** Masc and neut an -o-stem, fem an -ā-stem   OIı N sg masc and fem *mall* 'slow', neut *mall n-*, pl masc *maıll*, fem and neut *malla*   The N A pl neut with no endıng ıs used onlv as a noun *ınna olc* the evıls'   In Ml and later the (V and) A pl masc has the endıng *-a   lucu arda* 'hıgh places' (accus) Ml 23d 23   *rétu noıba* 'holy thıngs' (accus) Sg 33a 6   In MlIr thıs *-a* spread to N pl masc   MlIr *laıch londa* 'angry warrıors' The few ınstances ın whıch thıs occurs ın OIr may be errors (oı perhaps evıdence that ıt already exısted ın colloquıal speech)   *maıcc cóıma* 'dear sons' Wb 27b 16, cf *fıra* true' Ml 51b 8, *mora* 'great' 98c 5 (both predıcatıve)   Cf Strachan Érıu 1,4   In N A pl the endıng *-ı* occurs after a palatalızed consonant ın dısyllabıc adjectıves (by anal with *-ıo-*, *-ıā*-stems) *dıless* propeı', N A pl *dílsı*, v ZE 236, Thurneysen, Handb 216

From -o- and -ā-stems ıs derıved the W gender ınflection   W *trwm* heavy', fem *trom* (lı *tromm*), *gwyn* 'whıte', fem *gwen* (OIr *fınd*, g *fınd*), for Co and Br v § 184   Thıs modıfication spread to other adjectıves with *-w-*, *-y-*, of whatever orıg declension (W *crwn cron* 'round', Ir *cruınd*, *-ı*-stem, also W *cwta cota* 'short', *bychan bechan* 'small')   From -o-stems ıs derıved the Brıt pl ınflection of adjectıves W *ıeuanc* 'young', pl *ıeuaınc*   As ın the case of nouns, the endıngs *-on* and *|-ıon|* were added to adjectıves

OBr *blinion* gl inertes, *buenion* gl concitis (sg Br *buan*)   The -*i*-
drops regularly in W after certain sounds *geirwon*, pl of *garw*
'rough', *budron*, pl of *budr* 'dirty', *gwineuon,* pl of *gwinau* 'auburn'
These endings were added to other stem classes as well W *duon*,
pl of *du* 'black' (Ir *dub*, -*u*-stem), *crynion*, pl of *crwn* 'round' (-*i*-
stem), OBr *tirolion* gl agrica (Lat suff -*ālis*)   There are no special
fem pl forms

     With this declension cf Lat *nouus, noua, nouum,* Gk *νέος,*
νέā, νέον

     (2) Masc and neut a -*jo*-stem, fem a -*jā*-stem Ir masc fem
buide 'yellow', neut *buide n-*, N V A pl , all genders, in -*i* *tri*
gnímu rechtidi 'through deeds of Law' Wb 2 b 24   Substantival
forms pl neut *inna remeperthi* 'the aforesaid' Ml 23 d 4, but *inna*
dorche 'the dark' 140 c 5, pl A *remeperthiu* gl quos 69 a 4   Cf
Strachan, Ériu 1 5 — Cf Lat *sērius, sēria, sērium*

     (3) Adjectival -*u*-stems arc rare Ir *fliuch* 'wet' *tiug* 'thick'
dub 'black', *il* 'many', *ocus* 'near', *cum-ung* 'narrow', *fo-llus* 'clear ,
an-bsud 'unstable', *di-riug, di-riuch* 'straight' (Mllr *direch,* MnIr
díreach as -*o*-stem) and some other cpds In N sg the fem is like
the masc   In D Gen sg (and A sg fem) the forms are like the
-*o*- -*ā*-stems, the pl is formed like the -*i*-stems Oli Gen sg *in*
dirig, sg A fem *in duib* 'the black one' (Thurneysen ZCP 12 287),
D fem *follais,* Gen *foilse,* pl N masc *foilsi* (regularly without
palatalization Mllr N pl *dubai*), pl Gen *ile*

     (4) Adjectival -*i*-stems are plentiful Ir N masc and fem
maith, neut *maith n-*   The g sg and often the g pl are like the
-*o*- -*ā*-declension (g sg masc and neut *maith,* fem *maithe,* g pl
all genders *maithe n-* or *maith n-*, the latter form not substantival)
The N A pl neut ends in -*i* (*maithi*), substantivally in -*e* or in -*i*
(*fudumne* the deep' Wb 5 c 16   8 b 6, but *fudumnai* Ml 81 a 4,
118 a 9)

     (5) Consonantal stems are rare An -*s*-stem Ir *tó* § 13, 2 —
Explosive stems Ir *éola* § 305, 2   An -*nt*-stem *té* 'hot', pl N fem
téit, cf Lat masc fem *tepens*

Comparison

     § 318 The equative. Ir *lérithir* 'so diligent' (*léir*), *deminithir*
'so certain' (*demin*)   Formed from nouns Mllr *métithir* 'so great'
(*méit* 'size'), *sithithir* 'so long' (W *hyd* length'), related to the

comparative forms § 320 OIr Mllr *moir* 'so great', Mllr *lir* 'so many', *sia-thir* 'so long', *tresi-thir* 'so strong', *remi-thir* 'so fat' — The suffix *-ithir* is from *-tri-*, cf Lat *camp-es-ter*, *camp-es-tris*, cf Ascoli, Arch glott suppl I 53 ff , II 97 ff

The W equative is formed by adding *-hed* to the positive, with prefixed *cyn* MlW *kyn duhet ar muchud* MnW *cyn ddued â'r muchudd* 'as black as jet' For coalescing of the *h* with a preceding consonant v § 203 In some instances the suffix is added to the comparative form *nesed* 'so near' (*agos* 'near'), *lleied* 'so small' (*bychan* 'small'), *hawsed* 'so easy' (*hawdd* 'easy'), *hyned* 'so old' (*hen* 'old') Some equatives are close cpds of the prefix with a noun *cymaint* 'so great' (*mawr* 'great', *maint* 'size, number'), *cyhyd* 'so long' (*hir* 'long', *hyd* 'length'), *cyfled* 'so wide' (*llydan* 'wide', *lled* 'width'), MlW *kystadyl*, *kystal* MnW *cystal* so good (*da* 'good', cf *distadl* 'insignificant'), — with the comparative *cyfuwch* 'so high' (*uchel* 'high'), — with the positive MlW *kynna* so good' (*da* 'good'), *cynddrwg* 'so bad' (*drwg* 'bad')

Note 1 Without *cyn*, the equative is exclamative *hardded yw* how beautiful it is! , cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax 47 ff The same occurs in Br , MlBr *guelhet tra* what a good thing!', *cazret den* 'what a fine man!', MnBr V *lartet* 'how big!', cf Ernault, GMB 268 ff

Note 2 The ending *-hed* is not added to some adjectives (mostly derivatives), in such cases the equative is expressed by putting *mor* before the positive, *mor anddifad* 'so destitute' With this is to be compared Co *mar* (also *maga* § 215) Br V *mai* with the positive, v § 227, cf Henry Lewis Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol, p 20 f , Ll Llydaweg Canol², § 19, Ernault, GMB 393 Also MlBr *quen* MnBr *ken* (*ker*, *kel*) is used before the positive MlBr *quen buan* 'so swiftly' W *cyn fuaned*, v Ernault, GMB 535 ff — In W *mor* is frequently used with all adjectives, and in the dialects it is even used before the equative forms

On the W equative v Zimmer, KZ 34 161 ff , Loth, RC 18 392, Morris Jones WG 243 ff

§ 319. The comparative in Ir generally ends in *-iu* or *-u diliu* 'dearer' (*dil*), *siniu* 'older' (*sen*), *áildiu* more beautiful' (*álind*), *foillsiu* 'clearer' (*follus*), *ardu* 'higher' (*ard*) Further exx , § 172,3 Ir *laigiu*, *lugu* 'smaller' is compar of *becc*, W *llai* 'smaller' is MnW compar of *bach* (but the original positive occurs in MlW *llaw* small' v § 35,1), Co *le* 'smaller' (positive *byhan*) Another W ex of the same ending *hŷn* 'older' (pos *hen*) § 181,6 — The orig ending was *-jōs*, nom sg masc of prim IE comparative, cf Lat *senior* 'older'

§ 320. The IE comparative could be formed from the same root as the positive, but without the suffix of the positive form, the vowel grade could also vary Exx in Celt are with different vowel grade, Ir *il* 'many' (**pelu-*), compar *lia* (**plē-*, cf W *lli-aws* 'many'), Ir *lethan* 'broad' W *llydan* (**plt-* § 7,1), compar Ir *letha* W *lled* (**plet-*) — Suffix of posit lacking in compar Ir *mór*, *már* 'great' W *maur* Co *muer* Br *meur* (**mā-ro-*), compar Ir *máa*, *móa*, *má*, *mao*, *móo*, *mou*, *mó* OW *moi* MlW *moe*, *mwy* MnW *mwy* Co *moy* Br *mui* (**mā-*), Ir *sir* 'long' W *hir* (**sē-ro-*), compar Ir *sia* W *hwy* (**sē-*), Ir *oac* 'young' W *ieuanc* (**jewn-k'o-*) compar Ir *óa* W *iau* (**jew-*) Some comparatives show trace of an -s- suffix Ir *trén* 'strong', compar Ir *tressa* W *trech* Br *treac'h*, Ir *nesso*, *nessa* 'nearer' W *nes* Co *nes* (Br *nez* 'near', posit li *ocus* W *agos* Co *ogas*), W *haws* 'easier', posit *hawdd* Ir *messa* worse posit *droch-*, *olc*

The ending of these forms is explained by means of the old neuter of the comparative with the ending *-jos* or *-is* (cf Lat *mel-ius*, *mag-is*) Thus **mā-jos* ˃ W *mwy*, **sēis* ˃ W *hwy* **pletis* ˃ W *lled* The Ir (syllabic) *-a* is probably in most cases a later development, thus Ir *sia* was probably monosyll at first (= W *hwy*) Ir *máa* represents the old neuter *mao*, *móo*, *mou* mo the old masc

§ 321 Some words, originally not comparative, have acquired a comparative sense in Celtic Examples are W *is* 'lower' (§ 25,6 *isel*), *uwch* 'higher' (§ 25,1 *uchel*), *cynt* 'earlier, quicker' (§ 50 *cynnar* 'early', *buan* quick') Ir *ferr* 'better' (*dag-*, *maith*), W *gwell* (da) Co *guel* (da, mas) Br *gwell* (also *gwelloc'h* § 322 mad) were orig probably substantives meaning 'preference, choice' v VKG II 121 Probably also W *gwaeth* worse' (drwg) Co *gueth* (drog) Br *gwaz* (drouk)

§ 322. The regular compar suffix in Brit is W *-ach* Co *-a -c* Br *-oc'h* MlW *teg-ach* fairer' Provection of the final explosive of the positive has spread to the compar by anal with the equative and the superlative in which it was caused by the *-h-* of the suffix MnW *tecach* Co *tekke*, MnW *hacrach* 'ugher' Co *hakere*, Br *pinvi-dikoc'h* 'richer' *brasoc h* 'greater' (braz) The suffix is often added in Br to forms already compar *gwelloc'h* 'better, *nesoc'h* nearer' *gwasoc'h* 'worse' It occurs also in re-formations Br *hiroc'h* 'longer' (hir), *iaouankoc'h* 'younger', cf W *ieuangach* beside the regular

form *iau* (W *-ach* is similarly used in some of the dialects *hawddach* 'easier' beside *haws*, *hirach* 'longer' beside *hwy*, etc)

Note The comparative may be expressed periphrastically in W by means of *mwy* more' preceding the positive *mwy dymunol* more desirable This is obligatory with adjectives not possessing a compar form, but it often occurs even concurrently with a form in *-ach cryfach*, *mwy cryf* stronger Cf Br Trég *muioc'h brâs* bigger — On the comparative v Sommer, IF 11 217—244, Zimmer, KZ 28 370ff , Ernault, RC 22 371ff

§ 323. (1) The Celt **superlative** suffix was *-samo-* The lenited *-m-* became W and MlBr *-f* (i e /-v/), it was lost in Co (so that the superlative and the comparative forms became identical) and also in MnBr The *-f* is lost also in spoken W (such forms appearing sometimes in literature)

(2) (a) A vowel generally stood before the *-s-* The Ir ending *-em* points to *-is-amo-* or *-es-amo- dilem* dearest' (*dil*), *áildem* most beautiful' (*álind*), *foillsem* 'clearest' (*follus*) After a vowel, *-em* regularly became *-am óam* youngest', *maam* 'greatest', by analogy *-am* appears after consonants if the comparative *-u* is not preceded by palatalization *ansam* most difficult', compar *ansu*, posit *anse* — In Brit *-s-* gave *-h-* which was retained (at least in writing) down to MlW , but later disappeared OW *hinham* 'oldest', later *hynaf*, MlW *hyshaf* 'lowest' (in the Laws), usually *isaf*, MlW *duhaf* blackest' MnW *duaf*, MlW *muyhaf* greatest' MnW *mu yaf* Co *moygha, mogha, moghya, moghye* (*-gh-* = /-h-/, *-ghy-* = /-j-/, Lhuyd has *moya*), MlBr *querhaf* dearest' MnBr *kera* The *-h-* coalesced with a preceding consonant, causing provection MlW *teckaf* 'fairest' MnW *tecaf* Co *tekca*, MnBr *brasa* 'greatest', v § 203 — The following Gaul forms may have the same suffix *Belisama* GN, *Trigisamum* PN, *Rigisamus* GN, *Blesamus, Blesamius* MN, *Cintusmus* MN (cf W *cynt* etc § 50), *Ουξισαιη* PN etc

(b) In a few cases the *-s-* immediately followed a consonant Ir *tressam* strongest' W *trechaf* Br *trec'ha* (*-g-s-* cf ON *þrek* strength'), Ir *nessam* nearest' W *nesaf* etc (*-dh-s-* § 25,6), W *hawsaf* 'easiest' (*hawdd*) Perhaps cf Gaul *Rixamae* PN With a further suffix OW *cisemic*, MnW *cysefin* 'primitive' (*cynt*)

(3) (a) The suffix may be added to a form similar to the comparative Ir *óam* youngest' MlW *ieuhaf* beside compar Ir *óa* MlW *ieu*, Ir *máam* 'greatest' beside compar *máa*, MlW *llettaf* MnW *lletaf* widest' beside compar *lled* § 320 The affected vowel

of the compar due to -ɟ- is transferred in Brit to the superl   OW
hınham   W *hynaf* 'oldest', W *lleıaf* 'smallest'   OBr *leıham* (cf
§ 319), also the -ɟ- of the compar   W *hwyaf* 'longest'   OBr *-hoıam*
(in personal names, cf   Loth, RC 15 94), MlW *mwyhaf* MnW
mwyaf 'greatest'   Co *moygha*   Br *muıa*

(**b**) Some superlatives are formed from nouns or adverbs   W
olaf 'last' (*ól* rear, track'), *blaenaf* 'foremost, first' (*blaen* 'front'),
pennaf 'chief' (*pen* 'head', also compar *pennach*), OW Comp
diguedhaf MnW *dıwethaf* 'last' (*dıwedd* 'end')   With the suffix
-tamo- W *eıthaf* 'uttermost', **el-tamo-* (cf Lat *e rtımus*), cf   W
gwarthaf 'summit' Co *guartha*, **uor-tamo-*, **upor-tmmo-* beside OW
guor, guar over', v   Parry-Wılliams, BBCS 1 112

Note 1   The suffix is reduplicated in a few cases in OIr   *dıgımem*
from *dırıug* direct', *fıruanamam* from *fırıan* 'righteous', *saıbıbem* gl peruer-
sıssımı (*-ıbem* from *-ımem*)

Note 2   Ir *dag*, *maıth* good has for superlative *dech* (Lat *decus*
ornament'), W *da* 'good has for superlative *gorau* (possibly a compound,
*upor-esu, cf Gk ϑπέρ-ευ 'exceedingly well')   Co and Br have a superl
formed from the compar   Co *guella* Br *gwella*

Note 3   The superl may be expressed periphrastically in W by means
of *mwyaf* most' proceeding the positive   *mwyaf dymunol* most desırable

§ 324. (Syntax of the compared forms).   In Ir the compared
forms are predicative only   *ıs moır sleb⟨e⟩ fırınne dé* 'God's
rightcousness is as great as mountains' Ml 55 d 11, *arm-bat ırlaınu
de ınd fır* 'in order that the husbands may be the readıer   Wb 22c 10
hı telaıg ba nessam dınd sloq to the hill that was next the army'
Ml 55c 1   The following examples illustrate the construction used
when the compar or superl is attributive, substantival or adverbial
in meaning   *frescsıu fogchrıcce as móo* 'hope of a greater reward' ' of
a reward that ıs greater" Wb 10c 21, *a ben ınd fır as dech ın Ére*
O wife of the best man in Ireland' "of the man that ıs best" Wı 260,
r-a-fıtır as lıa 'most (of them) know ıt' "what is the greater
part knows ıt" Wb 23c 21, *ıntí asémıu* (= *as sémıu*) gl tenuıor
'the thınner' 'he who ıs thınner" Ml 19d 8, *nı-mmerat bes hıre*
they shall not deceıve further' "what ıs further" Wb 30c 20,
nachıtochtad frı-a choscc ní bes íre 'let ıt not wear thee out ın admon-
ıshıng hım any longer' "that which ıs longer" 31d 11

Note. OIr *nı as* what ıs' before a compar has become a particle in
MnIr *nıos* — The following apparent exceptions to the rule are Latınısms
doını saıbıbem gl peruersıssımı homınes Ml 3 a 5, *du thuıchsımem* gl accept-
ıssımı tuı (g sg) 71 b 21, *ın máam* gl prımum Wb 1 c 20

In Brit the compared forms can be used attributively MlW *ny buost gyn hegaret gwas ditheu* 'thou wert not so lovable a youth RM 7, *teckaf morwyn oed yn y hoes* 'she was the fairest maiden of her day' 59 This may be an innovation, and originally the construction in Brit may have resembled that of Ir This hypothesis would explain the introduction of substantival forms into the system of comparison

The second member of a comparison is put in the dative case without prep in Ir after the comparative, v § 280, or preceded by the verb *oldáu*, later *indáu*, § 481 For the equative v § 273 In Brit it is preceded by a particle MlW *no, noc* MnW *na, nag* than', Co *ys, es, ages* Br *eget, evit* Instances occur in W without the particle MlW *nac ewch bellach hynny* go not further than that' v Ifor Williams, PKM 156, cf *Golchi ddu gydwybod aflan Lawer gwynach eira mân* 'Thou washest the black filthy conscience much whiter than fine snow', Wms Pantycelyn With the equative the particle 'as' MlW *a, ac* MnW *á ag* Co *avel*, Br *ha, hag*

XXV. The Numerals.

§ 325 A special development in Celt is the difference between the numeral when accompanying a noun (dependent) and when standing apart (independent) Before the latter in Ir stands the particle *a* § 200,5

§ 326 **One.** Ir *óin*, W *un*, Co *un*, independent *onan*, Br *eun*, indep *unan* Etym § 15 W *un* causes lenition in the foll fem sg noun (except when it begins with *ll-* and *rh-*), v also § 234,1 n Co *un* Br *eun* are used as an indefinite article, Br *eun, eur* cause len in the foll fem sg noun With a prefixed pronoun the numeral expresses 'self' W *fy hun, fy hunan* 'myself', pl *hun, hunain*, Co *ow honan* 'myself', *agan honan* 'ourselves', Br *me va unan* 'I myself', *ni hon unan* 'we ourselves', these forms are used in conjunction with pronominal forms W *fy nhŷ fy hun* 'my own house', *arnaf fy hun* 'on myself , etc (For the *h-* v § 205) — The numeral is often unexpressed in Ir *bó ar fhichit* '21 cows', RC 26 378, MnIr *ceann aca* 'one of them' (lit "a head with them")

§ 327. **Two** Ir (dep) NA masc *da*, fem *di*, neut *da n-*, D masc fem neut *dib n-*, Gen masc fem *da*, neut *da n*, (indep) *dau* › *dó* Brit masc OW *dou* MlW *deu* MnW *dau* (dial *dou*) Co *dou dew* MlBr *dou* MnBr *daou*, fem W *dwy* OCo *dui* MlCo *dyw*,

dew Br *diou* These forms are regular forms of -*o*- -*ā*-stems, the Brit forms are old nominatives, Ir *dau* the old nom masc For sandhi-rules v § 189, § 229 Traces of the old neut in Brit are found in W *deucant* 200', *deutu* 'both sides', and in Br *daou c'hant* '200', *daou zra* 'two things' (§ 268, 3, cf § 70, 2) — In composition the Ir form is *dé- de-áith* 'bipennis', *dé-chorpdae* gl bicorpor *dé-riad* gl bigae cf MlI₁ *in-dé* 'in two'

§ 328 Three. Ir NA masc *trí* (non-len) neut *trí* (len), D masc neut *trib*, Gen *tri n-* Fem N *teoir*, *teora*, A *teora*, D *teoraib*, Gen *teora n-* Brit masc W *tri* Co *try* Br *tri*, fem MlW *teir* MnW *tair* Co *ter*, *tyr* Br *teir* (for Brit sandhi-rules v § 207, 2, 9) — The masc and neut are inflected like the -*i*-decl , the IE N *trejes* (Skr *trayas* Lat *trēs*) was replaced in Celt by the A *trīns* Ir NA neut < IE *tri* (Ski *trī*) The Ir g masc neut is irregular (Og TRIA MAQA 'of the three sons', IE *trijōm* cf Gk τριῶν) The fem was an -*r*-stem, orig N *tisores* (Ir *teoir*) A *tisorns* (Ir *teora*, used as N in Wb) Ir D Gen are analogical formations The Brit affected vowel in the fem forms of 3' (and '4') is due to some remodelling MlW *teir* is for *ty-eir* cf OW *bryeint* MlW *breint* 'privilege' See § 329 n — Thrice' Ir *fothri* (prep ' acc neut) — Ir form in composition *tre-*, *tré-* (< IE *tri-*) OH *i-sin tre-chostu* gl in tripode MlIr *tréthond* three waves'

§ 329 Four. Ir masc N *cethir*, A *cethri* neut NA *cethir* (len) fem *cetheoir*, *cetheora* etc , with the same endings as in three' MlI₁ has *cethri* as dependent form in all genders MnI₁ *ceathair* dependent *ceithre* or *cheithre* Brit masc OW *petguar* MnW *pedwar* Co *peswar* MnCo /pazar/ Br *pevar*, fem MlW *pedeir* MnW *pedair* Co *peder* *pedyr* Br *peder* (sandhi-rules § 207 9) – Ir N masc and Brit masc forms < *kʷetwores* (Brit no   na § 3,4) The Ir fem N represents *kʷetesores*

Note The fem suffix -*sor*- of '3' and '4' is found only in Celtic and Indo-Iranian (Skr fem *tisras* '3', *čatasras* '4') It has been compared to Lat *uxor* (which might very well mean "mistress" but a masc *uk-* 'husband', though easily conceivable beside Skr *ókas* 'home', is merely a guess) The Hittite fem suffix -*šara*- (*š* - /*s*/), cf g in *išḫa-ššara*- 'mistress of the house' *išḫā*- 'master' (Ehelolf ZA NF 9 184ff) if not borrowed from a foreign language, could also be considered

Four times' Ir *fo chethir* — Compos form *kʷetwor*- Gaul *petor-ritum* 'four-wheeled cart', Ir *cethur-denus* four days , with different vowel grade Gaul *Petru-corii* TN the four hosts' §178 2),

cf W *pedry-* in *pedryfan* '(with) four corners, square', *pedryollt* '(with) four notches' BA 8 5 (*pedry-hollt*), also *pedr-ael* 'four-cornered' (v BBC 26 11) and *pedry-f-ael* (RP 578 15)

§ 330   **Five — ten** (indeclinable) 'Five' Ir *cóic* MnIr *cúig* OW *pimp* MlW *pymp, pump* MnW *pump* Co *pymp* Br *pemp* 'Six' Ir *sé* W *chwe* (dep), *chwech* (mostly indep) Co *whe* (indep *deu rgens blythen ha whe* '46 years' PC 351), *whegh* Br *c'houec'h* 'Seven' Ir *secht* n- MlW *seith* MnW *saith* Co *seyth, syth* Br *seiz* 'Eight' Ir *ocht* n- W *wyth* MnCo *eath* Br *eiz* 'Nine' Ir *nói* n- W *naw* Co *naw* Br *nao* 'Ten' Ir *deich* n- MlW *dec* MnW *deg* (*deng* § 196,3) Co *dek* Br *dek*, § 8,1c   For the sandhi-rules cf § 189 6,8, § 196,3, § 197, § 229

§ 331   **The tens.** In Ir the tens are derived from old IE proper compounds (fem sg) with the final element *-k'mt-, *-k'omt-* (to *dek'm *dek'm-t* 'ten'), for their inflection v § 307,1 This applied to Brit from 30 to 90 but only traces remain Brit 20' is derived from a neut du form (*-k'mti,* Lat *uiginti*) — 20' OIr *fiche* MlW *ugeint* MnW *ugain* Co *ugens, ugans* Br *ugent* (Ir *wi-k'mt-s,* Brit *im-k'mt-i,* cf § 6,3) — 30' OIr *tricha* OW *trimuceint* Br *tregont* Gaul-Lat abl pl *tricontis* (*omnibus tricontis* 'in all the months with thirty days'), OW *trimuceint* is influenced by the old forms of '70' and 20' — '40' MlIr *cethorcha cethracha *k^uetruk'omt-s* (cf Gaul *Pctru-,* W *pedry-* § 329) — '50' OIr *cóica* (*cóice* ZCP 8 310 1) MnIr *caogad* — 60' MlIr *sesca *swek's-k'omt-s* — '70' OIr *sechtmogo *septmmo-k'ont-s* or *septmmu-k'ont-s* (with *-u-* by anal with '40') — 80' MlIr *ochtmoga* (OIr g *ochtmugat*), formed by anal with 70' — 90' MnIr *nócha* (OIr derivative *noichtech* 'nonagenarian') *neuo-k'omt-s*

§ 332   **Hundred and thousand** '100' Ir *cet* (neut -o-stem) MnIr *céad* W *cant* Co *cans* Br *kant* — 1000 Ir *mile* (fem -*jā*-stem) W *mil* Co *myl* Br *mil* from Lat *milia*

Note A few late forms occur for numbers above a thousand W *mi yrdd* 10,000' a medieval learned borr from Lat *myriad em* W *myrddiwn* 1 000 000' MnIr *milliun* million MnW *miliwn* Co *mylyon* Br *milion*

§ 333   **Syntax of the numerals** In OIr (as in the other old IE languages) the numerals 1—10 are adjectives (placed before the noun, of course they may, as other adjectives, be used substantivally and combined with a partitive prepositional group *óin di airchinchib assiæ* 'one of the leaders of Asia' Wb 7 b 11), the numerals

from 20 up are substantives governing the g case (as a genitivus generis) In Brit the contrast between the numerals 1—10 and the numerals from 20 up has been obliterated, they may be used adjectivally, and also substantivally followed by a prepositional group equivalent to a genitivus generis W *saith o blant* Br *seiz a vugale* 'seven children', in W they have also plural forms *degau* 'tens' *cannoedd* 'hundreds'

The dual form after '2' came to be regarded as a singular in MnIr , and by anal this singular form occurs after the numerals up to '6', with lenition Arr */t'r'ī wuk/* 'three pigs' Otherwise the non-len plur form is used Arr */t'r'ī k'īń/* 'three head (of cattle, etc)' The development in Brit was different The difference between du and pl is retained in MlW *deu uab* 'two sons', *tri meib* 'three sons' The du form was identical with the sing in -o-stems, but in other stems it was identical with the pl thus MlW *deu ychen* 'two oxen' can be a du which came to be regarded as a pl The result was oscillation between the sg and the pl after 'two' Ultimately the sg form prevailed The regularly derived pl of -o-stems remained after numerals while otherwise extended forms were used as plurals MlW *tri meib* three sons', but *meibon* (MnW *meibion*) sons' But in many instances the internal vowel would not be modified in the pl , thus *dyn* 'man' could also be derived from the old N du or pl So we have W *dau ddyn* 'two men', *tri dyn* 'three men', but *dynion* men' Similarly in -ā-stems W *tair morwyn* 'three maidens', but *morynion* maidens', *naw eglwys* nine churches' (Lat *ecclēsia*), but MlW *eglwysseu, eglwysyd* MnW *eglwysi* 'churches' These forms were ultimately regarded as sg , with the result that it became the rule for all (adjectival) numerals to be followed by the sg form Numerous instances occur in MlW of the regular pl *teir chwioryd* 'three sisters' *pump guraged* 'five women' The old regular pl *dieu* 'days' is still used in *tridiau* (disyll) 'three days', § 298, 1, also *blynedd* 'years' after all numerals (even after *un* 'one' in composite numbers *un mlynedd ar ddeg* 'eleven years') §44 — In Co the sg always occurs *naw alweth* 'nine keys', *cans dauas* '100 sheep', *myl vlythen* 1000 years' — In Br also the sg is used

For the use of the W numerals v Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax, p 61 ff

§ 334. Addition and multiplication in the numeral system (1) The

numbers between the tens are denoted by the addition of units
and tens The unit in Ir stands before the noun, which is followed
by *deec* 'of ten', later *deac* (disyll), *déc*, MnIr *déag* /d'ēg/ 'teen', or
by the g of the higher tens *di mili deec* '12,000', *di huáir deac*
'12 hours', *da derscipul sechtmogat* '72 disciples' Instead of the g
(*fichet* etc). there appears later a construction with *ar* (*ar fichit*),
which predominates in the higher numbers *fiche ar chét* '120',
deich ar dib cétaib '210', *coic mili ochtmugat ar chét* '185 000' Also
ocus 'and' is used MlIr *deich mbliadhna ocus ceithri fichit* '90 years'

    The Brit numbers 11—19 are mostly old cpds of the units
and ten' W *deuddeg* '12', *pymtheg* '15', MnCo *ednack* '11', MlCo
deuthek '12', MnCo *tardhak, trethek* 13', *puzwarthack* '14', MlCo
pymthek '15', MnCo *huettag, whettak* '16', *seitag* '17', *eatag* '18',
nawnzach '19', Br *unnek, daouzek, trizek, pevarzek, pemzek, c'houezek,
seitek* '11—17', MlBr *eizdec* '18', Br *naontek* '19' This system was
formerly more extensive in W as is shown by OW *naunec-* in the
word *naunecant* 'a period of 19 years', and MlW *undec* '11', v
Henry Lewis, BBCS 5 95 A trace of it occurs in MlIr *coicthiges*
fortnight' (from *cóic* 5' + *deich* '10', cf W *pythefnos, pythewnos*
fortnight', '15 nights'') Apart from 12' and '15', the old system
was replaced in W by the construction with the prep *ar un ar
ddeg* 11', *tri (tair) ar ddeg* '13' *pedwar (pedair) ar ddeg* '14 The
noun (sg) follows the unit *un march ar ddeg* '11 horses', or follows
the composite number, in which case it is pl and is preceded by *o*
'of' *un ar ddeg o feirch* After '15' addition is to '15' *un ar bymtheg
16' etc The numeral 18 can also be expressed by multiplication
W *deunaw* 'two × nine' Br *triouec'h* 'three × six' Addition to
20' is expressed by the prep W *ar*, Co Br *war* W *un ar hugain*
etc , Co *dek-warn-ugans sterlyn* thirty sterling', Br *daou zen war-
n-ugent* '22 persons' The Co Br -*n*- may be a relic of an original
construction without the prep , arising first from the numerals 7,
9, 10 which orig ended in -*n*, then spreading by analogy the -*n*-
then being retained after the introduction of *war* **dek n-ugans,
dek war n-ugans* Addition to tens above '20' is expressed by the
conjunction W *a* Co Br *ha* 'and' W *deg a deugain* '50' ("10 and
2×20"), Co *dew ugens blythen ha whe* '46 years', Br *daou ha
tregont* '32'

    (2) Multiplication is expressed by placing the multiplicator
before the multiplicand Ir *tri fichit* 3×20', *di chaicait* '2×50',

trí nói n-immaire 'thrice nine ridges' Thes II 298, *cóic deich cóica*
'five tens are fifty' Sg 4 a 5, OW *tri pimp* 'three fives', MnW *tri phump*, Co *myl vyl* 'million', W *deunaw*, Br *triouec'h* '18'

(3) Counting in twenties is very common OIr *tri fichit fer*
'60 (3 × 20) men' Thes II 242, MIIr *nói fichit* '180', *deich mnaa
7 secht fichit* 150 women' This has resulted in a regular vigesimal
system in MnIr and Sc , the old ten forms 30—90 being obsolete
A similar, but more rapid development is seen in Brit , in this
respect MIW corresponds to MnIr   MIW *dec ar hugeint* 30', OW
douceint MIW *deugeint* '40', MIW *tri vgein, triugeint, trugein* MnW
trigain '60', MnW *pedwar ugain* '80', *saith ugain* '140 , etc to *naw
ugain* '180', '50' is *deg a deugain* and *hanner cant* (half a hundred)
Similarly in Co MnCo *dewthak warn-ygans* '32' MlCo *dei igens*
'40', *try-vgons* '60', etc , and in Br   *daou-ugent* '40' *tri-ugent* '60',
'50' is Co *hanter-cans*, Bi *hanter-kant* (cf MnIr   *leith-chéad*), Br
alone has kept the old ten name *tregont* '30'

§ 335. Ordinals and numeral substantives   (1) The ordinals 1—2
are quite distinct from the cardinals Ir *cét-, cétne*, W *cyntaf* Co
kensa MlBi *quentaf* MnBr *kenta* 'first' (cf § 50) Gaul *cintuxo(s)*
(RC 41 34), Ir *tánaise, tánise* (cf *im-thánad* 'alternation'), MIW
eil MnW *ail* § 371, Co *nessa* § 25, 6, *secund* (English), Br *eil* 'second'
Gaul *alos, allos (ahos)*   Third' Ir *tris-, tres-, tress-* (also indep ,
cf *hé-som triuss* (dat) 'he as a third' Wb 7c 8) < *tristi- *tristo-*,
cf Lat *testis* 'witness' < *tersti-s < *tristi-s*, Osc *trístuamentud*
'testamento', but W *trydydd*, fem *trydedd* Co *trysse, trege* Br *trede*
< *trtijo-*, cf Lat *tertius* Goth *þridja*   Fourth' Ir *cethramad*
(with the derivative *cethramthu* 'quarter g *cethramthan,* pl N
cethramdin) is formed by anal with the ordinals 7—10, Brit has
a deriv in -*ijo-* W *pedwerydd* (also MIW *peduuryrid*), fem *ped-
waredd*, Co *peswere* Bi *pevare*

The ordinals from 5 up had the ending -*eto-*, with the final of
the ordinals 7 and 10, this gave -*m-eto-*, which spread in the derived
languages to other numbers (OIr *cethramad* 'fourth', MnIr *tríomhadh*
'third' *aonmhadh déag* MIW *unvet ar dec* MnW *unfed ar ddeg*
'11 th', W *eilfed ar bymtheg* '17 th' (beside *ail ar bymtheg*), MnBr
trived, fem *teirved* 'third', *pevarved* fem *pederved* 'fourth')   Fifth' Ir
cóiced OW *pimphet* MIW *pymhet* MnW *pumed* Co *pympes* MlBr
pempet MnBr also *pemved* Gaul *pinpetos,* 'sixth' Ir *sessed* MIW
chwechet MnW *chweched* (SW colloq *uechfed*) Co *whefes* Bi

c'houec'hved Gaul *suexos*, 'seventh' Ir *sechtmad* W *seithfed* Co
seythves Br *seizved* Gaul *sextametos*, 'eighth' Ir *ochtmad* W.
wythfed MnCo *eathas* Br *eizved* Gaul *oxtumetos*, 'ninth' Ir *nómad*
W *nawfed* MnCo *nawas* Br *naved* Gaul *naumetos* (RC 41 38).
'tenth' Ir *dechmad* W *degfed* Co *degves* Br *dekved* Gaul *decametos*
(cf ZCP 16, 289), 'fourteenth' MlBr *peuardecuet* MnBr *pevarzek-
ved* Gaul -Lat *petrudecametus*, a similar formation is MlW *undecuet*
'eleventh', cf W *deuddegfed* 'twelfth', v BBCS 5 95 'Thirtieth'
MlBr *tregontuet*, MnBr *tregontved*, 'fiftieth' Ir *cóicetmad*, 'hund-
redth' Ir *cétmad* W *canfed* Br *kantved*, 'thousandth' W *milfed*
Br *milved* Ordinals formed by syntactical combination are mostly
regular, 'twenty-third' Ir *tris fichet* ("third of twenty"), 'forty-
seventh' Ir *sechtmad cethorchat* ("seventh of forty") A similar
formation probably existed in W, as shown by MlW *trydydec*
'thirteenth', v BBCS 5 95, but the prep *ar* came to be inserted
regularly W *trydydd (trydedd) ar ddeg* 'thirteenth' 'Fiftieth'
W *degfed a deugain*, also *hanner canfed* ('half-hundredth') Note
further Ir *cín ar fichit* '21st quire' (cf § 326), Ir *indep aile deac*
'the twelfth', dep *ala rann deac* 'twelfth part' Thes II 13, 29, *indala
descipul sechtmogat* 'the 72nd disciple' (whence MnIr *an dara* 'the
second')

For sandhi rules cf § 233,2, § 231

(2) Designations of a number of persons 1—10 Ir *óinar, dias*
(fem, diayll, D *dits*, Gen *desse*), *triar* (g *triur*), *cethrar, cóicer, seser,
mor-feser* ('great six-number"), *ochtar nóubar, dechenbar (dechnebar)*
— Of things 2 Ir *déde*, 3 *tréde*, 4 *cetharde*, 7 *sechte* (orig
neut adjectives in -*de*, used substantivally) — Of days *trichtaige*
'30 days', *noichtiche* 29 days' (*noichtech* 'containing 29 days', from
nói fichet, with diphthong *oi*) For *cóicthiges* 'fortnight' v § 334,1

XXVI. The Personal Pronouns.

§ 336. The Ir. system The OIr personal pronouns were not used
as subject of a verb, the subject being expressed by the verbal
ending, the pron therefore occurs in the nom when independent
only As object and after preps the pers prons appear in an
unaccented and reduced form, and are either suffixed or infixed
(after the first prefix of a compound verb) The g has a dependent
and an independent form, the former always unaccented

The personal idea expressed by a verbal ending, an infixed or

suffixed pron , or a dependent g pron can be stressed by an enchtic emphasizing pronoun *tíagu* 'I go', *tíagu-ssa*, *am beo* 'I am alive', *am beo sa*, *ro-m-ícc* 'has healed me', *ro-m-ícc-sa*, *do-m* 'to me', *do-m-sa*, *mo chuirmrega* 'my fetters', *mo chuirmrega sa*

> **Note.** That the personal ending of the verb has the force of a subject pron is seen in sentences in which a first subject is added to by means of 'and' *ro-sirius indiu 7 in hath morbrugi Erend* 'I have visited today, and the grey, the chief districts of Ireland LU 8464, *na fetar-su 7 Fergus 7 mathi Ulad* 'do you not know, and Fergus and the nobles of Ulster' LL 73 a 10 If the idea expressed by a personal ending or a pron is added to by means of 'and', this addition is frequently anticipated in the form of the ending or of the pronoun *conráncatar* (3 pl) *7 Dubthach* he and Dubthach met' Thes II 241 5 *darala eturru* (3 pl) *ic imbirt fidchilli 7 Fergus* a quarrel had arisen between him and Fergus at a game of chess' LL 103 b 39 In such cases in MIr after a dative pron (after the conjugated prep *do*) the addition is in the nom case *scíth limm comrac dúib* (2 pl) *7 Cuchulaind* I dislike a fight between you and C ' (lit a fight for you and C ") LU 5628

In MnIr the suffixed and infixed verb objects are obsolete, the orig indep forms appear as object and as subject

§ 337. Olr. paradigms

	1 sing	2 sing	1 plur	2 plur
Nom (indep)	*mé*	*tú*	*snisni sníni*	*sib, sissi si*
			sisni sinni sní	
Nom with augens	*meisse*	*tussu*		
Infixed	-*m*- (len)	-*t*- (len)	-*nn*-	-*b*-
Infixed in rel sentences	-*dom*- (len)	-*dot*- (len)	-*don*-	-*dob*-
Infixed after neg na	-*chim*-(len)	-*chit*- (len)	-*chin*-	-*chib*-
Suffixed	-*m*	-*t*	-*nn*	-*b*
Dependent gen	*mo* (len)	*do* (len)	*ar n*-	*far n*- *for n-bar n*-
Dep gen before vowel	*m*-	*t*-		
Dep gen after preps	-*m* (len)	-*t* (len)		
Independent gen	*mui muisse*	*tái*	*athar ar*	*sethar, sethar-si, sar, fathar* Wi 336, 13
Emphasizing (augens)	*sa se*	*su siu*	*ni* (*sni* Wb 15c 20)	*si*

	3 sing masc	fem	neut	plur
Nom (indep)	hé	sí	hed	hé
Nom with augens	hésom, héside	si ede	hedón (Sg he⟨d⟩ se)	hésidi (Sg hése)
Infixed	-a n-, Nil (echps)	-s n-	-a-, -e-, Nil (len)	-s n-
Infixed in rel sentences	-d n-	-da-	-d- (len)	-da-
Infixed after neg na	-ch n-	-cha-	(-chid-, -did- § 342 n 1)	-cha-
Suffixed with verbs (acc)	-i, -if	-s	-i, -if	-s
Suffixed with preps (acc)	-i	-he	-i	-hu
Suffixed with preps (dat)	-o	-i	-o	-ib
Dependent gen	a (len)	a	a (len)	a n-
Independent gen	ái	ai	ái	ái (æ)
Emphasizing	som sem, sium (and nom side, g sidi)	si (and nom side, acc after verbs sidi)	som (rare), nom side, g sidi(Mllr and-aide 'there'), so, sin, són, ón § 368, 9	som sem, sium (and nom sidi, g side, a m-bésa sa 'their customs' Wb 9b 17)

Note   The form t- thy before vowels can be len to th , but -t- thy after preps is never lenited tussu th venur 'thou alone' Wb 5a 28, do-t-edbartaib to thy sacrifices' Ml 45 b 6, cf § 113   The g 3rd pers in archaic OIr is e in-e chuis in his foot etc Thes II 245   The forms se siu, sem, sium are used after palatal consonants cf § 171

§ 338. **The independent forms.** Nom is mé as apstal geinte 'I am the apostle of the gentiles' Wb 5 b 17, ni mé as beo 'it is not I that am alive' 19 a 18, ni fil nech and acht meisse móinur 'there is no one therein save me alone' 5 a 25, is hé dobeir lóg deit 'it is he that gives thee a reward' 6 a 11 The 3rd pers pron occurs as subject after the copula and after cia 'who is ?' it hé coisnimi inso file lib-si 'these are the contentions that are among you' 7d 13, ce hé ro-scríb 'who it is that has written' Sg 197 a 19 — Possessive

13*

gen   *ıs and nad bí muí na taí* 'there there ıs neıther mıne nor thıne'
LU 10848, *eclaıs dé bí leıc dı an as n-aı* 'the church of the lıvıng
God, leave ıt what ıs ıts' LL 149a 1 (The conjugated forms of the
prep *la* are however more frequently used to express the meanıng
of the possessıve gen   *ní lat ın cách for-sam-mıtter* 'not thıne is
everyone on whom thou passest judgment' Wb 6b 22) — Partıtıve
gen   *cechtar n-ár* 'each of us two' Thes Il 294 2, *cechtar n-athar*
Wb 20c 26, also *cıa n-athar* Anecd 3 27 18

§ 339. OIr *olse, olse-som* 'saıd he' seems to be from *ols-e*, fem
olsı 'saıd she', the pl *olseat-som* 'saıd they ıs formed by addıng
the verbal endıng   Before nouns the form ıs *ol ol ın popul* 'saıd
the people', *ol Pol* 'saıd Paul' The form *ol mé* 'saıd I' occurs ın
LU 4931, elsewhere MIr *olsme* The MnIr pronouns *sé* 'he', *sıad*
'they' owe theır orıgın to some extent probably to *olse, olseat* beıng
analysed as *ol-se, ol-seat* Later OIr *ar ar crıst* saıd Chrıst', MIr
ar, for § 111, also *or*

§ 340. Syntax of the dependent forms (1) Object of a verb *ce*
no-n-molıd ce no-n-aırıd 'whether ye praıse us whether ye blame us'
Wb 16a 1, *berth-ı leıss* 'he wıll bear ıt wıth hım' 23a 19, — reflex-
ıve *connách moıdea nech* 'so that no one may boast (hımself)' 2b 4,
massu ı-ssóırı et ımdıbu móıt-ı nech 'ıf any one boasteth hımself
ın nobılıty and cırcumcısıon' 23d 29 — wıth the passıve (only 1st
and 2nd pers pronouns ınfıxed) *nı-n-ıncébthar* we shall not be
blamed' 15d 27 — The objectıve pron often refers to the actıon
of the verb (a kınd of cognate accus) *bríg ınna persıne do-d-ıcfa*
'the mıght of the Person that wıll so come' (lıt ' that wıll come ıt'')
Wb 29c 4, *bıd sochuıde atrefea ındıut-sıu 7 bıt* (leg *bıd*) *faılıd nach*
óın ad-ıd-trefea many wıll dwell ın thee, and joyful wıll be every
one that shall so dwell' (lıt "that shall dwell ıt'') Ml 107a 15

Note 1 The ınfıxed pron often antıcıpates a followıng object (wıth
ıncorrect gender *nıthucat beos ruln ınd rechto* they do not yet understand
ıt the mystery of the Law Wb 15a 34, *run* ıs fem)

Note 2 Some verbs always contaın a pron *ar a chrınım* I perısh
Sg 145b1, *atbaıl* he dıes', *amal ro n gabus sa* (*ro-n* from *ro n-d-*) as I am
(lıt as I have taken ıt ')

(2) Denotıng the goal after verbs of movıng *do-sn-ıcfa cobır*
'help wıll come to them' Wb 5c 5 (3) As datıve wıth the verb 'to
be to express 'to have' *ro-sm-bıa lóg* 'they shall have (the) reward'
Wb 6a 5 The ıdea 'to have' ıs mostly expressed wıth the help of
the prep *la ataı leu* 'they envy' ("envy wıth them they have envy")

23 b 13 , MnIr expresses 'to have' by means of the prep *ag*, *aig*
(OIr *oc*) *tá airgead aige* 'he has money'   (4) As dat with the verb
'to be' with a substantival adj (more rarely a substantive) as
subject, to express the existence or possession of something *ní-
mp-tha fírion ar-a-chuit-sidi* 'I am not righteous for that' Wb 8 d 24 ,
ni di chorp atóo-sa hóre ni-m-tha laám I am not of the body because
I am not hand' 12 a 21   (5) As dat with the copula and a predicative
adj   *nípa-d n-aidrech a n-durairngert* 'he will not repent of what
he has promised' Wb 5 e 9   But more frequent is the use of the
prep *la   ní-r-bu aithrech lim-sa* I had no regret' 16 b 6   (6) As dat
with transitive verbs   *cichi-b-ro-erad* 'what has happened to you'
("what has been caused to you") Wi III 237 62   But the prep *do*
is more usual   *is hé dobeir lóg deit* it is he that gives thee a reward'
Wb 6 a 11   Cf Thurneysen, KZ 48, 48 ff   (7) The infixed pron
occurs as dat with compared adjectives   *bes-idn-isle* 'who is lower
than he', *bes-da-nesom* 'which is nearest to them', v Thes 11 292
in 1   (8) The dep gen forms are partly subjective, partly objective
genitives   *tri a precept* through his preaching' (i e preaching by
him) Wb 1 b 5   *inn-a precept et inn-a chomalnad* 'in teaching it and
in fulfilling it' 24 d 12   When a subjective gen and an objective
gen depend on the same noun, the former is expressed by means
of the prep *do* or *la   iar n-ar n-etargnu duib* 'after your knowing
us' (' our knowing to you") Wb 15 a 1 , *for serc si lim-sa* 'my love
for you' ("your love with me") 23 a 27   — Anticipatory   *a ainmm
in druadh* his name, the druid's' Wi 129

§ 341. Form of the infixed pronoun. Infixed *-m-* me' is not lenited ,
Ml has *-mm-* between vowels   The regular *-nn-* 'us' is sometimes
written *-n-* before vowels in Wb   Before consonants *-nn-* is shortened
to *-n-* regularly   The nil form of the 3rd sg m and n occurs after
ní 'not'   *ni cheil* 'he conceals it not' Wb 5 b 5 , *mani n-airi* if he
find him not' Ml 30 d 24   — A vowel appears before *-m-*, *-t-*, *-nn-*,
-b- when preceded by a prefix ending in a consonant (after which
an orig vowel has dropped)   *imm-um-forling* 'has caused me'
Wb 13 b 6 , *ar-ob-róinasc* 'I have betrothed you' 17 b 27   This vowel
represents the orig final vowel of the prefix, and its quality varies
greatly   For the infixed pron after prefixes orig ending in a con-
sonant v   § 342, 5   — The medial vowel of the *-ch-* and *-d-* forms (1 and
2 pers) varies, *-i-* occurs in Wb , *-o-*, *-u-* in Wb and Sg , *-a-* in Ml

§ 342   The *-d-* series (1) The *-d-* forms appear in relative sent-

ences in which the rel is subject, further, beside relative *-n-* (§ 193)
and after the rel preverbs (§ 194, also *co n-* 'so that') *in linn no-d-chreitfea* 'they (the number) who shall believe it' Wb 4 d 7, *amal do-n-d-beir* 'as he gives it' 5 c 24, *tresin-dip-piat fochricci* 'through which you shall have rewards' ("rewards shall be to you") 25 d 8, *mod con-id-tuccid* 'in such wise that ye may understand it' 21c 11, *con-did-tuctis* 'so that they might understand it' 21c 21, *ind airm in-did-epiur* the place wherein I say it' 4 b 26

Note 1 The only instances of *-d* forms after the negative *na* in Olr glosses happen to be 3 sg neut *na-did chreti* who does not believe it' Wb 15 b 14, *indi na-chid-chualatar* those who did not hear it 25 d 14 Strachan, Ériu 1 157 quotes an example of 3 sg masc in Hib Min 462 (Rawl B 502) *na-chid-farcaib som* who did not abandon him' (for *na-chid n*) A form without *ch-* after the neg *na* occurs once in Wb *arna m tomnad nammin duine* that he should not suppose me not to be a human being 17 d 23, cf *na-did-* above

Note 2 The 1 and 2 pers pronouns without *-d-* are found in rel sents *is hé no t-ail* it is he that supports you Wb 5 b 28

(2) The *-d*-forms, especially 3 sg m and n , frequently occur after the conjunctions *cia, ma* *cia do-d-rigénsid cosse* 'though you have done it hitherto' Wb 20 d 3, *ma nu-dub-feil* if you are' 19 c 20 Cf § 390, 2, RC 21 412

(3) *nipa-d n-aidrech* § 340, 5, *iss-id n-aithrech* he repents' Ml 90 d 12

(4) After the interrogative particle *in* *duus in-d-aithirset* 'if perchance they may repent it' Wb 30 b 30

(5) After prefixes orig ending in a consonant (*ess-, ad-, frith-, for-, etar-, in-, com-*), *-d*-forms appear also in constructions other than relative *a-t-biur* 'I say it' Wb 9 b 20 (*as-biur* 'I say'), *a-tob-ci side* 'he sees you' 25 a 26 (*ad-cii* 'he sees'), *fri-tum-chomart-sa* 'I have been offended' 33 a 12 (*frith-org-*), *for-t-gillim* 'I attest it', *co etar-dam-dibet-sa* 'so that they may destroy me' Ml 44 c 31, *co a-tom-snassar* 'that I may be grafted in' Wb 5 b 30 (*in-snad-*), *co-tn-imthæ* 'it will accompany him' 12 c 4 (*com-imb- + hag-*) But in this case we always find a /d/ (which only after *ad-* and *frith-* could be a phonologically regular development of /d/)

The same forms appear also in rel sentences *massu thol a-tom-aig* 'if it is desire that drives me' Wb 10 d 26 (*ad-ag-*), etc But in the 3 sg m and n *-idn-, -id-* appear (beside *-tn-, -t-* of non-rel sents) *ass-id-beir* 'who says it' Wb 20 a 10, with rel *-n-* *amal as-*

in-d-biur-sa 'as I say it' 13 a 25, — *for-id-tet* 'who helps him'
Ml 30 c 3, *for-id-gellat* 'who attest it' 116 d 6, — *friss-idn-oirctis*
'who used to injure him' 39 a 20

Note 3 After *auth*- the same forms are used as after *ad* .

§ **343. Pronouns suffixed to verbs** were already rare in OIr , in-
fixed pronouns were generally preferred Verbs with no prefix were
preceded by the prefix *no-* when an infixed pron was required
no-s-nerta 'he encourages them' Wb 10 c 3 Exx of suffixed pron-
ouns MIIr *tath-um* 'I have', *tath-ut* 'thou hast', *tath-us* 'she has',
OIr *taith-iunn* MIIr *tath-und* 'we have' (the verb *tá*- 'is' does not
occur with the ending -*id* except in these forms), *berth-i* 'he bears it'
Wb 23 a 19 (*berid* + pron), *móit-i* 'boasts himself' 23 a 29 (*móidid*
+ pron), *ní na téit do menma su, teit-i menma neich aile* 'what your
mind does not penetrate, the mind of another penetrates it' Wi
97 19, *leics-i huad* 'he let him go (from him)' Ml 52, *saids-i* 'he
fixed it' 55 c 1 (*léicis saidis* + pron), *fil-us* 'there are' Thes II
246, 247, *itius anuas* 7 *du-s-claid anís* 'it (the wild boar) eats it (the
vine) from above and roots it up from below' Ml 102 a 15 (*ithid*)
The -*th*- or -*s*- before the pron is mechanically transferred *foilsigth-i*
'manifests it' Wb 12 a 7 (*foillsigidir*), *snáids-iunn* 'may (he) save
us' Thes II 300 (the -*s*- transferred from -*s*-subjunctives), *boithus*
'they had' Wi 137 8 (*bói* 'was') When the pron -*i* was suffixed
to a 3 pl the personal ending of the verb was repeated after the
pron giving -*tit bertit* they take it' Wb 13 a 16, then by anal ,
1 pl -*mit guidmit* 'we pray it' 15 d 18

§ **344 The conjugated prepositions:** *cen* 'without' *co* 'to', *eter*
between' *fri* 'against', *im* 'about', *la* 'with, by', *amal* like, as', *sech*
past' *tar* 'over, across' *tri* through' (with the accusative), — *ar*
for *fo* under', *for* on' *i n-* 'in' (with accus and dat) — *a* out
of *di* from', *do* 'to', *fiad* 'in presence of', *iar n-* 'after' *ís* 'below',
o 'from', *oc* 'at', *os* 'above', *re n-* 'before' (with dat)

	cen	*co*	*eter*	*fri*
Sing 1		*cuccum*	*etrum*	*frimm, friumm*
2	*cenut*	*cucut*		*frit, friut*
3 m n acc	*cene*	*cuci*	*etir, itir*	*friss*
3 f acc		*cuicce cucae*		*frie*
Plur 1		*cucunn*	*etrunn*	*frinn*
2	*cenuib*	*cucuib*	*etruib*	*frib*
3 acc	*cenaib*	*cuccu*	*etarru*	*friu*

	im	*la*	*amal*	*sech*
Sing 1	*immum*	*lem, limm, lium*	*samlum*	Mllr *sechum*
Sing 2	*immut*	*lat*	Mllr *samlut*	Mllr *sechut*
3 m n acc	*imbi*	*less, leiss, laiss*	*samlid*	*sechœ*
3 f acc	*impe*	*laee, lǽ, lee*		Mllr *secce*
Plur 1	*immunn*	*linn, leinn*		
2	*immib*	*lib*		
3 acc	*impu*	*leu, leo*	*samlaib*	*seccu*

	tar	*tri*	*ar*	*fo*
Sing 1	Mllr *torum*	*trium*	*airium, erum*	
2	*torut*	*triut*	*erut*	
3 m n acc	*tarais*	*trut*	*airi*	*foi*
dat				*fo, fou*
3 f acc	Mllr *tairse*	*tree*		Mllr *foœ*
dat				
Plur 1	*torunn*	*triunn*	*erunn*	
2		*trib*	*airib, eruib* *si airiub*	
3 acc	Mllr *tairsiu*	*treu*	*airsiu* *erriu, erru*	
3 dat				*foib*

	for	*i n-*	*a*	*di*
Sing 1	*form*	*indium*		*diim*
2	*fort*	*indiut*	*essiut*	*diit*
3 m n acc	*foir, fair*	*ind*		
dat		*and*	*ass*	*de*
3 f acc	*forrae*	*inte*		
dat	*fuiri*	*indi*	*essi, esse*	*di*
Plur 1	*fornn*	*indiunn*		*diin*
2	*forib, fuirib*	*indib*		*diib*
3 acc	*forru*	*intiu*		
dat	*forib, foraib*	*indib*	*essib*	*diib*

	do	fiad	is	iar
Sing 1	dom, dam	fiadam	issum	
2	duit, dait,deit, dit			iarmut
3 m n dat	do, dó, dau	Mllr fiada	Mllr issa	iarum
3 f dat	di, dí			
Plur 1	dún			
2	dúib	fiadib		
3 dat	doaib, doib, dóib, doub	fiadib		

	ó	oc	ós	re n-
Sing 1	huaimm	Mllr ocum	uasum	Mllr rium
2	huait	Mllr ocut		remut, Mllr riut
3 m n dat	huad, huaid	occo, occa	Mllr uaso, uasa	riam
3 f dat	huadi	occi, occae	Mllr uaise	remi
Plur 1	hvainn, on-ni, huann	ocunn		Mllr riun, remunn
2	huaib	Mllr occaib		
3 dat	huadib	occaib	osib	remib

Note Similar formations are *dess-um* on my right', *tuath um* 'on my left   The 1 sg *-m* was generally non len , len *-m* occurs in MnIr only in *damh* (also *dam*) So *dhomh* (also *dhom*) MnIr *dou* 'to me — The final cons of the 1 sg , 2 sg , 1 pl was generally non-palatal and rounded, but occasionally palatal, MnIr has *diom, diot, dinn* from me, thee, us', *liom linn* with me, us For *uaidib, uadaib* v Pokorny, ZCP 11 12

§ **345. Emphasizing pronouns.** The pron *side (sede)*, which alone is declinable, has various forms The form *ede* follows the independent pron *si* 'she' After leniting words the form *ide* occurs *a n-íuc ide* 'their salvation' Wb 4c 39 , *for-a lam-ide* 'beside him, her' ("on his, her, hand") LL 56 b 28,47 (but *for-a láim sidi* LU 4620, 4624) The very lightly accented form *ade* follows leniting and non-leniting words *a serc ade* 'their love' ('to love them') Wb 15c 10 , *a n-esséirge ade* 'their resurrection' 25 b 21 , *a bés ade* 'his custom' 24 a 17 , also g masc *adi a eregem adi* 'his complaint' Ml 35 a 20   From *ade, adi* come *de, di as-n du christ rocét de* 'that it (*faissine* 'prophecy' f) was sung of Christ' Ml 25 b 6 , *ni-s-rothechtusa* (= *-us-sa*) *di* 'I had them not' 44 b 10—11

§ 346   (1) 'Self' in Ir (cf Asp 1 Irsk, 93 f) was expressed by a word consisting of a form of the verb 'to be' (*f-*, *fad-*) or *cia*, *cid* 'although' (reduced to *c-*, *cad-*) + a personal pron as predicate + a demonstrative as subject   There have however been many modifications and readjustments   The forms which occur are as follows (the component parts being hyphenated in those cases where the composition is etymologically regular)   sg 1 *féin*, *fadéin*, *céin* *cadéin*, 2 *féin*, *fadéin*, 3 m *fad-e-sin*, *f-e-ssin* *f-e-in*, *cad-e-ssin*, *c-e-sin*, 3 f *fad-i-sin*, *f-i-ssin* (Ml 131c 3), *fesine*, *féisne*, plur 1 *fa-ni-sin*, *ca-ni-sin*, *fesine*, 2 *fad-i-sin* (with analogical lenition of *s-* of *si* 'you' to *h* > nil, instead of to *f* > *b*), *féisne*, *fadéisne*, 3 *fad-e-sin* *fad-e-sine* *fad-é-sne*, *f-e-sin* *f-e-sine* *f-ei-ssne*, *cad-é-sin*, *cad-e-sin* *cad-e-sne* — In MnIr the form for all persons is *féin*

(2) A predicative addition to the subject or some other element of a preceding sentence is introduced in Ir through a pers pron preceded by *os*, *as*, *is* (cf Lat *et quidem*) *ba mór a mélacht lea techt coin fer in imdaí, ossi alacht* 'she was much ashamed to go to the man into the bed, she being pregnant' LU 10609, *inuenti sumus et ipsi peccatores i osni credentes in christo* 'we being (though being) believers in Christ' Wb 19 a 15, *quae domus sumus nos isnini firiónaib* 'we are that house, we being (if we are) righteous' 33 a 7   This *os* is from *ocus* 'and' § 114,2   Restored MnIr *agus mé*, archaic li *sí-ch* = *os sí* (-*ch* Lat *que* Gk τε   Thurneysen, ZCP 18 103²)   But some confusion with the forms mentioned under (1) has arisen   Before the 3 pl pron a pseudo-plur form is used   *ot-he* Ml 130 a 3, *ot-é* Sg 77 a 8, *at-é* LL 72 b 28, *it-é* 248 a 17   Cf the writing *is*   On the other hand we find *os* in groups clearly related to (1)   *cid os-tu* gl ipse Ml 43 a 18 (cf *cithisse* [Wb] 22 a 7), and groups without *cid* are used gl ipse (*os-tú* Ml 47 b 12, 57c 10 127c 21, *os-me* 103 b 1   Wb 11 a 14), but all these examples are disconnected glosses, and we have no instances of *os-tú os-mé*, meaning 'self' in coherent sentences

Cf the examples in VKG § 179, 2 and Mícheál OBriain ZCP 14 311 ff , Thurneysen, ZCP 16 275 f , Tomás OMáille, Ériu 6 82, Myles Dillon, ZCP 16 353 f

§ 347   The MIIr. and MnIr. development of the system   (Cf Strachan, Ériu 1 153—179)   The most important modifications only are noted here   The infixed pronouns greatly lost their significance   The 1 and 2 pers -*d*- forms disappeared , the 3 pers

-s- form spread, being used as masc and occurring in relative
sentences, also a form -das- arose, -ar-, -bar- occur beside -nn- and
-b- as accusatives The independent forms appear already in LU
and LL as object (placed at the end of the sentence) *in lá thúcus-sa
thú* the day I took you' LL 53 b 16, *ro-buadir in rograd hí* the great
love perplexed her' LU 3923 With the same word order, the indep
forms appear as subject of the copula *ba gabalta i cumail é* 'it was
equal in value to a bondmaid' LL 54 a 41 For OIr *hé* appear sing
se plur *siat*

These MlIr tendencies developed fully in MnIr The infixed
and post-verbal suffixed prons disappeared entirely (the old form
-*mit* § 343 became the usual MnIr 1 pl ending of the verb -*míd*,
-*maid*) The indep pronouns *thú, é, í iad* 'thou, he, she, they',
separated from the verb, function as subj of the copula and as
object, the forms *tú, sé, sí iad* immediately following the verb
function as subject similarly 1 pl *inn, sinn*, 2 pl *ibh sibh* occas-
ionally

§ 348 **The personal pronouns in British** The main lines of devel-
opment were similar to those in Ir , but the Brit system is in a
more advanced stage and so differs in many points from the Ir
The difference between the independent and the dependent forms
is not so sharp as in OIr Enclitic forms in Brit correspond in
function to the emphasizing pronouns (augentia) in Ir , and they
are also used where infixed and post-verbal suffixed forms were
(more freely) used in OIr With the imperative the object is always
expressed by an enclitic form in W and Co (Vendryes RC 32 480,
is wrong in saying that the infixed form is used in W In the exx
quoted by him the verb is not ipv but 3 sg pres indic) For obj
with ipv in Br v § 354 n

The infixed prons are combined with the verb to be' in Co
and Br to express to have' cf § 340,3 (Ir) Traces of the same
construction appear in W (§ 349 n p 207)

Peculiar to W is the conjunctive" class in -*eu* These forms
are independent and also dependent (enclitic), and mean '(I,
thou) also on the other hand' Corresponding forms occur in
Co in the 3 pers , enclitic only

For 'self' in Brit v § 326

§ 349 **W. paradigms** (with MnW literary forms in [brackets]
when they differ from MlW forms)

		1 sg	2 sg	1 pl	2 pl
		mi	*ti*	*ni*	*chwi*
Independent	Simple				
	Reduplicated	*myvi, myvy mivi [myfi]*	*tydi, tidi [tydi]*	*nini [nyni]*	*chwichwi, chu-chwi [chwychwi]*
	Conjunctive	*mynheu, minheu. minneu [minnau]*	*titheu [tithau]*	*ninheu, ninneu [ninnau]*	*chwitheu [chwi-thau]*
Enclitic	Simple	OW *mi*, MIW *ii, iy e i, vy di, dy, de, te [ti, di]* [*fi, i*]	*dydi, dydy [dydi] di]*		as above
	Reduplicated	*iyvi ivvi [fyfi]*			
	Conjunctive	*inneu, intheu, ynnvu ynheu ditheu [dithau] [tinnau, innau]*			
Infixed		-*m*- (sandhi -*h*)	-*th*- (len)	-*n*-	-*ch*-
Suffixed		-*f*	-*d*, -*t* [-*l*]	[-*m*, *n*(*i*.)	-*ch*
Dependent gen (prefixed)		OW *mi*, MIW *my vy* [*fy*] *dy* (len) (eclipsis)	*an, yn* [*ein*] (sandhi -*h*)	*auch ych* [*ech*]
Dep gen after prep or conj		-*m* (sandhi -*h*)	-*th* (len)	-*n* (sandhi -*h*)	-*ch*
Independent gen		*mev [eiddof]*	*teu [eiddot]*	*einym, einom [eiddom]*	*einwch, einywch [eiddoch]*

	3 sg masc	3 sg fem	3 pl
Independent { Simple	OW *em*, MIW *ef*	*hi*	(*h*)*wy*, (*h*)*wynt* [*hwy*, *hwynt*]
Reduplicated	*efo* [*efo efe*]	*hihi* [*hyhi*]	(*h*)*wyntwy* [*hwynt-hwy*]
Conjunctive	OW *yntou* MIW *ynteu* [*yntau*]	OW *hithou* MIW *hitheu* [*hithau*]	(*h*)*wyntou* (*h*)*wynteu* [*hwythau*]
Infixed	-*e*-, nl (sandhi-*h*), -*s*- [-*s*-, -*s*-]	-*e*-, nl (sandhi-*h*), -*s*- [-*s*- -*s*-]	-*e*-, nl (sandhi-*h*), -*s*- [-*u*-, -*s*-]
Infixed in relative sentences	(MIW only) -*wy*-, -*yu*- (sandhi-*h*)	(MIW. only) -*wy*-, -*yu*- (sandhi-*h*)	(MIW only) -*wy*-, -*yu*- (sandhi-*h*)
Suffixed	-*au*, -*daw* [-*o*, -*ddo*]	-*ei* -*i* -*di* [-*i* -*ddi*]	-*ud* (/-*d*/), -*u*, -*unt*, -*dud*, -*du*, -*dunt* [-*ynt*, -*ddynt*]
Dependent genitive (pref-ixed)	*y* [*ei*] (*leu*)	*y* [*ei*] (sandhi-*h* ~*pu*)	OW *ou* MIW *y eu* [*eu*] (sandhi-*h*)
Dep gen after prep or conjunction	-*e*, -*u* [-*i*, -*u*] (*len*)	-*e* -*w* [-*i*, -*u*] (sandhi-*h*, ~*pu*)	-*e*, -*w* [-*u* -*u*] (sandhi-*h*)
Independent genitive	*eidau* (-*d*-) [*eiddo*]	*eidi* (-*d*-) [*eiddi*]	*eidunt* (/-*d*-/) [*eiddynt*]

Note The indep forms are used very much like the Ir indep nom
They also follow uninflected prepositions For detailed accounts of the use
of the pronouns and examples v Morris-Jones, WG 270ff, EWG 84ff,
Welsh Syntax 78ff, Strachan, Introd 32ff 40ff — For the simple forms
as affirmative particles, v § 240 n 1 Composite forms (partly redupl,
partly conjunct) 3 sg f *hy hitheu* WM 104 22, 2 pl *hwchwitheu* RC 33
232 11, cf colloq *fynte* from *efyntau* he (also) -- The simple and
conjunctive enclitic forms may be substantive or auxiliary The 1 sg *i*
is auxiliary only *gwelais i* I saw *deuthum i* I came *i m lle i* in my place',
fi is substantive (accus) *gwelodd fi* he saw me', but is also auxiliary when
the verb or prep ends in *f* *ny allaf ui* WM 21, 6, *yd af ui* 72 21, *o faraf
umheu* if I cause 105 6, *dywedaf ui* Dingestow Brut 195, *ragof ui ynof ui*
180, 256 The form *i* (*inheu*) is very common also after both verbs and
preps in *f* and in MnW both *fi* and *i* are used as auxiliary forms OW
mi is auxiliary in Juv *pucsaun mi* I should desire, v BBCS 6 206 218

  Infixed forms occur after the verbal particles *a y*, *neu* and the negatives
ni na after the conjunctions *o if*, *yny* MnW *oni* unless *yny* MnW
(hyd) oni until MnW *pe* (for MIW *pei pei y*) if *tra* while' after the
rel *a* After the conjunctions *pan* when (cl § 351 n § 354 n) MIW *kyt*
although, MIW *kan* since the non vocalic prons assume syllabic forms
(cf § 341) 1 sg MIW *am im kan am coffawys* since he has remembered
me LIH 45 4, *kid im guneit* (though thou makest me', *pan im roted* when it
was given me BBC 23 4 12 2 sg MIW *ath ket ath ro* though there be
to thee RP 1150 12, 3 sg MIW *as kyt as porthwyf* though I bear it
1425 36 Similar forms occur in MIW poetry after the particles *yd, yt*
(/ǝd/) *yt ym dogned* that it has been allotted me LIH 130 9, *yt ym gwelynt*
that they could see me LIH 130 9 121 26 *yd yth geissaf* that I shall seek
thee 223 16 *yt yn kynyd* that he will raise us 253 26 Also after *ha*
while *tra yn donnwy dim* while God may grant me 31 26 In MIW
poetry infixing is found after the preverb *ry* and also after the prefixes *dy*
er gor hand-, *cyf ry m goruc* has made me (later e g *y-th ry-gereis*
I have loved thee) *dy m-kyueirch* greets me *er y'th gwynant* they will
lament thee, *gor yth yolaf* (MS *goreythoylaf*) I praise thee *hand yth-
magwyd* thou hast been reared *kyu ym goluch* praises me LIH 30 15,
171 14 225 29, 208 19, 20 9 The infixed 3 pers forms *uy* -*yu*-
occur in rel sentences after the neg and *ry* only in poetry *ir neb ni y keis*
to anyone who seeks it not BBC 86 13, *nyd kertawr nyu moluy* there is
no minstrel who may not praise him' LIH 156 8 *vy runyf ruy guim* my lord
who will do it RP 1174 25 These forms also occur in non rel sentences
Cf Loth, RC 31 31 35, Morris-Jones, WG 278f The more usual forms
are -*s* after the negative the particles *neu ry*, the conj *o if*, *ony* MnW
oni if not *pei y* MnW *pe* if -*e* (MnW sg *i* pl -*u*) after *a tra*, the vocalic
form also followed the particle *y* with which it contracted *llyma yr wed y
keffy* 'this is the way in which thou shalt have it After *pan* the infixed pron
is MIW *y pan y gwelas* when he saw him' in MnW sg *y i*, pl *y u* are
written, due to the syllabic forms of the 1 and 2 being wrongly analysed
as *y m y th* etc also *ei eu* are written after *pan* The infixed prons are

accus , also sometimes dat   *a-n gunel iechid* 'may (he) make salvation for us' BBC 40 9, *dy-m ryt* 'gives me' LIH 280 9   As dat they are found with the verb 'to be' expressing 'to have'   *vn tat a-e bu* they had the same father', *ac awch bi wynnyeith* 'and you shall have punishment BT 12 20 (*awch* = the particle *a* + *-ch*-), this construction disappeared in favour of prepositional forms MnW *y mae imi*, more frequently *y mae gennyf* 'I have', etc   — Cf Rhys, RC 6 50ff , Strachan, Ériu 3 28, Loth, RC 31 24, 321f , Morris-Jones, WG 278f , Henry Lewis, HGCref 170

The g forms *-m, -th* in MIW occur only after *a* and', *a* with' (MnW *â*) and its compounds, *na* nor', *no* (MnW *na*) than , *i* 'to', *o* from'   In all other positions *vy* (MnW *fy*), *dy* were used   This rule was breaking down in literature already in the 17th cent , prefixed forms being used after the above words   *o 'nghalon* 'from my heart , *âf' enaid* 'with my soul', the infixed forms after other words   *neu' th ewyllys* 'or thy will , *wedi 'th ddarparu* 'after thy being prepared', *neu 'm tyb* or my opinion   This later usage spread apace, but the present day tendency in literature is to restore the old rule In spoken W the forms *-m*, *th* very rarely occur — 3 pers *-u* occurs only after MIW *y* 'to (occasionally) MnW *i* 'to' (regularly)   MIW *yu* is by metathesis for *wy* (*wy thad* to her father'), from *o-e* (*o-e gwlatoed* 'to their countries'), a very early contraction of the prep **(d)o* (Ir *do*) with the pron v Ifor Williams, Cyf Lludd a Llevelys, 20   More frequently in MIW occurs *y* 'to his, etc '   a contraction of *y* to' (Ir *do*) with the pron *y* *y gyuoeth ac y wlat* to his dominion and to his country , *y cheissaw* (in order) to seek her', cf OW *dy thir hac di dair* to its territory and to its land   MIW *y y* to his, etc ' also gave *ydy* (/-d /) and *yw y*, v Henry Lewis, ChSD 35ff Thomas Jones, BBCS 8 17ff   The MnW literary form is *i'w*, in the dialects *î* and (SW) *iddi*   The MnW written forms *ei, ein eich* are in spoken W always pronounced /i/ /ən/, /əch/

Indep gen   *meu gyuanned* my abode' RP 1208,12, *mawr fraw fu'r mau* 'a great fright was mine Cyw D ap G 88 11, *y meu i* mine', *yr einym ours' , *y petheu einym* our things , *dy ynnadrawd teu* 'thy saying'   Cf Strachan, Introd 41 , Morris Jones, WG 282f , Welsh Syntax 86ff

§ 350. The conjugated prepositions in MIW. There are three con-jugations, distinguished by the vowel preceding the suffixed pron -*a*-, -*o*-, -*y*- the conjug of *i* is irregular

		ar 'on'	*rac* 'before'	*gan* 'with'	*y* 'to'
Sg	1	*arnaf*	*ragof*	*genhyf,gennyf*	*ym, im*
	2	*arnat*	*ragot*	*genhyt, gennyt*	*ytt, itt*
	3 m *arnau*		OW *racdam,* MIW *racdaw*	*gantaw,* *ganthaw*	*idaw, itaut* BBC 14 5 (*t* = /*d*/)
	t *arnei, erni, arni*		*racdi, recdi*	*genti, genthi*	*idi* OW *didi*

		ar 'on'	*rac* 'before'	*gan* 'with'	*y* 'to'
Pl	1	*arnam, arnan*	*ragom*	*genhym, genn-ym, genhyn gennyn*	*ynn, ın*
	2	*arnawch*	*ragoch*	*genhwch gennwch*	*ywch, ıwch*
	3	*arnadud(/-d-d/), arnadunt, arnu, arnunt, arnun*	*racdut (t = d/), racdu, racdunt*	*gantud, gantu gantunt, ganthud, ganthu, ganthunt*	*udud, udu udunt*

Like *ar am* around, about (stem *amdan- ymdan-*, 3 sg. f *amdaneı ymdenı* OW *amtanndı* 1 pl *amdanam, amdanan*, 3 pl *ymdanadud ymdanadunt, ymdanunt amdanwynt*), *at* 'to' (3 sg f *atteı, ettı*, 1 pl *attam, attan attom* 2 pl *attawch, attoch* 3 pl *attadunt, attunt*), *o* from of' (stem *ohon-, ohan-* 1 sg *-af -of*, 2 sg *-at, -ot -awt*, 3 sg f *ohoneı ohaneı ohenı*, 3 pl *onadu(nt), ohonu(nt)*, cf sg 1 *honaf* LlH 66 4, sg 3 m OW *hanaud*, cf BBCS 3 258), *tan, dan* 'under' (usually prec by *a* oı *y* 1 pl *y danan*, 3 pl *adanunt adanadunt*) — Like *rac heb* without' *rwng, yrwng* 'between' (*y-rof, y-rot, y-rynghot, y-rydau y-ryngthaw, y-ryngtaw, y-rydı, y-ryngthı, y-ryngtı y-rom y-rynghom y-roch, y-rydunt e-regthut y-ryngthunt y-ryngtunt*, OW *ıgrıdu (/ənrədy/)* also with *cyf-* 2 pl *kyfryngoch*, 3 pl *kyfryngthut*), *tros, dros* over' (3 sg m *trostaw* f *trostı*, 3 pl *trostut (,d/), trostunt*), *trwy, druy* 'through' (1 sg *truydof*, 2 sg *truydot drwot*, 3 pl *drwydunt*), *yn* 'ın', *yr* MnW *er*, 'for' (*yrof, yrot, yrdaw* etc), also *uch* 'above' (only 3 sg m *uchtaw*, f *uchtı*, 1 pl *uchom*), and *ıs* 'below' (only 3 sg m *ıstaw*, f *ıstı*) — Like *gan wrth* 'by, to' (2 pl *wrthy(u)ch*, 3 pl *wrthu(nt)*) — Cf *nogyd* RP 1040 31, *noc yd* BT 53 24 /*nogyd* 'than they'

Note 1 The prep *gan* ıs also found as *kan*, fully conjugated In MnW *gan* alone occurs but after *a* and the spırant mutation ıs often found *a chan, a chennyf* ı tc — The MnW (present day) conjugatıons 3 sg m *-o*, f ı (with prec *a* unmodıfıed *arnı, rhagddı* etc), 3 pl *-ynt* (with *-y-* by anal with verbal forms, *arnynt*, etc), 1 pl of the fırst conjugatıon (*ar* etc), *-om, o* ıs conjugated *ohon-of, -ot, o, -ı, -om, -och, -ynt, rhwng rhyng of, -ot, -ddo, -ddı -om, och, -ddynt, gan* 3 sg *gan dao, -ddı*, 2 pl *gennych*, 3 pl *ganddynt urth* 2 pl *wrthych*, ı *ım, ımı ı mı, ıt ıtı ı tı, ıddo, ıddı, ın, ınnı ı nı, ıchuı ı chuı, ıddynt*

Note 2 Some of these preps have derivative adverbs *truw* Lib Land 196 14 (*trio* 123 1), *trusso* 258 17 'over (to), across (to)' (these forms cannot be 3 sg , for as personal forms they could only refer in the context to river names, which are fem), later, MIW and MnW *drwodd*, MnW *drosodd*, MnW *danodd* underneath , *oddi arnodd* 'over , — MIW *racko*, *raccw* yonder MnW *acw*, SW dial *(o)co*, — MIW *heibyaw* past', MnW *heibio*

§ 351 Co Paradigms.

	1 sg	2 sg	1 pl	2 pl
Independent	*my, me*	*ty, te*	*ny*	*why, wy*
Enclitic simple	*-vy -ma* *-e, -a*	*-te, -ta* (after *-th* and *-s*), *-se, -sa, -sy,* *-ge -gy*	*ny*	*why, wy*
Enclitic reduplicated	*-ma ry, -e vy, -a ve avy, ery*	*-te se, -te sy, -te qey, -te gy, -ta gy, -the sy, -the gy, -ge gy*	*ny ny*	*-why* *why*
Infixed	*-m-*	*-th-, -d-, nil* (len , prov , § 238, § 215, 2, 3)	*-n-*	*-s-, -qas-,* *-ges-,* *-gis-,* *-gys-*
Suffixed	*-f, -ff*	*-s*	*-n*	*-ugh*
Dependent genitive	*ow, oi*	*the, de'* (len)	*an, agan, agen*	*us, agas, ages, agis*
Dep gen after prep or conjunction	*-m*	*-th, -t, -d* (len , prov)	*-n, -gan, -gen*	*-gas, -ges, -gys*

	3 sg masc	3 sg fem	3 pl
Independent	*ef, eff*	*hy, hyhy*	*i, y*
Enclitic simple	*-e, -a, ef, eff*	*-y, hy*	*-y*
Enclitic reduplicated	*-e ef, -(e) ve,* *-(e)va, -eue ef*	*-y hy*	
Enclitic conjunctive	*-ense*	*-ensy*	*-ensy, -engy*
Infixed	*-n-*	*-s-*	*-s-*
Suffixed	*-tho* (*th* = /d/)	*-thy* (*th* = /d/)	*-the* (*th* = /d/)
Dependent genitive	*i, y* (len)	*i, y, hy* (spirant)	*aga, age* (spirant)
Dep gen after prep or conjunction	*-y* (len)	*-y* (spirant)	*-ga* (spirant)

Note. The enclitic forms are generally amalgamated with the verb or the preposition They may be substantive *dro-v e* bring it *trogh-y hy* kill her , but are mostly auxiliary *a wylys vy* which I saw', *pe n dra wra-ma* 'what shall I do' (*guraf* I shall do') *gena ma* with me' (*genef* with me'), *ny el teqy* 'thou canst not' (*gyllyth* thou canst) The conjunctive forms occur only after *ott* *wott-*, *att* lo *ott ense* behold him Cf VKG II 161, Henry Lewis Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol, 26 ff — Infixing occurs after the verbal particles *a* *y* the proverb the negatives, the rel *a* *ty m-m qruk* thou hast made me , *neb a m gruk vy* the one who made me , *bernans vyet* *a feth* thou shalt have a royal life (*a feth* < **a th reth*) The 3rd sg m has the syllabic form *-yn-* after *pan* *pan yn guellons* when they see it PC 3048 (cf § 349 n) — The dep g 1 and 2 sg forms *m*, *th* etc occur only after *ha* and , *a* of , *the* to' *y* in' *yn mes a m coy ha m whchter* out of my joy and my delight , *preder a d enef* think of thy soul *the th ly ha thy th kynyow* for thy breakfast and for thy dinner *der the ingynnys ha th hus* 'through thy tricks and thy magic Beun Mer 3376 *y th ober* in thy deed , *y m colon* in my heart

§ 352 The verb 'to have' in Co This consists of the infixed dat pron and the verb 'to be'

Pres. Sg 1 *am bes (bus bues)* *nym bus* etc 2 *mai thes (th ues)* if thou hast', *na thues* that thou hast not' 3 m *an gefes (ieves)* he has', *nyn jeves (geuas)* he has not' (-q- -j- — -s̨) pl 2 *as bues*, *agas bus* — **Ipf** sg 1 *am bo*, 3 m *an geio* neg *nan gefo*, pl 1 *ny gen bo* 'we had not' — **Fut** sg 1 *am byth* neg *nym byth* 2 *a fyth*, *y feth*, neg *ny fyth (feth)* 3 m *an geuyth*, *yn geryth* neg *nyn geryth* 3 f neg *nys teryth* pl 1 neg *ny an (gen agan) byth (beth)* 2 *as (agas, agis) byth*, *es (ys) byth* neg *ny gys byth*, 3 *as tevyt* neg *nys teryth*   **Subjunctive Pres** sg 1 *ym (rom)* bo neg *nam bo*, 2 *yth (reth) fo* a *retho*, neg *na (nath) fo*, 3 m *an (yn, ren) geffo* man *teffo* 'if he have', pl 1 *ma-gan bo* 'if we may have' neg *ny gen bo* 2 *gas (res re ges, ragas) bo*, 3 *as (res) teffo*, *mays teffo* 'if they may have' — **Subj. Ipf** sg 1 *am be (bethe)* 3 m *an geffe (gyffe, geffa)* pl 1 neg *na-gyn-ve* — **Pret** sg 1 *am be* *am (rum) bue*, 2 *re fue* 3 m *an (yn) geve an geva* neg *nyn geve (gefe)* 3 f neg *nys teve (teva)*, pl 1 neg *ny gen bue*, **3** pl neg *nys teve* — **Plpf** sg 2 neg *ny vea* 3 m neg *nyn gyfye*, pl 2 neg *nys rye*

The respective forms of the verb 'to be are *us os o*, *byth*, *bo (betho)*, *be*, *bue be*, *bye*, *b* has been prefixed to *us* and *o* by anal The infixed pron is preceded by various particles The combination dat pron + verb 'to be' came to be felt as a transitive form I have' etc , and was preceded by the corresponding indep pron Thus beside *gallos a-m bues* 'power to me is' I have power' are

found forms like *why a-s byth ancow* "you to you will be death"
'you will have death, will die' (for the more correct *ancow a-s byth*
"death to you will be") Further, the combination used as a
transitive form assumed personal endings (corresponding to the
infixed pron) Thus beside *an ken a-gas bus* 'the cause which to
you is' the cause which you have' we find *an tekter a-s bethengh
why* ' the beauty which to you you will be" 'the beauty which you
will have (for *a-s beth*) Other exx fut pl 1 *ny-gyn bethen* (for
ny-gyn beth) subj pres pl 1 *na-n beyn* that we may not have'
(for *na-n bo*), 3 neg *ny-s tufons* (for *ny-s teffo*), subj ipf sg 1 *a-m
been* (for *a-m be*), *ma-m rethen* so that I might have' (for *ma-m
bethe*), pret sg 1 *a-m buef, na-m buef* 'that I did not have' (for
-m bue) 2 *a fus* which you had' (for *a fue < *a-th vue*), plpf sg
2 neg *ny fyes* (for *ny fye < *ny-th i ye*) pl 1 neg *ny-gen byen*
(for *ny-gen bye*) The verb-noun used is *caffos*

§ 353   The conjugated prepositions in Co

		war on'	*rag, rak* 'for	*gans* 'with'	*the, thy* 'to'
Sg	1	*warnaf*	*ragof*	*genef (-af -e)*, *gyne (f)*	*thym(mo)*, *dym(mo)*
	2	*warnas (-es, -os)*	*ragos*	*genes (-as)*, *gynes*	*thys(o) dys(o)*
	3 m	*warnotho*	*ragtho*	*ganso*	*thotho dotho, thy, dy*
	f	*warnethy (-ythy)*	*rygthy*	*gensy, gynsy*	*thethy, thythy dethy*
Pl	1	*warnan (-en)*	*ragon*	*genen, gynen*	*thyn(ny), dyn(ny)*
	2	*warnough (-ogh)*	*ragough*	*geneugh (-ough, -ogh)*	*theugh though deugh* etc
	3	*warnethe*	*ragthe*	*ganse*	*thethe, dethe*

Like *war a* of (sg 1 *ahanaf*, 2 *ahanas, -es*, 3 m *anotho*, f
anethy, pl 3 *anethe*) Like *rag dre* through' (sg 1 *dreth-of* 2 *-os*,
3 m *-o*, f *-y*, pl 1 *-on*, etc), *dres* over' (3 sg m *dresto*), *heb*
without' (sg 1 *heboff*, pl 2 *hebogh*), *ryb* 'beside' (pl 1 *rybon, rebon*),
yn 'in' (sg 1 *ynnof*, 3 m *ynno*, f *ynny*, pl 3 *ynne*), *yntre* 'between'
(sg 3 m *yntreth-o*, pl 1 *-on*, 2 *-ough, ynterthogh*, 3 *yntrethe*), *a ugh*
'above' (pl 1 *a vghon* OM 1861), also *ages, es* 'than', after comparat-
ives (sg 2 *agesos*, 3 m *agesso*, pl 2 *agesough, esough*) Like *gans*

worth 'by' (sg 1 *worthyf orthyf*, 2 *worthys orthys*, 3 m *worto orto*, f *worty orty*, pl 1 *worthyn orthyn*, 2 *wortheugh ortheugh worthough*, 3 *worte orta*)

In MnCo the 3 pl has been remodelled by anal with the verb *warnothans, unothans, dothans* ('to them')

§ 354   MlBr. paradigms.

	1 sg	2 sg	1 pl	2 pl
Indep	*me*	*te*	*ni, ny*	*hui, huy*, MnBr *c houi*
Enclitic	*-me*	*-de*	*-ni*	*-huy, -hu, -uy, -u*
Infixed	*-m-* (spir *k-* and *t-*)	*-z-* (len , prov , §238,§216)	*-n- -on- -hon-* (spir *k-*)	*-oz- -(h)ouz- -ho(z)* (MnBr *-ho- -hoc'h-* prov , §216,4)
Suffixed	*-ff*	*-t*	*-mp*	*-ch*, MnBr *-c'h*
Dep gen	*ma, va* (spir , V *me* eclipsis § 197)	*da* (len)	*on, hon* MnBr *hon hoi, hol* (spir *k-*)	*oz, ouz, hoz, houz, ho* (MnBr *ho, hoc h* prov § 216 4)
Dep gen after prep and conj	*-m* (spir *k-* and *t-*)	*-z* ([len] prov)	*-n, -on* (spir *k-*)	*-oz -ouz* (prov)

	3 sg masc	3 sg fem	3 pl
Indep and encl	*eff*, MnBr *heñ*	*hi hy*	*y*, MnBr *hi, hint*
Infixed	*-en-, -hen-* (MnBr *-hen-, -her-, -hel-,* spir *k-*)	*-he-* (spir)	*-ho-* (spir)
Suffixed	*-(h)aff* (MnBr *-hañ), -zaff*	*-(h)i, -zi*	*-(h)e, -(h)o, -ze, -zo*
Dep gen	*c* (len)	*he* (spir)	*ho* (spir)
Dep gen after prep and conj	*-c* (len)	*-e* (spir)	*-o* (spir)

Note The enclitic forms may be substantive (only after the ipv) *cret ef* 'believe him , *leset hy* leave it (fem referring to *kaer* city), *list y* let them' Jés 74, 21, 73 , but are generally auxiliary (after verbs or conjug prepositions) *deoch huy* 'to you', *maz caremp ny* that we may love — Infixing occurs after the verb particles *a, e*, the preverb *ra*, the negatives and the rel MlBr *doe ra-m pardono* God forgive me', *me a-z guel* 'I see thee' The syllabic form *-em-* occurs after *pan pan em ganat* when I was

born' Mir Mort 447 (cf § 349 n)   The particles *a*, *e* are dropped before
syllabic forms *ef on care* he loved us   Before the ipv a prefixed pron is
used *hon sicour* help us , the identity in form with the g in the 1 and
2 pl led to the g form being used in the 1 and 2 sg   *ma sicour* help me ,
da em tenn 'withdraw (thyself)', *da em lam* deliver thyself' (cf 2 pl *hoz em
lemet*) The forms of the 3 pers followed the ipv *quemeret ef* 'prenez-le' In
MnBr the rule is the same (enclitic forms of the 3 pers only), v Vallée 91 f ,
in Vannes, enclitic 1 sg also, Guillevic & Le Goff, 76 - The dep g *-m*,
-z occur in MlBr only after a of, from' *da* 'to', *e* 'in', *ha* and , *na* 'nor'
ha-n curun flam a-m pen e m clem eff he tennas and the brilliant crown from
my head, in (spite of) my complaint he has pulled it' Mir Mort 281 , *da-z
map* to thy son , *ma map ha m tat ha m croeadur* 'my son and my father
and my child', *da merch ha-z map* thy daughter and thy son , *na me na-m
deffuet* neither I nor my sheep   But many instances of *ha ma* 'and my',
ha da 'and thy* occur already in MlBr In MnBr *-m, -z* occur after *da* and *e*,
written *d am* to my', *em* in my', *d az* ez, \ *d'em* 'to my *d'ha* 'to thy –
Cf Henry Lewis Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol[2], § 25 – 28

§ 355   **The verb 'to have' in Br** (ZE 569ff , MSL 1 63—71,
4 37—44) MlBr paradigm **Pres** sg 1 *em-eus me am-eux*, 2 *az
eux, aheus ez eur*, 3 m *en deveux*, f *he deveux*, pl 1 *hon eux*,
2 *hoz eux*, 3 *ho dereux* — **Ipf.** sg 1 *am oa em oa*, 3 m *en
devoa, en devoe, en doa*, pl 1 *hon oa*, 2 *oz oa*, 3 *ho devoe* —
Consuetudinal pres sg 1 *em bez*, 3 m *en devez*, pl 2 *ho bez* —
Ipv. sg 1 *ham bezet*, 2 *haz vezet*, pl 1 *hon bezet* — **Subj. pres.** sg 1
am bezo, em bezo, 2 *az tezo, ez vezo* (*te vezo* RC 8 242 54), 3 m
en devezo, pl 1 *on bezo*, 2 *oz bezo* — **Subj** ipf. sg 1 *am be, em be*,
2 (neg) *nez ve*, 3 m *en deffe*, pl 1 *on be*, 2 *ouz be* — **Pret** sg 1
em boe 2 *az voe*, 3 m *en deffoe*, f *he devoe*, pl 2 *oz boe*, 3 *ho
deffoe* — **Plpf** sg 3 m *en dirise*

From the MnBr paradigm Pres 1 *em euz*, 2 *ec'h euz*, 3 m
en dereuz, en deuz, pl 2 *hoc'h euz* — Ipf sg 1 *em boa*, 2 *ez poa*,
3 m *en devoa, en doa*, f *he devoa he doa*, pl 1 *hor boa*, 2 *ho
poa*, 3 *o devoa, o doa* — Consuet pres sg 1 *em bez*, 2 *ez pez*,
3 m *en devez, en dez* — Ipv sg 2 *az pez*, 3 m *en defet*, f *he defet*,
pl 1 *hor bezet*, 2 *ho pezet*, 3 *o defent* — Subj pres sg 1 *em bezo*,
2 *ez pezo*, 3 m *en devezo, en dezo* — Subj ipf sg 1 *em be, em befe*,
2 *ez pe, ez pefe*, 3 m *en defe, en de* — Pret sg 1 *em boe*, 2 *ez poe*,
3 m *en devoe, en doe* — Plpf sg 1 *em bije*, 2 *ez pije*, 3 *en divije,
en dije*

This combination developed in the same way as in Co   The
assumption of personal endings first appears in the ipv , and occurs

ın MlBr   *Crist haz-uez trugarez ouzimp* 'Christ, have mercy upon
us'   In MnBr the ıpv 3 pl always has the personal ending
In the dialects the personal inflection ıs frequent, v Ernault,
RC 9 258—266   The vb nn   MlBr *cafout, caffout,* MnBr *kaout*

§ 356. The conjugated prepositions in Br. MlBr paradıgm

		oar on	*gant* 'with'	*ouz* by, against'	*da* 'to'
Sg 1		*oarnouf*	*gueneff* *guenef(u)*	*ouziff* *ouzif(u)*	*diff dıfu*
	2	*oarnot*	*guenez, guenet*	*ouzıt*	*dıt*
	3 m	*oarnezaff*	*gantaff gantaf*	*outaff outafu*	*dezaff dezaf(u)*
	f	*oarnezı*	*ganty*	*outy*	*dezy dızy*
Pl 1		*oarnomp*	*quen(e)omp, guenemp ganeomp*	*ouzımp* *ouzomp*	*deom(p) dımp* *dym-ny*
	2	*oarnoch*	*guencoch, guenech*	*ouzıch ouzoch* *ouzech ozoch*	*deoch dech* *dıch-ny*
	3	*oarnezı*	*gante*	*oute*	*deze dezo*

Lıke *oar a* of from' (*ahan-off -ot anez-aff -y* pl 3 *aneze*),
davet towards' (sg 1 *daued-ouff -off* 3 m *dauetaf* t *daguitty,
daryty,* pl 2 *daied-och -ouch,* 3 *daiedc*) *dırac* before (sg 1
dırazoff, 3 m *dırazaff*), *dre* through' (sg 1 *drezouff, dreizoff*
2 *dreizoude,* wıth augens, 3 m *dreizaff* t *dreizy* pl 2 *dreiz-och,
-ouch* 3 *dreize*), *eguit evit* for' (sg 1 *eguid-off -afu eguytdouf
eudoff* 2 *equidot* 3 m *eguitaff euitaff* f *eguythy* pl 1 *eguidomp
euidomp* 3 *eguite*) *en* 'ın' (sg 1 *enouf,* 2 *ennot,* 3 m *enhaff ennaff,*
t *enhy,* pl 1 *enomp* 2 *enoch* 3 *ennhc*), *entre* 'between (pl 1
entromp, 2 *entroch* 3 *entreze*) *eguet* 'than, after comparatives
(sg 1 *eguedoff,* 2 *equedot*)

MnBr *warnoun* on me *warnout* 3 m *warn-añ -ezañ,* f
warn-ı -ezı pl *warn-omp -och,* 3 *warn-o -ezo* — *ennoun* ın me
3 sg m *ennañ* f *enni* pl *enno* — *a'chanoun* of me' 3 sg m
anezañ, f *anezı,* pl *anezo* — *drezoun* 'through me', 3 sg m *drezañ,*
f *dreizı* pl *dreze, razoun* 'agaınst me', *dırazoun* before me' (*dırak*)
araozoun before me (*araok*), *etrezoun* between me' (*etre*), *hepzoun*
'wıthout me' (also *hepdoun*), *herrezoun* 'accoıdıng to me' (*hervez*)
— *evıdoun* 'for me' (*evit*), 3 sg m *evıtañ,* f *evıtı,* pl *evıto, ereldoun*
'lıke me' (*evel*) *davedoun* 'towards me' (*davet*) *nemedoun* 'but me'

(*nemet*), *egedoun* 'than me' (*eget*, after compai) — *gant* 'with' sg 1
ganeñ Trég *ganiñ*, 2 *ganez*, Trég *ganit*, 3 m *gantañ*, f *ganti*,
pl 1 *ganeomp* Trég *ganimp*, 2 *ganeoc'h*, Trég *ganec'h*, 3 *ganto*,
Treg *gante* — *ouz* against, by   *ouz-in -it*, *out-añ*, *-i*, *ouz-imp*,
-oc'h   *outo*

Etymology of the personal pronouns.

§ 357   The 1 and 2 persons   1 sg. The indep (simple) forms
come from an accus *me*, cf Gk με v § 93   The infixed pron
presumably goes back to aceus *me*, dat *moi* cf Gk μοι it is
followed in Ir by len (non-len in Br), *me*, *moi* were also
suffixed after preps , -*m*- being unlen in Ir (except sometimes
after *do*) and len in Brit (except after MlW *y* MnW *i* Co *the*
Ir *do*)   The timbre of -*m*-, -*m* may have been influenced by the
g or by the 2 sg — The orig form of the g was *meme* (cf Skr
máma)   This could explain most of the Brit forms especially W
fy (with eclipsis), cf § 86   But W *meu* li indep *mui* dep *mo* (with
lenition) and Co *ou* rather point to *meue* (by anal with 2 sg)

2 sg Ir *tu* < nom *tu*, cf Gk (Dor) *τυ*, the Brit forms
are parallel with 1 sg , li -*su* < *stu*, amalgamation with -*s* of a
preceding verbal form   Infixed and suffixed after preps   acc
tu (Thurneysen, Handb 267, cf Dor *τυ*), dat *t(w)oi* (cf Gk *σοι*,
τοι)   similarly the infixed forms — All the g forms are from
toue < *teue* cf Skr *táva*

1- 2- pl The indep forms may represent orig non-nominative
snēs, *swēs*, cf Skr acc dat g *nas vas* Lat *nōs uōs* Similarly
the infixed and suffixed forms, but with a back vowel in the 1 pl
in Ir (*snōs*), Co 2 pl -*s*- possibly from *swōs* > *sōs*, hence also
the corresp Br form which furthermore adopted the syllable *ho*-
of the gen   the result being -*hoz*- -*houz*-   For Co -*yan*- -*yas*- v
§ 359   4

The Ir g *athar*, *sethar* have compai endings like Lat *nostrum*,
uestrum, but do not represent directly any old forms   Possibly
nserōm, *sweserōm* > *čsar* (unacct *asar*), *sear*, then by mixing
the suff *-ero*- with *-tero*-, *sear* became *sethar*, the -*th*- being trans-
ferred to the 1 pl , *athar*   In unaect positions *athar* *sethar* became
ar *far* or *for*, causing eclipsis

The Brit g MlW *an*, *awch* (*ych*), Co *an*, *as* Br *hon*, *hoz* may
represent a combination of a pron used as article (IE *so*, cf Br

ho-) + an enclitic g pronoun Co *agan, agas* were influenced by the infixed pron (§ 359,4) The MIW indep g forms are probably late re-formations by anal with the 3 pers forms

§ 358 The 3 pers. Nom sg m **ıs* Ir *hé* (cf §132) The Brit forms are related to Ir *som*, though the difference in vowels is difficult to explain, cf Goth *sama* 'the same' — Fem **sī*, cf Goth *sı* — Neut **ıd* or **ıdā* Ir *hed*, cf Lat *ıd*, Goth *ıta* — Pl m **joı* perhaps > **jeı* > **eı* - W *wy*, cf Lith *jıē* Pl f **ıjās* Ir *hé* (*ē* contracted from **ea*), cf Goth *ıjōs* Pl n **ī* Co MlBr *y* MnBr *hı*, cf Avest *ī* MnIr *sıad* W *(h)wynt* Br *hint* are remodelled by anal with verbs and preps

Acc sg m **ım* Ir *-a n-*, W *-e-* (non-syll), Co *-n-*, MlBı *-en-* (anal *-hen-*), suff after verbs Ir *-ı*, after preps sometimes *-ı*, sometimes nil with prec palatalization Cf OLat *ım* — Fem **sıjām* Ir *-s n-*, after preps *-e* with prec provection due to *h* (*ımpe, secce*), *-se* (*taırse*), in Brit a non-len form (W *-s-*, also masc , Co *-s-*, Br *-s-*, v RC 8 84 4 *he-s em recomandas* 'she commended herself'), also a len form (W *-e-*, Bı *-he-*) For Brit the form **sım* < **sīm* may also be supposed — Pl m **sōns* Ir after verbs *-s* (with *u-* timbre, *-s n-* by anal with fem sg), after preps *-u* with prec provection (*ımpu, seccu*), *-su* (*taırsıu* palat by anal with fem sg), in Brit a non-len form (W Co *-s-*) also a len form (in Br *-ho-*, after preps Co Br *-o-*, so *-ōns* apparently gave Brit *-ons* *-os* > *-o*, not *-ōs* as it did medially)

Note 1 OIr *friss* and *less* are abstracted from *frissom, lessom* (*frissom, le ssom*, prep + pron *som*) — The prep forms in Brit are obscure doubtful guesses VKG II 172

Dat sg m n **jō* (instr), **jōı* (IE dat), **jōd* (abl) Ir after preps *-u*, *-o fou, dau, occo, uaso*, possibly lost in *ıarum, rıam huad* (anal *huaıd*) — Fem **jāı* or **ıjāı* Ir after preps *-ı* — Pl m n **jobhıs* (f **jābhıs*?) Ir after preps *-ıb -aıb* — The preps were amalgamated with these forms after loss of the *j-*

Note 2 Some Ir conjugated preps 3 sg m n seem to have been adverbs not containing any suffixed element *and* in it' was not even etymologically connected with the prep *ı n-*

Gen sg m **esjo*, f **esjās* (Ir > **esıjo, *esıjās*) Iı indep *áı* (the vowel *a* irregular), dep *a* These forms when accented may have given W **eıd* which by anal with preps became MlW m *eıdau*, f *eıdı* Unacct they gave MlW *y* (MnW spoken *ı*, written *eı*), Co *y*, Br m *e*, f *he* Cf Skr m *asya*, f *asyās* — Pl m n

*esōm Ir *a*, OW *ou* MIW *eu* (*ewo < *e-o*), Br *ho* The other
dependent and all the independent forms are analogical With
*esōm cf the ending in Skr *ē-šām*, OHG *iro*

§ 359. **Elements amalgamated with the pers. pronouns**   (1) The
W conjunctive pronouns are based on the 3 sg m *ynteu*

(2) For -*d*- in Ir infixed prons in rel sentences cf § 390,
§ 397,2 — The dental element appearing in non-rel sentences after
preverbs orig ending in consonants had probably the same origin
In these cases however it came to be regarded as -*t*-, not as -*d*-
The -*t*- arose by amalgamation with the preverb in the case of
ad-, *frith*-, it doubtless spread by analogy

(3) Brit -*d*- in conjug preps had possibly the same origin as
Ir -*d*-, similarly perhaps in Ir *huad* 'from him', etc (but v Thurn-
eysen, Handb 476, Morris-Jones, WG 400)

(4) For -*ch*- before the pron after the neg *na* in Ir v § 409
n 3 To this -*ch*- probably corresponds -*q*- in Co -*gan*- 'us', etc
(*ha na-gan-byth gobyr vyth* and no reward will ever be for us'
OM 2821, cf Ir *na-chin-rogba uall* that pride may not seize us'
Wb 15 d 40) From being orig the final of the neg the -*q*- became
the initial of the pronoun It then spread to the g forms -*qan*
agan our' (beside -*n* *an*) etc

XXVII.   The demonstrative pronouns.

§ 360   **The definite article in Irish.**

		Masc		Fem	Neut
Sg	N	*in* (before cons), *int* (before vowel)		*ind*	*a n-*
	A	*in n-*		*in n-*	*a n-*
	D	*ind*		*ind*	*ind*
	G	*ind*		*inna*	*ind*
Pl	N	*ind*		*inna*	*inna*

A	*inna*
D	-*naib*
G	*inna n-*

Dual, in all forms, *in*

Note 1 The forms given as *ind* cause len The -*d* is retained before vowels,
before initial *h*-, before len *f*-, *s*, *r*-, *l*, *n*, occasionally before len *m*- and
b-, it disappears before len *g*, *k*-, *p*- and before all non-lenited sounds,
§ 45, § 65, § 284, § 289 With init len *s* (= *h*-) the -*d* becomes *t*- (*int sere*

the love), though this is not regularly denoted by the orthography (thus
normally written *ind serc*, but pronounced *ɩ N't' erk/*, exceptional, *in séti*
the ways Wb 9 a 18, pron *ḃN t' ēd'ɩ/*, *in firinne* the righteousness' 4d 23,
pron *ɩ̇N'd' īrɩN'N'e/*)

Note 2 Amalgamation with leniting preps *do nd ídol* 'to the idol',
do naɩb ballaɩb to the limbs' *dɩ-nd soscelu* of the Gospel *ar-naɩb grádɩb*
for the orders After non-leniting preps the orig init s- of the article
appears *ɩn sɩɩn oɩn* to the one , *frɩ sna*, *for-sna* (*-sna* acc pl m n) *ɩ snɩɩb*
fochɩdɩb in the tribulations Irregularities occur *oc ɩn forcɩtul* at the
teaching *tre sɩn fuɩl* through the blood' after *for ocɩm s* n- instead of sn-
for naɩb qnímaɩb on the deeds , cf MIIr *ɩar-naɩb* ZCP 12 441

Note 3 Archaic forms Neut sg se *frɩ-se llaɩ* to the ground Ml
36d 18 n pl *ɩnda fodb* the spoils Thes II 47 24 *ɩnda cɩɩɩnd* gl stigmata
[Wb] 20d 5 cf Thurneysen, ZCP 3 53

Later development MIIr nom pl m (f n) *na na maɩc* the sons
The nom acc sg neut form gradually felt into disuse , similarly the dat pl
h do na for *do naɩb*

§ 361. The definite article in Brit. OW. *ɩr ɩr pɩmphet* the fifth'
ɩr anamou 'the blemishes' *-r* after *o* 'from' *dɩ* 'to' *or dometɩc* gl
domɩto, *dɩr arpeteɩicɩon* gl museris **MIW** *yr* (before vowels *ɟ-'* and
h-), *y* (before consonants, *w-* and sometimes *'ɟ-'*) *yr eɩry* the
snow *yr ɩarll* 'the earl' *yr heul* the sun', *y mab* 'the son *y weɩlgɩ*
the sea' *y ɩarll* the earl' *yn y llys* in the court' After preps
ending in a vowel *-r o-r mab* of the son' *a-r geɩfyr* 'with the
goats', also after *a* 'and' *a-r meɩrch* and the horses **MnW** pract-
ically as in MIW but the form *-r* is more freely written both after
vowels and diphthongs

OCo *en* **MICo** *an en* also *n ha-n map* and the son' *the-n
tas* to the father

OBr. *en*, after *do* 'to -n MIBr *ɩn, an* also *-n da-n bet* 'to
the world *Doe-n tat* God the Father **MnBr.** *ann* (before vowels
h-, d-, t- n-) *al* (before *l-*), *ar* (before other consonants, *ɟ-'* and *w-*)
ann ene 'the soul' *ar ɩar* the hen' *ɩn waz* (*oaz*) the goose' *ɩn zac'h*
the sack Amalg with the prep *ɩnn, el, er* in the'

Note 1 Forms with *-n* in W *yn auɩ* now (this hour), *y nɩll*
§ 371 The common origin of the W *r* forms and *n* forms has often
been questioned cf Vendryes ZCP 17 731f But there is no phonological
difficulty The original rule must have been *yr* - In *ɩn yn — Ir ɩnd*
with *yn auɩ* cf Ir *ɩnd-or-sa* afterwards *yr* must have spread by analogy
It has been urged that no other instance of a change *n > r* is known in W ,
but this is no objection For the phonetic conditions presented by the forms
of the art did not otherwise occur It is very evident indeed that e g a
proclitic word ending originally in a nasal (as *yn* in) could not occur in

the same consonant groups as the W form corresp to the Ir art *in*, as it would coalesce with a foll *k t p, g d b* One might ask whether OW *cant* with did not present the same phonetic conditions as the presumed art corresp to Ir *ind*, *in*, but the answer must be in the negative For evidently the *t* of *cant* resisted dropping much longer than the *d* of the article Then being no phonological difficulty to the theory of a common orig of W *yı* and *yn* the question most be put thus is it likely that the three Brit languages which as late as 400 A D were only three dialects of the same language, should have developed then art independently of each other ? And is it likely that W should have developed two etym different sets of articles (*yn* and *yı*) ' Is it likely that one of these sets (*yı*) should have developed from a pronoun which has left no traces whatever in Celt and which is not quotable from any other IE tongue ' Umbrian *uro* illa etc is not known as a pronominal stem but as the stem of a series of ablatives it therefore admits of the analysis *u ıu f u ra* pl *u ıes* from *oı sod ı te (pronominal stem *o-), cf *c ıu c ıa* ctı Osc *eı sud* (pronoun stem c) and it hardly admits of any other plausible explanation

Note 2 Cf Gaul σοσιν τεμητοι (acc sg n) this sanctuary

§ 362   **Use of the article** The art may be (1) adjectival always proclitic , (2) substantival § 364

§ 363. **Omission of the article** (1) The art is omitted before a noun foll by a definite genitive Olr *ícc ın domuin* the salvation of the world' Wb 5c 14 — MlW *ystlys y fforest* 'the side of the forest' — Co *crsyl an tas* the advice of the Father', — MlBr *Roue n bet* the King of the world It is used however if the g is indef Olr *á cenéle ndoine* 'the race of men' Wb 5c 16 MnW *y Hyfr Gweddı* 'the Prayer Book

(2) It is omitted before proper names as a rule In MnIr and in W certain geographical proper names have the article Mnh *an Spáin* W *yr Ylsbaen* 'Spain'

(3) It is omitted in Olr before appellatives which approach in meaning to proper names *dıa* 'God' (so W *Duw* Co *dew* Br *Doue*) *deacht* Godhead , *apstıl* 'the Apostles', *la-mmarbu* with the dead *ı tempul* 'in the Temple , *hıress* 'the faith', etc

§ 364. The **neuter article is substantival** before a relative sentence Olr *nı dıgnem an dognıat som* we will not do that which they do' Wb 17d 9 The art stands immediately before the rel sent as a rule, but a partitive g or its equivalent may intervene MlIr *an gaısceda tuc o Scathaıg* 'what of fighting he brought (learned) from Scáthach' LL 107a 41 Olr *an du ınnedaıb 7 frıthourenıb fodaımı* what of afflictions and injuries thou sufferest' Ml 55d 11, cf Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 27 The art is not governed by a prep in Ir in this use (for exceptions v Thurneysen ZCP 20 244)

The W art is used in a similar sense, but it can be dependent on a prep   MIW *ef a dely medhecynyat rad y-r a uo en e llys* he must give free medical treatment to them that may be in the court' ZCP 20 41 26, *y rodei pob dim o-r a archei y brenhin* 'that he would give every thing (of that) which the king requested' RBB 286 12   When it is not dependent on a prep its form is *ar*   MIW *nyt atwna duw ar a unel* 'God undoes not that which he may do', *llad pob aneweil a wna o-r a gaffo yndi ac ar nys llado marw rydant o newyn* it kills every animal (of those) which it may find therein and those which it kills not will die of famine' WM 176 9   It survived into MnW only in the form *a'r a* (for *o'r a*), this is now an archaism

Note The Ir neut art before a rel sent developed into a conj *a n* when *an no-n-geiss* when thou beseechest' gl testificans Wb 30b 4, *an aslui grien fo a fuined, dosoi dond orient* when the sun goes away to its setting it turns to the east' Thes II 21 36   It takes relative eclipsis, cf § 193, 4   The corresponding form OW *in* MIW *in* has developed similarly meaning when', where' OW *in it oid* when   it was MIW *teirfford y deuant etiued ar duw yn y dyuyd pawb yr vrawt gyhed* by three ways will mankind (offspring) come to God when everyone comes to the general judgement RP 1144 37, *bassaf dwuyr yn yt leuen* shallowest is water where (when) it speaks' BBCS 4 4, *dyuot a u naeth yn yd oed y kawr* he came (there) where the bowl was RM 50 24 (*yn* denotes destination after a vb of movement cf § 273) It is frequently used in MIW in lit trans of the Lat abl abs v Strachan, RC 28 198 It became confused with the conj *yny* until, so that often it is followed by len which is not regular after the particle *y* MIW *yny* (also *hyny*) until represents OW *hit ni* while not'' (MnW *oni* later *hyd oni*) after which len could occu

§ 365 In Ir the particle *-i* can be combined with the art, and it is usually followed by *sin* when the art is adjectival *in bairgen hí sin* that bread' Wb 11 b 8, *a m-bás n-i-sin* 'that death 15 d 12 The substantival *int-í*, *intí* (f *ind-í* n *an-í*, acc m f *inn-í*, g sg f , nom pl f n , acc pl *inna-hí*, g pl *innan-í* etc for *ind-í* is often found written *ind-hi*) occurs in Ir (1) before a rel sent *intí labrathar ilbélre* he who speaks many tongues' Wb 12 c 19 *for-sna-hí comalnatar toil dá* on those who fulfil God's will' 20 d 1, (2) appositionally before a proper name *inti Moysi* 'he, Moses' 33 a 2, (3) before an emphasizing pron or an adv of place *fri genti asbeir som ani-siu* to the Gentiles he says this 4 d 17, *ání thúas* 'that above' 10 a 15, *titul indí archiunn* 'the title of that (which is) ahead' 28 a 11

Note Ir *inti* was accented on the last syll An early false analysis into

m ti lead to forms like MIIr *dat don-ti imm-on-ti thanu* 'concerning him who came' LL 72a 47

§ 366. The MlW pers pron *ynteu* often stands in apposition before a proper name, like Ir *inti ynteu Bwyll* 'he, Pwyll', it also occurs after the noun *Troilus ynteu* Troilus, he' It came to be used as a conjunction meaning then' and is still so used (wr *ynteu* or *ynte*, as a pron it is now usually written *yntau*) Cf Strachan, Introd 34, Morris-Jones, WG 273, 448   It is always accented on the penult

§ 367   (1) The chief augentia (emphasizing elements) with the adj art in Ir are *so* (also *sa*, *se* § 171) denoting 'here', and *sin* denoting 'there' *in-fect-so, ind-or-sa* 'now', *in tain sin* 'then', in other instances *so* refers to what follows, *sin* to what precedes *a trede so i bona et placens et perfecta* 'these three things, i e bona etc ' Wb 5c 22, *in glaine sin et ind nóibe et in fírinne   dúib-si a trede sin* 'that purity and holiness and righteousness   to you those three things' 9c 30

The substantival combinations *in-so* (Ml *in-se* also) and *in-sin* are neuter in meaning   *ma rufeste inso* if you knew this' Wb 9d 9, *fomnid insin* 'take heed of that' 20b 15   They tend to become mere augentia   *is hed insin forchun* 'that is what I teach' 10a 13, *it hé coisnimi inso* 'these are the contentions' 7d 13, *is do inso noainfeda it is for this thou wouldst have remained' 27d 20 (*do* 'to it')

Note   Certain adverbs are similarly used   *cenmatha in tegdais n ucut* besides yonder house   Wb 33a 4

(2) The W cognate of Ir *sin* is used with the art   *y gŵr hwn* 'this man', v § 369   Other augentia with the art are the adverbs *yma* 'here' (*y tu yma* 'on this side'), *yman* (Morris-Jones WG 433), *hwnt*, MlW *racko* MnW *acw, draw* 'yonder' (*y tu hwnt, y tu draw* on yonder side', *y gŵr acw* 'that man yonder'), MnW *yna* 'there', MlW *gynheu, gynneu* 'a little time ago' (*y dyn gynheu* WM 251 13 'that man, whom you have just seen', *y gwr gynneu* that man, the man just referred to') — Co *ma, na* (= W *yma, yna*) *an den na* 'this man', *an nos na* 'that night' — Br *mañ, ma* (= W *yma*), *se, hont* MlBr *an mab man* 'this child', *an clezef se* 'that sword', *an kaer hont* 'yonder town'

§ 368. The other representatives of the demonstrative stem *so-* in Ir. (1) *sa, se*, 1 sg emphasizing pron §336, 337 (2) *se* 'thus' after preps   *co-sse* 'thus far', *corricci se* gl adhuc, *cenmitha se* 'besides

this', *ar-se* 'therefore' (3) *siu* loc here', also *ı-siu* § 281 *re-siu* 'before' (conj) *de-siu* hence' (4) *sin* (MnIr with pal *-n*), used with the art with *inti* § 365, § 367, with 3 sg n pers pron *d-a-gníu-sa sin* I do that' Wb 14d 26, *a fius sin* the knowledge of that' As indep pron *creitmech sin* 'that is a believer' 28d 23 (˗ *insin*) mostly after preps *co-ssin* 'so far', *fri-sin* 'with regard to that' (5) *sund* 'here' (cog with *sin* and W *hwn*) (6) *suide* he the latter' as subject in MlIr *ol suide* 'said he', Strachan, Ériu 1 5, sg acc in *suide*, dat m n *suidiu*, f *suidi*, pl acc m *suidiu* dat *suidib* It is used chiefly after prepositions, also after the comparative *moó suidiu* 'more than this' Wb 24a 5 In unacct position *di suidiu* became *didiu* therefore In modified form due to its being unacct the pron is used as augens with the pers pron *side* etc v § 345 (7) *sodin* neut, 'this, after preps governing acc *la sodin* therewith' *amal sodin* in that case (8) *són* that' a contracted form of *sodin* as subject *is hr son* that is true Wb 17c 22, meaning namely that is to say *ie n-airite gráid són* that is to say, before ordination' 28c 6 emph pron (with the object) *d-a-luqub són* I will forgive it 32a 21 (9) *on* that a weak form of *són is coru dúib-si ón* that is more fitting for you 5d 37 After *ed* it', *ón* is always the augens used Cf also Hans Hessen, KZ 46 1f

§ 369. The other representatives of the demonstrative stem **so-* **in Brit** (1) Br *ho-* W Co *a-* in Br *ho-n* MlW Co *a-n* our' Br *ho-z* MlW *a-uch* Co *a-* your' § 357 (2) *he-* in W *he-ddiw* to-day' § 21,3 OW *he-noid* MlW *he-noeth*, later *he-no* to-night Br *he-vlene* W *e-lem* this year' (3) MlBr MnBr *se* this' (as subj, obj and after preps, *erel se* thus', also augens with the art § 367 2 MlBr *quement se* this much') (4) W *hwn* (m) *hon* (f) *hyn* (n) 'this' MlW *hyn a dywedaf ytti* this will I tell thee', with the art, *yr hun* etc before a rel clause MlW *yr hynn a geissy* what thou seekest, sometimes before a superlative MlW *o-r hyn goren* of the best (in the pl *y rhai* is used), adjectivally with the art *y gŵr hwn* 'this man, *y peth hwn* this thing', *y wraig hon* 'this woman' *y gwŷr (pethau, gwragedd) hyn* 'these men (things, women)' Extended *hwnnw* (m), *honno* (f), *hynny* (n and pl) 'that' MlW *bendigeiduran   oed hwnnw* that was B ' *honno oed tryded prif rieni* that one (Branwen) was one of the three chief parents', *a hynny a wnaethpwyt* and that was done', *na gwr na gwreic o hynny* neither man nor woman

of those', the substantival pl however is usually MlW *y rei hynny*
MnW *y rhai hynny* (also *y rheiny, y rheini*), adjectivally with the
art *y gŵr hunnw* 'that man' — The OW forms are *hinn* (neut
ni deruid hinn 'this does not happen', pl *enuein   int hinn* 'these
are names), *ir hinn* (the one', before rel clauses), *hir-unn* gl
quem, *breenhined hinn* these kings , *y bryeint hunn* 'this privilege
Lib Land 120 5, 121 4   Extended sg m *hunnoid*, n *hinnoid*,
hinnith, adjectival *ir gur hunnuid* that man', *ir loc quac hinnith*
(*hinnuith*) 'that empty space', *ir did hinnuith* 'that day', *ir e hinn-
uith* 'that e', *ir bloidin hunnuith* 'that year', *ir oith aur hinnith*
these eight hours' (so, apparently, masc *hunnuid, hinnuith, hinnith,*
tem *hinnuith, hunnuith* pl *hinnith*) — Co m n *hen-ma hemma,
hema, hem, helma* this', f *homma, holma* m *hen-na hena*, f *honna*
that', (also m *hen* ꝺ *hon* that', before *yw* 'is' and *o* was'), all
forms are substantival only, for the pl *an re-ma   an re-na — pup
huny* every one', *leas huny* many a one' — MlBr *henn* 'this'
(*evel-henn* thus', *cret henn* 'believe this'), *he-man* masc , *homman,
homan, houman* fem (MnBr *he-mañ*, fem *hou-mañ*) 'this', *hennez*
iste, istud fem *honnez* (MnBr *hennez*, fem *hounnez*, V *heneh*
ꝺ *honeh*), *hen hont hennont* ille illud (MnBr *hen-hont*, ꝺ *houn-
hont*) Pl MlBr *an re-man, an re-se* MnBr *ar re mañ, ar re ze ar
re hont*   MlBr *heny* (MnBr *hini*) that' with the art   *ann heny
a fazio* the one who will fail with the g   *malloz doe   ha heny
I uzas* the curse of God   and that of Judas', also, *ma heny* 'mine'
pe heny which', *nep heny* 'anyone', *pep heny* everyone', in the
pl , *an re*

Note 1   In Co and Br the old neut form (*hen , henn* MlW *hynn*)
became masc   In SW dials *hyn* has practically replaced *hwn* and *hon*
adjectivally

Note 2   MlW *evelly, yvelly felly* so', MnW *felly*   Br *evelhenn* The
form *fell hyn* (and *fellyn*, acct on the ultima) also occurs in MnW , sometimes
yn llyn

(5) W *hwnt* yonder', Br *hont*   (6) W *y sawl* such, as many'
(before rel sents), adj MlW *y sawl* 'as many' (foll by pl nouns
with lenition) MnW *pa sawl* 'how many' (foll by sing nouns, non-
len), Co *suel, py suel* (before rel sents), also before comparatives
§ 227, MlBr *seul*, rarely substantival *suel a anquen   a gouzafvel*
such anguish as you suffer', "the amount of anguish which you
suffer", before compar   *seul muy* 'the more', adj   *seul guez* 'as
many times' (cf MnW *sawl qwaith, sawl tro* 'many times') MnBr
seul, before compar (len)

§ 370 Etymology of the *s*-demonstratives The Celt *s*-demonstratives go back to the IE pron **so, *sā, *tod* (Gk ό, ή, τό Skr *sa, sā, tad*, a parallel stem **sjo-, *tjo-* is represented by Skr *sya, syā, tyad* 'that') Celt has generalized the init *s-* in all genders and cases Without any addition the pronoun **so-* appears in Ir *so*, Br *ho-n, ho-z* etc (and the pron **sjo-* in Ir *se* 'this') The other Celt forms do not seem to be derivatives from the stem **so-* (with the exception of W *sawl*, which contains the same suffix as Lat *tālis*), but combinations of the pron **so-* with different enclitic elements (cf especially Gaul *σο-σιν*) The enclitics were amalgamated with the pron , underwent different phonetic changes and took inflectional endings For detailed identifications and guesses v VKG II 192 ff

§ 371 Demonstratives with initial vowel. (1) For Celt forms corresponding to Lat *is* etc v § 358 (2) A demonstr stem **an-*on-* appears in Ir *and* 'there', and in Ir *inn-onn* 'thither, to that side', MnIr *anonn* (acct on ultima) (3) Ir *aile*, nom acc sg neut *aill* (otherwise a regular *-jo- -jā*-stem), mostly adjectival (after the substantive), definite and indef *rann aile* 'another part', *donaib ballaib ailib* 'to the other members' Wb 10d 18, 12 b 11 , substantival, indef *nach aile* 'someone else', definite (rare) *an aill* (n), *ind aile* (m), alone, *aill*   *aill* some   others' In the first of a series of alternatives *aile* is not used, but a substantive alone or accompanied by a reduced proclitic form of *aile -la* after *cach (cach-la sel   in sel aile* 'at one time   at another time' Wb 15 d 9) and *-ala* with the art *(ind-ala dond-ala lucht   dond lucht ailiu* 'to the one party   to the other party' Wb 16 c 20 , *ind-ala* is substantival only before a g pron *ind-ala n-ái* the one of them' *ala* without the art is rare *ala rann deac brotto* 'the twelfth part of a moment' § 335, 1 p 193) From *ala + aile* comes *alaile*, nom acc sg n *alaill*, acc sg m *alaile*, dat *alailiu* etc g sg f *ala-aile*, g pl *alan-aile* *alaile* is mostly substantival, but is never used with the article It is occasionally adjectival *di chossc alailiu* 'by another correction' Wb 9 a 23 It occurs repeated in alternatives   some others', (*alaili   alaili* Wb 29 a 28) Form with dissimilation *araile* Variant forms *éle, aréle*

The corresponding simple forms in Brit are MlW *eil* MnW *ail* 'second' Co *yll, eyll* 'the one' Br *eil* 'the one' The W and Br forms are used as ordinal numerals meaning 'second', and in

distributives with W *pob* Br *peb* 'every' (MIW *bop eiluers* 'altern-atively')   In MnW *yn* is inserted between *pob* and *ail* (*bob yn ail* alternately every other', *bob yn eilddydd* 'every other day', Br *peb eil deiz*, cf § 383,1)   In expressing the first of two alternatives the forms are   MIW *y neill* MnW *y naill*, Co *yll* (with preceding genitive pron *ha-y yll troys* and one of his feet'), *an nyl (neyl)*, MIBi *an eil* the one'   The second alternative is expressed by W *y llall* 'the other' pl *y lleill*, *arall* other pl MIW *ereill* MnW *eraill* Co *y gyle* masc *y-ben* fem 'the other', *arall* 'other' pl *erell*, MIBi *e-guile* m *he-ben* f MnBr *e-gile*, *e-ben* 'the other' *all*, *arall* other   In MIW *y lleill* is found for *y neill (y lleill a-i llall* WM 91 26, *hanher y lleill gyllell* 'half of the one blade' 487 25)   Co *py nyl* which (of two'), *na nyl* neither

In composition   It *all-sbge* the second elearing , *al-anman* 'other names MI 2 a 6 48 c 34   W *all-tud* exile', G *Allo-broges* § 35 2

Adverb   Ir *t-all* there' *an-all* 'from that side

Etymology   The Celt forms with a single *l* go back to a pron **aljo-*, cf Lat *alius*   The double *ll* may have started from an adverb **al-nā* with the same suffix as *cen* (§ 372)   It has spread much more in Brit than in Ir   The Ir neut *aill* may be the adverb (cf the use of the adverb *cen-e* for 'other' Wb 3d 34 etc), which has taken the palatalized timbre from the other forms of the paradigm   Cf Kieckers, Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis, B IX 5 (1926), p 3—4

§ 372. Demonstratives with initial *k*- **(1)** Ir *cé bethad cé* of the present life'   For Ogam forms v Marstrander, Ériu 5 144   **(2)** Possibly akin is Co *an keth* that the above mentioned', adj *yn keth forth-na* 'in that same road' OM 713 , *an keth map eth alemma* that same Son who went hence RD 2509, *an keth hon-na* (fem), *an keth hen-na* (neut) that same' OM 1172, 2645, *an keth re re-n crouse* 'those same people who had crucified him' MC 185   With *del* § 241 *yn ketel-ma* 'in this manner', *yn ketella* 'in that manner' (**yn keth del na*), *kettel* 'as soon as'

(3) Ir *cen* 'on this side' (*cen-alpande* gl cisalpinus Sg 217 b 9) , without' (lit "remaining this side, not reaching") Deriv *centar* pars citerior'   **(4)** Co *ken* 'other' *ken mygtern* 'another king', *de gen le* 'to another place', *dar ken* beyond other' MC 148, 255 135 — Br *ne ouzoun netra ken* je n'en sais pas davantage' *tra quen*

'anything else' Mir de la Mort 1978, MnBr *heb ken*, *heb-mur-ken* 'sans plus' — W *am-gen* 'other, better, otherwise'

Ir *cé* < *$k'i$ § 132 Ir *cen*, Co Br *ken*, (W *-gen*) < *$k'inā$, for suffix, cf Gk *ĩva* 'in order that'

XXVIII. Interrogative, indefinite relative and indefinite pronouns.

§ 373 The interrogative pronoun Irish Independent sg nom m f *cia*, n *cid*, g *coich* Dependent sg nom m f, dat of all genders *ce, ci, cia, c-* (before vowels), nom n *cia, ced* Pl (dep) *ce-, ci-* (*cit né* § 376, 2) For *cia, ci-* as neut v note and § 376 1 4 § 379

Welsh Indep *puy* who (MIW also what'), g *pi-* Dep MIW *py, pa*, rarely *pwy* MnW *pa* For still more reduced forms (*mae, p'le, peth, beth* = *pa beth*, cf Co *pyth* Br *pez*) v § 377,1,7

Cornish Indep *pyw pyu pu*, g *pe-w* 'cuius est' Dep *py, pe*

Breton Indep *piou*, g *bi-ou, bi-aou* 'cuius est' Dep *pe*

Note Ir *cia* W *pwy* Co *pyw* Br *piou* (§ 154 2) < *k^uei (*k^uoi ') cf Lat *qui* Ir *ced* < *$k^uidā$, a by form of *k^uid cf Lat *quid* the form *cid* is due to confusion with *cid* though it be The dat form is possibly from a loc *k^uei (*k^uoi ') The Brit g < *k^ui the Ir g may be from a redupl form *$k^uo k^ui$, MIIr has also a redupl nom *ciche* 'who, what Ir nom pl may be from *k^uei (*k^uoi ') Ir neut *cia* (*cia de doyega* which of the two I shall choose') and MIW *pwy* what (OW *pui* gl quid) may be old pl forms

§ 374. Use of the indep interrog pron. in Ir. and Brit The indep interrog pron stands at the beginning of the sentence, followed as a rule by relative construction Ir *cia rannas duib* who divides for you ?' Wi 103 20 MIW *guybyduch pwy a dylyo bot yn u yt ymi* 'know who should be mv men' WM 8 18, Co *pyw a thysquethes thyso the vos noeth* 'who disclosed to thee that thou art naked OM 261, MlBr *pyou a pigno e menez an autrou* who will ascend to the mountain of the Lord' RC 8 78 A non-rel construction is found in the older poetry in W *puy guant cath paluc* 'who wounded P 's cat ?' BBC 96 14 (cf in § 377, 8 such examples as *py gynheil y byl* 'what supports the world ?' BT 80 10)

The genitive occurs only as predicate with the copula Ir *is inderb coich in mug* 'it is uncertain whose is the slave' Sg 209 b 30 (in MlIr *coich* is used as subject also, who', poss nom pl *coichi* 'cuius sunt') MIW *pi-eu* cuius est ' also as rel (with and without

initial len) *minneu bieu y dwy iarllaeth* 'it is I who own the two earldoms' RM 239   It occasionally occurs used as a transitive verb *ni ae preifydwn* we shall possess them' YCM 64 29, cf Morris-Jones, WG 357ff   In Co *pew* is entirely a transitive verb *me a-s pew* 'I have it' PC 2858   MlBr *biou, biaou,* uninflected *an re man biou glan an bet* 'these possess the world entirely', *me-n biaou* I possess it', v Ernault, Dict

Note OW *pi* occurs in *passerenn pi gurthet loyr* what constellation (is it) to which the moon is opposite BBCS 3 256 4   It is here used as a relative

§ **375. The dependent forms of the interrog. pron. in Ir. used attributively and with prepositions**   (1) Before a substantive When the combination is governed by a prep , the latter comes between the pron and the noun   Ir *c-airm* 'where ?'   *cia airet* 'how long ?', *ce-méit* how much ?', *cid maith* 'what good ?' Wb 1 d 7, *ced torbe* 'what profit ?'   Dat   *cia indas, c-indas* 'how ?'   *cia chruth* 'in what manner' With prep   *cia du forcunn* 'to what end ?' Ml 33 a 9   (2) In combination with the pron *nech*, neut *ní* (dat m n *neuch*) *cia du neuch* gl ad quem ? Ml 16 a 9, *cia ar neoch dorrignis* 'for what hast thou done it ?' Sg 217 a 5   (3) *c-air* 'how ?', why ?' Thes II 1 26, (*coir* [Wb] 19 d 10), cf MlW *pyr* § 377,3

§ **376. The dependent interrogative in verbal expressions in Ir.**   (1) As predicate with the copula (neut *ci-*)   *ni bu chumme dúib ce-bad hé fri-san-dénte* 'it were not the same for you who it were you should do it unto' Wb 9 c 24, *ci-p ed techtas nech* 'whatever it is that anyone has' 12 d 41, *ci-b cenel tra di-a-roscribad* 'whatever be the nation to which it has been written 3 b 20   (2) As pred before a pers pron subject *ce hé roscrib* 'who is he who has written ?' Sg 197 a 19   The pron subj comes between the interrog pron and a noun *ci-sí chiall bís indib* 'what is the meaning that is in them ?' Sg 217 a 2, *ce-sí aram* 'what number ?' 197 b 3   Cf *ci-t n-é cit né robatar* 'what were they ?' Ml 61 b 8, *cit né briathra robatar* what were the words ?' 61 b 7   Cf § 193 8   The *-t* is the 3 rd pl of the copula Instead of the pers pron *intí-sin* may occur *c-inní-sin frisnaircai-siu* 'whom dost thou expect ?' Thes II 227 30   (3) *cote, catte* 'where is ?', cf *cate in fírinne hó hiriss* 'wherein consists the righteousness (which is) of faith ?' Wb 4 d 23   Before a pl subject, *coteeet, cateet, cateat   coteeet mo béssi-se* what way are my manners ?' Wb 9 a 17   (4) *ciarice, ciarrice, cerice* gl quid ergo, quid enim, quid ?, cf *ciarrice i   ní airice ní* what profits i e it profits

15*

nothıng' Wb 9 b 24 — *ce róıch* 'how far ıt extends' Sg 26a 11 —
Wıth ınfıxed pron   *cıchı-b-ro-erad* 'what has been prepared for
you?' Wı III 237

§ 377. The use of the dependent form of the interrog pron in Brit.

(1) Before substantıves   MlW   *pa dıaspedeın* 'what shout?', *py
gampeu* 'what feats?' *pa le*, *py le*, MnW *pa le*, *p'le*, *b'le* where?',
pa beth, peth, beth what thıng?', 'what?', MlW *py gy-bellet* how
far?' RM 222 29 MnW *pa gyn belled*, *pa mor bell* Co *py ɩr* 'what
hour?', *pe-le*, *ple* where?', *pyth* what?', *py gymmys* 'how much?'
(W *pa faınt*) MlBr *pe marchadouryen* 'what traders?', *pe eur*
'when?' *pebez pez* what?', *pe rac tra* 'why?', *pe en lech* 'where?',
pe a lech 'whence?' (pe + prep + noun, cf *pe a lıngnez* 'of what
famıly?' RC' 8 80 27), *pe-guement* how much?', *pe-guen-calet* how
hard?' (2) Before certaın pronouns   W *pa un, p'un* 'whıch one?',
pl *pa raı*   MlW *pa gyfryw*, *pa rıyw*, MnW *pa ɩyw* 'what manner
of?' (*pa gyfryw ır* qualıs ıur?'), *pa ryu* also means 'what?' often
contracted to *pa ɩy*, *pa r*, *p'ɩ* (*pa r un p'r un* whıch one?'), *pa
saul* 'how many?' (wıth followıng sg noun) Co *py nyl* 'whıch
(of two)', *py suel* 'how much?', *py lues* 'how many?' Beım Mer
2829 (*py lues puns* 'how many pounds?') MlBr *pe heny* 'whıch'
(ınterrog and rel), *pe en heny* 'ın whıch, pl *pe re*   (3) Before
certaın prepositıons   W *pa-h-am*, *pam* 'why?', MlW *py ar*, *pa-h-ar*
what on?' (BT 80,11 AL ı 108 20) *py all* to whom?' (AL ıı
316 17) *py-yr*, *py-r* 'what for?' why?' (RP 1054 3, WM 456 3
yr = MnW *er* for'), cf Ir *caır* § 375 3 *pa rac py ɩac* what for?'
(RC' 33 243 22 RM 126 14) Co *p-rag*, MlBr *pe-rac*, MlBr *pe drɩ*
'par où?' (also rel) For other examples of *pe* + prep as relatıve
(*dren marı pe gant ez marras* Jés 64 etc) v Ernault, Gloss 467,
Dıct 350   (4) Before a conjugated prep Co *ef dysmegys py
gansse y fue guyskys* 'let hım declare by whom he was struck'
PC' 1373   MlW *geyr eu y eyr padyu y rodes* hıs word ıs word (ı e
decıdes) to whom he gave ıt' ZCP 20 51 8, *ac yn betrus gantau*
or *dıwed pa dıw y damweıneı y uudugolyaet* 'and he was doubtful
at last to whom the vıctory would happen' RBB 57 29 (*dyw*
' to hım ', but *nac y bydıw* nor to whom?' RBB 162 6, wıth
y 'to' before the ınterrog, suggests that the force of *dıw* was no
longer clearly understood, Havod MS 2, fo 123a reads *na pha
dyw e delhey e urudvgolyaeth* 'nor to whom the vıctory would come'),
OW *padıu* gl quıd 'what for?' Thıs expressıon can also be relatıve

MlW *gwynn y vyt pydiw y rodir kerennyd duw* 'blessed is he to
whom is given God's love' RP 1056 42   Cf Strachan, Introd 48f
(5) Before a prep governing a rel pron `MlBr *pe da piou* to
whom' Ernault, Gloss 492f   Cf MlBr *pe-ban* 'whence' § 378,2
(6) Before the article + noun   Co *pa-h-an pleyt yma pilat   ha
p-an semlant es ganso* 'what plight is Pilat in   and what appear-
ance has he' RD 2058—60, *p-an-dra uraf* OM 1565, *p-en-dra
wraf* PC 2609 what shall I do', *p-an dr-ew* MC 105, *p-en-dr-yw*
Beun Mer 2370 what is' ('f MnIr *cia an ait* 'what place')
Also *pan a* 'what of', with *pan* as a single word meaning 'what'
pan-a goys 'what blood' Beun Mer 1501   (7) Before verbs, Co *py*,
pe = 'where'   *pe feste* where have you been' OM 467, *py halles
an re-ma moys* 'where could these have gone' Beun Mer 3304
(with *(y)th*, cf *py th-eth the vroder* 'where has thy brother gone'
OM 606)   ('o *pe-ma*, *py-ma* 'where is'   *pi-ma   neb a vyn de
guhuda* 'where is he who would accuse thee' MC 34, *py-ma thym
ou margh* where is my steed for me' Beun Mer 2111   W *mae*
alone can mean 'where is'   *mae y mab* where is the child' WM
29 8   cf *mae dy gyghor di* 'what is thy advice' RM 237 28
(8) Before verbs MlW *pa*, *py* = 'what'   *py gynheil y byt* what
supports the world' BT 80 10 (cf 27 14,23, 28 2.3), *pa wnaf*
what shall I do' RP 1045 25, *py holy di* 'what dost thou claim'
RM 128 22   It can also mean why' *py huy ti* why dost thou
blush' WM 454 24   *pe dauant anant* 'why are the bards silent'
LlH 1 12, cf RP 1032 31, 1054 15, *py + ry* gave *pyr* 'why'
(followed by lenition in the verb)   *pyr ddywettun parabyl* why
should I say a word' LlH 308 3, *pir puyllut-te hun* 'why shouldst
thou think of sleep' BBC 49 12 (v 1 *byrr bwylly di nun* BBCS 4
122 15 from Pen MS 3) MlBr *pe* 'what'   *pe rif* 'what I shall
do' Jés 189, *pe leueret hu* 'what do you say' Barbe 133

   Note. MlW *pyr* – *py-yr* (3) above, must be distinguished from MlW
pyr − *py-ry*, (8)   When the former occurs at the head of an affirmative
clause it is followed by the particle *y*   *pyr y kyuerchy dy* 'why dost thou call'
WM 486 25, the latter however is followed immediately by the verb
pyr (− *py-ry*) occurs in the older poetry as a conjunction meaning 'that',
followed immediately by the verb   *gvae vi pir imteith genhid e in kyueith*
'woe is me that I have sojourned with thee as companion BBC 22 10, v
Henry Lewis, HGCref 127ff

   § 378. **Derivatives from the Interrog. stem**   (1) Ir *cani, caini,
cain, cini* 'nonne', MlW *pony*, *ponyt* 'nonne'   The first element

may be from *$k^u\bar{a}$ (NA pl neut ?) **(2)** Ir *can* 'whence ?', MlW
pan (*pan doy di* 'whence comest thou ?' WM 18 1, repeated in the
answer *a phan doy titheu pan deuaf   o lys arthur* 'whence comest
thou ? I come from A 's court' 168 23 f , as relative *py le pan
deuy ti* 'what place dost thou come from ?' 125 36), MlBr *pe-ban*
(*pe ban ind y* 'whence are they ' Barbe 109, as relative *lavar an
rout peban out duet* 'tell me the way you have come' Poèmes Bret 82 ,
guerches huec peban prezegaff 'sweet Virgin of whom I speak' 213 ,
with the form cf MlIr *cia-chan*), also *pe-a-ban* Mir Mort 1986
Possibly from *$k^u an\bar{a}$ **(3)** Ir *cuin* 'when ?' (also *cia chuin*) MlW
pan, pann MnW *pan* Co MlBr *pan* are relative, not interrog , they
usually mean 'when', sometimes 'as, since' (causal), MlW *hyt pan*
'until', *o-r pan, yr pan* 'since' MnW *hyd pan, er pan, erbyn pan*
'by the time when', Co *kepar ha pan* 'as when, as if', *bys pan* 'until'
a-ban 'since', MlBr *a-ban* 'since', *pa na* quum non (and so *pa
aba*) Possibly from *$k^u am$, but if *-nn* in W *pann* is original then
cf Umbr *ponne* 'quum'

Note MlW *pan* occurs as a declarative conjunction meaning that *ac
y dywedir pan yw ohonunt yd henyw* and it is said that it is from them that
comes Delw y Byd, A 47 5 , *ny wydyem pan oed ti a grogem* we knew not
that it was Thou whom we were crucifying BT 12 9 The form *pan yw*
became constant in such constructions *a dywedassant a ynteu pan yw merchet
ierll oedynt* and they said that they were daughters of earls RM 191 15
This use of *pan* is probably a development of (2) cf OW *or bissei pan
diconetent ir oith aur hinnith* 'it is from the *bissi* that (lit whence) these eight
hours are made up BBCS 3 256 3 MlW *bonhed qwenyn o paradwys pan
yw* the origin of bees is from paradise', from paradise that (lit whence)
it is'' MlW *y mae, mae* 'that it is' completely replaced *pan yw* in this sense
(it is written MnW *mai*), also MlW *y taw dywedwn y taw ti oed bown* I
should say that (it is) you were B Heng MSS II 142 20 MnW (SW)
taw, cf § 481 n

(4) MlW *cw, cwd cwt* 'whence ? where ? whither ?', v Lloyd-
Jones, Geirfa 188 For c-, v § 55 (*cwd*, with /-*d*/, and *cut*, with
/-*d*/, are foll by len , *cw*, by len and also by spir mut of a dental)
(5) MlW *pet* (len) 'how many ?', Br *pet* (these are followed by a
sg noun), cf Lat *quot*, Skr *kati* 'how many ?'

§ 379. The indefinite relative in Ir (1) The independent form *cia*
(neut , probably orig neut pl) and the dep form *ci-* in the group
ci-p can be indefinite rel pronouns ('quodcunque') Exx cf *ci-* in
§ 376, *cia cia bé a-mmet* 'however great it may be' ''whatever be
its size'' Ml 61b 28, *cia beith noco-bia-so fó mebail* 'whatever may

be, you will not be in disgrace' LL 260 a 49   **(2)** The compound
se-chi is also an indefinite relative *sechi-p hé* 'whosoever he be'
Wb 1 d 19, *sechi hed bás són* 'whatsoever death that may be' 13 c 1,
sechi chruth do-n-d-rón 'in whatsoever manner I may be able to
do it' 5 b 18, *sechi-ó óenrainn* 'from whatever single part' Thes
II 2 25   Ir *sech is* 'that is' (in explanation)

§ 380. The indefinite relative in Brit consists of MlW *pynnac*
MnW *bynnag* Co *pynak, pynag, penag (penag-ol,* with encht *oll*
'all', MnCo *pennagel,* and with mute *-e, pennagle)* MlBr *pennac,*
preceded by the interrogative W *pwy bynnag* 'whoever', *(pa)*
beth bynnag (OW *papedpinnac), peth bynnag* 'whatever', *pa le bynnag*
'wherever', *pa ddyn bynnag* 'whatever man', Co *pyw penagh*
'whoever', *pe penag, py penag, pe pynag ol* 'whatever', *py le penag*
wherever', *py nyl pynag-ol* 'whichever (of two)' (PC 1462), MlBr
piu pennac MnBr *piou bennak* 'whoever', MlBr *pe-tra pennac*
whatever' Co *pynak* can also stand alone *pynak vo* 'whatever
he be' PC 681, *penag a worthya ken du* 'whoever worships another
god Beun Mer 764, it also follows *pup* 'every' *puppenak ma fo*
redys 'wherever it be read' PC 550, *puppenag-ol a vo ef* 'whoever
he be' PC 23 (this is probably a later development of *pe-penak)*
Br *pennac* may follow *un* 'one' + noun *un lechic pennac* 'some
little place or other' Jés 154 — As early as the 15th cent W
bynnac occurs preceding a noun *bynnac vyd ar ben aic vo* ''whatever
world be on a chief'' ('whatever his circumstances may be') Hywel
ap Dafydd, Peniarth MS 67, p 98, l 40, cf *pynnag o by wlad y*
her pw 'whatever country he is from' BBCS 6 316 11 (from a
MS of 1575—6)   This construction spread, especially in SW ,
where *bynnag* became *gynnag,* then *gan nad,* which is now often
found in writing *gan nad pwy* 'whoever', *gan nad beth* 'whatever'

       pynnac etc is formed from the unaccented interrog pron
+ a negative, cf Russ *kto ni* 'quicunque' and the MlBr idioms
like *nac eu mar fier* 'however proud he is' Jés 3

    § 381 Ir *-con-* infixed after a negative is a pronominal element
denoting originally 'in some connection or other' It frequently
occurs before *nech* 'anyone', *ní* 'anything' (adj *nach,* neut *na)* or
before *etir* 'at all', *ni-con-* translates Lat 'numquam' and 'omnino
non' OIr *ní o-chloor act for cáin-scéil* 'may I hear nothing but
good of you' Wb 23 b 41, *con-na-ccon-bet acht degnimai less* 'so that
there may be only good works with him' Ml 129 a 9, *ni-con-sech-*

mallad nech 'no one avoided' 33 c 21, *ɔ-na-con-beth leu etir* 'that it should not be with them at all' 35 c 2

This pronominal *-con-* was later confused with the preverb |*con-* (*com-*), and so caused eclipsis The *-c-* is lenited in the same circumstances as the initial of the preverb (hence MlIr *no-chon-Se cha*) Also in later OIr and in MlIr an infixed pers pron occasionally occurs after *ni-con-* (never in Wb) *ni-ɔ-d-robae* 'he had not' Ml 41a 5, *no-chon-om-tha-sa dúib acht* 'I have nothing for you but' Wi 265 14, other MlIr exx by Strachan, Ériu 1 161

-con- is possibly an adverb with the ending *-nā* like *all cen* § 371—2

§ 382 The ordinary indefinite pron is Ir indep *nech*, neut NA *ní* (DG *neuch*, *neich*), dep *nach*, neut NA *na* (DG sg m u *nach*, G sg f, pl NA f n, A m *nacha*, pl D *ho nach mindaib* 'by any signs' Ml 35d 16), MlW *nep* MnW *neb*, Co MlBr *nep* 'someone, anyone, something, anything', adj 'some any', with a neg, 'no one, nothing' This pron often precedes a rel sent Ir *arcessi do neoch bes meldach less* 'he has compassion on anyone he pleases' Wb 4c 19, *hua neuch as airrcendam* 'from that which is first' Ml 56b 22, MlW (always with the article, as also in MnW) *ponyt oed iawn y tithen kanhadu y-r neb y delei hwnnw attaw   Had y benn ae rodi y-r neb y mynhei* 'would it not be right for thee to allow anyone to whom that one came to cut off his head and to give it to anyone he liked' RM 246, Co *neb a whelengh why me yir* 'I am the one whom you are looking for' MC 68 MlBr *nep a lavare compsou all* qui dirait d'autres paroles' Ernault Gloss 442 (redundantly *doe nep am croueas* 'God who created me' Vie de sainte Nonne 1007, *Jesus pe heny nep a clesquet* Jesus whom you are seeking' Jés 185), in MnBr as in W the art can be used with the pron *an neb a gollo a baeo ar mizou* whoever loses shall pay the expenses' Vallée, La Langue Bretonne (1926) 120, V *en neb e ia liés d'er foér* 'whoever goes often to the fair' (also *en nemb*)

Note The Ir dep form comes before a substantive, before *aile* (*na ru-d-baitsius nach n aile* if I have baptized any other Wb 8a 3), before *ae* (*na ae* none of them' 12b 33), before substantival adjs (*nach gein* for any long time [*cian*] 7a 11, *nach mor*, dat neut to any great extent , modifying a neg 11d 5, Ml 64d 13   W *nemawr, nemor* Br *nemeur*, cf Co *namur ny gar namur in bysma doys in ov syght* not many in this world like to come into my sight Beun Mer 4215)   — For the use in W v Morris-Jones, WG 313f , in Co , Lewis Llawlyfr Cern Canol 38, in MlBi , Lewis, Llawlyfr Llyd Canol² § 44

The Ir mdep NA sg neut *ni* developed into a substantive meaning 'thing' in MIIr *cach ni* every thing , with pl *nechi, nethi* MnIr *ni, nidh,* pl *neithe*

The primitive form was **ne-kᵘos* (for **kᵘos ne kᵘos* 'someone, someone not') For the loss of final *-od* in the n , cf § 86

Derivatives Ir *nechtar* 'either of two', MlW *nebawt* 'anyone' (BT 60 17), anything' (RP 1040 35, cf *heb nebawd eissyued* 'without any want' LIH 140 14), Co *nebes* 'something' (PC 208), 'little' (OM 389), Br *nebeud, neubeud* 'a little'

§ 383. 'Everybody', 'every'   (1) Ir mdep *cách. g cáich,* dep *cach* (D m n *cach* Gen m n *cach* and *caich* Wb 16 a 31, 5 c 3, Gen f *cacha,* older *cache* Thes II 255 4, pl D *caiha* Wb 16 a 27)   W mdep *pawb,* dep *pob* Co *pup, pop, pep* (i e /pop/, the orig accented form, it is used substantively, e g OM 596, and adjectivally, e g PC 1081)   Br *pep* (the orig unacct form, adjectival only)   For W *beunydd* (*beunoeth*), Br *bemdez* v § 272 n

The Ir dep form stands before a substantive (*cach ball* every member', *cach maid* 'every good thing'), before *óen* (OIr *cach óen* everyone' Wb 4 d 21), and before the g of the pers pron 3 rd pers (*cach nœ, cach hœ* Wb 12 c 46, 19 c 19)   W *pob* stands before a substantive (usually sg , occasionally pl), before *un* (*pob un* every one' pl *pob rhai*), before *rhyw* and *cyfryw,* before cardinal numerals to form distributives (orig with len , *bob ddau* 'two by two', now *bob yn ddau,* etc , cf OIr *cach dá* 'two by two'), *bop eil* § 371   The Co forms occur before a substantive, before *onan* and *huny* (*pup onan. pup huny* 'every one'), similarly, MlBr *pep unan, pep heny* 'every one', pl *pep re*

Primitive form **kᵘākᵘo-s,* cf OSl *lakŭ* which '

(2) Ir dependent form *cech* (D Gen m n *cech.* Gen sg f , A pl m (Ml 56 a 20), N pl f *cecha,* also Gen pl *cecha* Ml 91 c 12) This proclitic pron may contain as its first element the interrog pron (= Ir *cia*), the second element may be either the repeated interrog pron (cf Lat *quis-quis*) or the particle **kᵘe* (cf Lat *quis-que*)   From it is derived *cechtar* 'each of two'

§ 384   'Every' = 'all'   Co *kettep* (*kettep dyner* 'every penny' PC 1514, *ketep tam* every bit' OM 2743, *kettep onan* 'everyone', *ketoponon oll* MC 181 4, *ketep pol = ketep ol* 'all'), MlBr *quitibunan* Mir Mort 3289, *guyteb-unan, guitib-unan, guyteb-un-tam,* MnBr *guitibunan* V *kotibunan*   Co *kettep* Br *guyteb-* represent an old

compound whose first element is the same as W *cyd* in MIW *y gyt* MnW *i gyd* 'all together', *tir cyd* 'common land', MlW *y gyt a* MnW *gyda* 'with', *cydeistedd* 'sit together', OCo *chetua* 'conuentus uel conuentio', MlCo *kes-colon* 'with one heart' PC 2, MlBr *quet-breuzr* 'confrère' Cf Lat *cun-ctus* from **com-citos* The last element of the Brit word corresponds to Ir *sechi-*, *sech* § 379, 2

§ 385 Indefinite pronouns not derived from the interrogative stem
(1) Ir *huile* 'all' (before or after the substantive when adjectival) W *oll*, substantival, always used adverbially following the word to which it is connected (*y byd oll* 'the whole world' "the world entirely ', cf also MlW *bei oll yt uei val hynn* 'were it all thus', "were it wholly that it were like this" WM 487 28), *holl*, adj , always preceding its noun (MlW *naut oll yr holl merthyri* 'the protection of all the saints, entirely' BBC 71 4, it takes len after it), v Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax 147ff a pl form possibly in MlW *yll*, *ill*, *ell* MnW *ill* before numerals MnW *aethant ill dau* 'they went, the two of them' (otherwise Morris-Jones, WG 281) Co *ol*, *oll*, substantival, used as in W (*the'n beys ol* 'to the whole world' OM 34, *pandra yw ol guyryoneth* 'what entirely is truth '' PC 2029) also as object of a verb, a usage not found in W (*my a wra ol thu'm gallus* 'I shall do everything in my power' OM 2148—9), adjectival, (*in oll kernou* in all Cornwall' Beun Mer 2205, usually with foll art or pron *yn oll an bys* 'in all the world' MC 225 4, *oll y voth* 'all his desire' 9 3, possibly an English construction), cf also *pepynag ol* § 380, *kettep pol* § 384 MlBr *oll*, substantival as in W (*quement am eur a roaf oll* 'as much as I have I give entirely' Jés 99, *ed oll en maes* 'go out, all of you' Nonne 513), also *an oll*, *ann oll* 'entirely completely' (Nonne 645 Jés 130, cf *ann oll oll* Jés 43, *ann oll da-nn oll* Barbe 802), *holl*, *hol*, adj (*da hol mennat* 'all thy desire' Barbe 676, *paeaf oll dle an holl bet* 'to pay entirely the debt of the whole world' Jés 44, rarely *oll ann oll faczon* 'entirely' "the whole manner" Barbe 112), in MnBr *holl* is used in both senses (2) Ir *dim* gl quippiam, gl quicquam Ml 27d 9, 70c 14b W *dim* 'anything', *heb Dduw, heb ddim* 'without God, without anything', often with the negative *ni chlywaf ddim* 'I do not hear anything', and especially in spoken W used like Fr *pas* with the neg (*ni*) *wn i ddim beth a wna* 'I don't know what he will do', hence *dim* has acquired the meaning 'nothing' Often followed by *o ni welais ddim o'r dyn* 'I did not see (anything of) the man',

usually contracted to *mo ni welais mo'r dyn* (also *ddim ohono* >
mohono > *mono* '(of) him' etc)   In MnW *dim ond* "anything but"
has come to be used in the sense 'only'   *dim ond lleuad borffor* 'only
the purple moon'   Etym obscure

(3) MlW *ryu* MnW *rhyw* 'a (kind of)', 'a (certain)', 'some',
pa ryw § 377,2, *neb rhyw* 'any (kind of)'   *neb ryw gristawn*
'any Christian' RM 219 3, *pob rhyw* 'every (kind of)'   Cpds
amryw 'various, several', *cyfryw* 'such', *unrhyw, un rhyw* 'same'
(also with prec article), later *unrhyw* 'some', Br dial *reo* (RC
37 36) In W this word is also a noun 'kind', later 'sex', usually
masc , now occasionally fem , *rhyw i* '(it is) natural to' *rhyw it
oedd roi* 'it was natural to thee to give' Tudur Aled (I 88) — MlW
rei MnW *rhai* pl 'some' MlW *rei onadunt* 'some of them' RM 144
(MnW *rhai* is also used adjectivally with a pl noun *rhai prydiau*
'some times'), Co *re a-n edewon* 'some of the Jews' MC 203 This
pron also means 'ones' MlW *y rei* MnW *y rhai* 'the ones, those',
MnW *(y) rhai eraill* '(the) others', *pob rhai* § 383,1 *pa rai* § 377,2,
Co *an re ma* § 369, 4, *re erell* 'others' Br *ar re mañ* 'these', MlBr
an hol re 'all' (W *yr holl rai*), *pep re* all   (Br *re* also occurs as
sing *vn re* 'someone' Nonne 507, Barbe 7) Except in V , Bi *re*
takes len *re vihan* 'small ones' It is adj in Trég *tri re dud* 'three
families' (this in W would be *tri rhyw dud*, apparently the Bi
forms corresponding to W *rhyw* and *rhai* have been confused, cf
Loth Dict de Pierre de Châlons 77)

(4) Ir *céle* 'fellow' is used pronominally, meaning 'the other
(of two)' *as coir do chách guide dée h-a chéle* that it is proper for
every one to pray to God for the other' Wb 7a 13, for the fem
sétig 'wife' ("companion" § 294) is used *indara suil a sétig* 'the
one eye the other' LU 6454—6 W *cilydd* 'fellow' is similarly
used, always accompanied in MlW by the pron *y* 'his' MlW
dyrnodeu calet tost a rodei bawp onadunt y gilyd 'hard severe
blows did each of them give to the other' "to his fellow" (*y = y y*),
'they gave each other hard severe blows' RM 282 22, *y gilydd*,
written in MnW *ei gilydd*, became stereotyped later and was used
with other antecedents besides those of the 3 pers sg masc , and
the len form *gilydd* was used even after *ein* 'our', *eich* 'your', *eu*
'their', the development may be illustrated thus *gwelodd pawb
ohonom ei gilydd* 'each of us saw the other' > *gwelsom bawb ei
gilydd* "we saw each one his fellow" > *gwelsom ei gilydd* > *gwelsom*

ein gilydd we saw each other', MIW *or mor bwy gilyd* 'from one
sea to the other', MnW *o ben bwy-gilydd* 'from one end to the
other' (*bwy* for *pwy* < **po-ı*, the prep **po* (Ir *co*) occurs before a
noun as *py* 'to' cf MIW *py* RM 83 20 for *py y*) Co *y gele*
MC 179, *y gyle* PC 506, *-y gela* Beun Mer 607 MlBr *e-quıle*
MnBr *e-qıle*, fem MlBr *he-ben* MnBr *e-ben* (Co *hy-ben* *y-ben* is
used for both m and f)

XXIX. The relative pronouns.

§ .386. In both branches of insular Celt there is a fundamental
difference between relative sentences in which the rel is subject
or object and those in which the rel has some other function In
the former class old pronominal elements with rel meaning appear,
in the latter such elements either do not exist or are secondary
The former type is here styled 'proper' relative sentences the latter
'improper'

The relative pronouns in Irish

§ 387 Relative eclipsis (a new development in Ir § 192—4)
established itself to a certain extent in both proper and improper
rel sentences, and it became the rule that it was always accomp-
anied by the same suffixed and infixed elements as appeared in
proper rel sentences In the course of the literary period the
characteristics of the proper rel sent tend to spread more and
more to the improper class, v § 393,1 A pronominal element *-d-*,
in itself not relative, often appears in Ir rel sents

§ 388. **The suffixed elements in proper relative sentences and in
eclipsing sentences in Ir** (1) Verbal forms 3 sg with the ending *-d*
substitute for this, in rel function, a non-palatal *-s* *berıd* 'carries',
beres 'who carries', *beras* who may carry', *inti cretfes* he who will
believe' Wb 1a 3, *tuıccı a n-gaıbes in salm* 'he understands that
which the salm says' 12d 42, *amal gnís crıst* 'as Christ worketh'
21b 2, *maırg bıas oc estecht* 'woe (to him) who will be listening'
Wı 190

(2) A suffixed *-e* occurs after verbal forms 3 pl in *-t* and after
certain 3 sg monosyllabic forms *berıt* 'they carry', *a m-bertae
eóın* 'what the birds carry' LU 1454, *intaın creıtfıte* 'when they will
believe' Wb 5c 12, — to the copula 3 pl *ıt* 'they are' corresponds
as rel the form *ata ıt sıb ata chomarpı* 'it is you who are heirs'

19 c 20, — *téte* 'who goes' 9 d 5, *it hé coisnimi inso file lib-si* 'these are the contentions that are with you' 7 d 13

(3) The 1 pl ending *-mi* with the suffixèd rel becomes *-me mat réte frecndirci gesme* 'if it be present things which we (may) ask' Wb 4 a 27, *a m-bás tiaqme-ni* the death which we go to' 15 b 28 (4) The passive and middle forms of the 3 sg and 1 and 3 pl in *-ir* have corresponding rel forms in *-er*, *-ar os cech anmimin ainmnigthei* 'over every name that is named' 21 a 14, *inn almsin berar* the alms (acc) that is taken' 16 d 7, *for-sna-hí comalnatar toil dá* on those who fulfil God's will 20 d 1 (5) Some 3 sg subjunctive, fut or pret forms in palatal *-s* have corresponding rel forms in non-pal *-s ma theis* 'it he go' Wb 14 a 14 rel *tias* Thes II 39 25, — *fóidis* 'he sent', *soerais* 'he delivered' rel *amal foides* 'as he sent' *soeras* 'who delivered' Thes II 304 1 302 5 (6) The suffixed element disappears after some unacct verbal forms, thus *fel, fil, feil* Wb 4 c 1, 10 b 21 13 c 26 beside *file, at, et, it* Ml 45 d 1, 27 a 9, Wb 29 a 29, beside *ata* The 3 sg *is* 'is' has the corresp rel *as brothchán as choir duib* it is pottage that is meet for you' 33 c 15

§ 389. The infixed element in proper rel sentences and in eclipsing sentences in Ir The only real infixed rel element is a leniting *-e- -a-* or *ni* The form *-e-* occurs after the preverb *imb-* (occasionally after *air-*) the form *-a-* after *air-* and occasionally after *ess-*, in other cases the lenition alone occurs *innaní prechite et imm-e-churetai cori* those who preach and bring peace' Wb 5 a 5 (with rel eclipsis *imm-e-n-imgabad* gl declinaie), iaiei *imm-a-* Wb 16 b 8 Ml 17 b 6, *imm-o-forling* 'that has caused' Wb 10 c 18 — *it hesom ba moam ar-e-rancatai and* it was they that they found there most' ZCP 8 308 34, *each réit ai-a-ro-gart som* 'everything that he has forbidden' Wb 5 c 23 (with rel eclipsis *a n-ar-a-n-eqi* 'when he bewails' Ml 18 d 1), with lost pron *is hed ar-thá inso* 'it is this that is before (me)' Wb 30 d 13 — *indí ass-a-quiset* 'those who wish' Ml 61 b 17, with lost pron *as-chom-arta* who have been killed' 26 d 11

Exx of lenition due to the rel element, and which remains after the latter disappears, are given in § 239, cf also *each led do-choid som* 'every side that he went' Wb 14 c 20, *nech fris-chom-arr doib* 'some one who opposes them' Ml 77 a 12

§ 390. The infixed element *-d-* This occurs (1) In proper rel sents and in eclipsing sentences before an infixed pers pron,

v § 342   **(2)** After the conjunctions *cia* 'though', *ma* 'if' before an
indicative verb *cia do-d-chommar* 'though we have gone' Wb
23 d 23 , *ma ru-d-choiscset a-mmuintir* 'if they have corrected their
household' 28 c 7   **(3)** After the interrogative particle *in   duús in-
di-p fochunn úce* 'to see if it may be cause of salvation' 26 b 27
(4) After relative preverbs before the copula *con-di-b dídnad dom-sa*
'so that it may be a comfort to me' 1b 1 , *indid* 'in which it is' 12 d 18
(5) In eclipsing sentences after *ro*- and *no*- before the verb 'to be'
is faittech ro-n-d-boi-som   it was careful that he was'' Ml 21 d 4
(6) Frequently with the verb *do-es-ta* 'is wanting' in rel construction
an du-d-esta 'that which is wanting' Wb 1 a 9, also, *do-ecmaing*
'happens' *is menic do-n-d-ecmaing* 'frequently it happens' Ml 54a 7
(7) In *ro-d-bo* 'or, either' = *ro-bo* v KZ 35 404 (lit "what can be")

(8) In proper rel sents and in eclipsing sents , after rel
preverbs and after the interrog particle *in*, -*d*-occurs in the neg
nad (except before an infixed pers pron) *aní nad nóib* 'that which
is not holy' Wb 31c 1 , *dund óis nad-chaithi cach tuari* § 239,1 ,
co-ní-ecmi nad-n-airchissa 'that it may not happen that he spare
not' Wb 5 b 35 , *ni fil ceneel   di-nad-rícthe nech* 'there is no nation
of which some one shall not be saved 28 b 1 , *in-nád-cualaid-si* have
you not heard ?' 5 a 21 — Relative -*n*- comes before -*d*- before the
indicative copula *nant ní idol* 'that an idol is nothing' 10 b 26 ,
hóre na-n-d-at fili 'since they are not fili' 4 c 8 — In the cases here
described the use of -*d*- is optional (*na*, *na-n-* = *nad*, *nad-n-*)

§ 391. Improper relative sentences in Ir. The relative is not form-
ally expressed **(1)** after prepositional groups *is do thabirt diglae
berid in claideb sin* 'it is to inflict punishment that he bears that
sword' Wb 6 a 13   **(2)** After nouns referred to adverbially and after
some nominal conjunctions (but in these cases the relative eclipsis
is the more common construction, v § 193, 3, 4) *is ed á cret is
gessi dia* 'so long must God be supplicated' "that is the length in
which God must be supplicated" Ml 107d 8, *hóre ni-ro-indibed*
'because he had not been circumcised' Wb 23 d 25 Also after *amal*
'as if' ('as'), *resíu* before *dul*, *in dul* 'so that'   **(3)** Occasionally when
it means 'that' (conjunction), instead of the more usual construction
with eclipsis *is glé limm nixdigénte etrad* 'it is clear to me that
you would not commit fornication' Wb 9 d 9, cf also *is cumme
doib bid idalte* 'it is the same to them as though it were an idol-
offering' 10 c 3   **(4)** Occasionally with rel preverbs, v § 194

§ 392. The genitive of the relative is expressed   (1) by an improper
rel sent with an anaphoric genitive pronoun   *but alaili and rofinn-
atar a pecthe* 'there are some whose sins are known' Wb 29 a 28
In such cases the form of the 3 sg copula is *as   inti as a ainm* 'he
whose name it is' 2 c 3 (before a pl noun *at* is used   *in gilla sa
at a chomrama óen-aidche so ule* 'the youth whose battles in one
night are so many', lit "all these" Wi 300 8, v KZ 35 399,
('IrL 132)

(2) The rel sent may have no anaphoric pron , and in such
cases it is introduced by *as* who is', by a rel preverb, by the neg
na or by rel eclipsis   *inti as hénirt hiress* 'he whose faith is weak'
Wb 6 d 9, *la-sna cumachtgu foambiat accai 7 mám* 'with the mighty
ones under whose fosterage and yoke they are' Ml 59 d 7, *o crist
nad cétla celar* 'from Christ whose songs are not hidden' Thes II
352 1, *im cech rét ru-n-ecat les* 'in respect of everything they need'
("whose need they reach") Ml 57 b 4

§ 393. The later development of the relative sentence in Ir.
(1) Suffixed and infixed relative elements spread to improper
relative sentences in later OIr , they even sometimes took the
place of rel eclipsis   *amal imm-e-chomairsed* 'as though someone
had asked him' Ml 63 c 9   Relative construction is found after
prepositional groups (§ 391, 1) *ní fris ru-chét* 'not of it was it sung'
64 a 13   These tendencies developed still further in Mllr   *is dib
beres in coimdid a briathra* 'it is from them that the Lord delivers
his judgments' Atk   LBr 6239

(2) Lenition after preverbs ceased in Mllr to be a mark of
relative construction (§ 239, 2), but the initial of a simple verb or
of a preverb-verb group came to be lenited when relative, and in
MnIr an analogical *a* is frequently found before such len forms
an fear a mholas 'the man who praises' § 239, 3   The 1 pl endings
-me and *-mi* are already confused in Ml (KZ 35 376)   The 3 pl
rel form was gradually given up in Mllr   *ferend sin choimetait
cosmailius dé* 'those are the people who preserve the likeness of
God' Wi 170 8, in MnIr the 3 sg rel form is used when the rel
is subject   *na fir bhuaileas* 'the men who strike', in the spoken
language the use of this form is still more extended   *an té iarras
siad* 'he whom they seek', *an fear bhuaileas tú* the man whom you
hit', v KZ 35 374

(3) The OIr demonstrative *a n-* before a rel sent gradually

came to be regarded as a rel pron   It is frequently re-formed in
MlIr as *ina n-*, *ana n-*, *na n-*, on the model of *in-a n-* 'in which'
(because *a n-* 'that' and *i n-* 'in which' had coincided phonetically),
this new rel pron (whence Manx *ny*, Sc *na*) is naturally followed
by the prototonic verbal form, as is also MnIr *a n-*   Cf KZ 35
397ff ZCP 2 381

The relative pronouns in Brit. and Gaulish

§ 394. Suffixed and infixed relative elements in Brit and Gaulish.
MlBr *s-o* 'who (which) is' (*me so*, MnBr *me a zo* 'I am')   Gaul
dugiiontiio 'who serve' (3 pl), Thurneysen, ZCP 6 558   A suffixed
rel similar in form to that in the Gaul verb may underlie OW
issid MlW *yssyd* (*yssy, sy, syd*) MnW *y sydd* (*y sy, sy, sydd*) 'who
(which) is' (for *ys-ydd* /ɔs-ȳd/, accented on the ultima)   Traces of
an infixed rel are evidenced in the older W poetry by lenition
following the preverb *ry* and the negative in rel sentences beside
non-len (spirant mutation) in non-rel sentences, for exx v § 240
A remnant may well occur in *onid imuaredit or druc digonit* 'unless
thou deliverest thyself from the evil which thou doest' BBC 19 7,
with len of -*c*- after the prefix *di*-, as contrasted with *di-chon*, cf
Juv englynion *ti dicones* 'thou who hast made' *gur dicones* 'He
who made' BBCS 6 206 (*-c-* = /-g-/, and *-c-* = /-ch/ in *dicones
pater* 'the Father made'), v Loth, RC 37 58   But only very
meagre ruins of the infixed rel are found in MlW   and all traces
of it have long disappeared

§ 395. The usual form of the proper relative sentence in Brit. In
OW the proper rel sent is introduced by the relative *hai di
erchim tir telih hai oid i lau elcu* 'to claim the land of Telych which
was in the possession ("hand") of Elcu' Lib Land xliii, *ir serenn
hai bu in arcimeir o* 'the star which was opposite o' BBCS 3 256 7
(cf 1 8, 11, 17, 22), in 1 9 *ha*   In early MlW MSS this occurs as
ai, ay yr neb ai torio hac ay dimanuo y bryeint hunn 'any one who
may violate or curtail this privilege' Lib Land 121, *onit e keureyth
ay deueyt y deleu* 'unless the law says (unless it is the law that
says") it is due' ZCP 20 60 38, in early MlW poetry as *ae pwyr
byw ae diadas gwaet* 'who is the living one who shed blood '' BT
19 20, *piei y bet   ae tut mor* 'whose is the grave which the sea
covers' BBC 64 15   But the usual form is W Co Br *a*, which
causes lenition   The rel *a* is never used before *sydd* 'who is', it

sometimes occurs, especially in MnW , before *biau* (unnecessarily, as the rel pron. here is *bi-*, v § 374 with n)

The rel *a* is not used when the rel sent ·is negative, in MlW the neg rel sentence was introduced by *ny* (*nyt*), later *ni* (*nid*), now usually *na* (*nad*), in Co and Br the form is *na* MlW *nit oed gyueir arnei hi ny bei yn llawn oe garyat ef* 'there was no part of her which was not full of his love' WM 102 20, Co *neb na grys* 'anyone who does not believe' RD 2418, MlBr *vnan na duy* 'one who will not come' Nonne 28   Similarly when the verb is preceded by the temporal preverb MlW *wedy y gyniuer collet a sarhaet ry-wnaethost titheu ymi* 'after the many losses and insults which you have caused to me' RM 99 13, Co *pyth yw en drok re-wrussys* 'what is the evil which thou hast done' MC 101, MlBr *doe ra-m pardono* 'God pardon me' Nonne 388   But in MlW *a ry* occurs frequently, cf § 424

Note. Occasionally in MlW , often in Br and Co , *a* drops before a vowel, in late MnW it was frequently omitted even before a consonant, but in modern literary usage this is carefully avoided

§ 396. The Improper relative sentence In Brit. In OW the rel. is not formally expressed in improper rel sentences *in trited retec ietit loyr* 'in the third course (that, in which) the moon travels', *is gur tum tarnetor ir loc guac* 'it is as an increment (that) the empty space is reckoned', *is gurth ir serenn   retit loyr* 'it is opposite the constellation (that) the moon travels' BBCS 3 256 2, 7, 11   In MlW and MnW , in Co and in Br the rule was to introduce an improper rel sent with the particle MlW *y, yt* (= /əd/ § 240, 3 c), *yd* (= /əd/), rarely *yr* MnW *y, yr* Co *y, yth* Br *e, ez*, occasionally *a* is also used in W (v 3,4 below) The particle is used (1) whenever the relative has the force of an oblique case or functions adverbially MlW *ac yr fforest yd aei* 'and (it was) to the forest that he used to go' RM 193 18, *ny bu hir y buant* 'it was not long that they were' 23 7, Co *den meneth olyff yd-eth* '(it was) to the Mount of Olives that he went' MC 52, MlBr *nen deu quet dre humanitez ez eu gouarnet ho chastetez* 'it is not through human nature that your chastity is preserved' MBH 3 Cf also MlW *Gwalchmei y-m gelwir* 'I am called G ', "(it is) G that I am called" LlH 17 29, Co *Barabas yth-o gylwys* 'he was called B' MC 124   (2) After certain forms used as conjunctions MlW *ac ual yd yttoed yn kerdet* 'and as he was going' RM 236 7, (v Morris-Jones, WG 435, 449) After the Co and Br conjunction *ma* 'that' Co, *may fo colenwys* 'so

that it may be fulfilled' MC 48, MlBr *maz rentimp deoch enor* 'so
that we may render to you honour' MBH 2   Co *may*, Br *maz*
are also used for *y(th)*, ez Co *an pris may wruk the thon* 'the time
that I bore thee' RD 486, MlBr *an bez maz oae laquat* 'the grave
where he was put' Poèmes Bret 124

(3) When the relative is governed by a preposition, the rel
sent may in W be introduced by the particle *y*, the preposition
being not expressed MlW *a cheissun greft y caffom yn ymborth*
'let us seek a trade by which we may get our food' WM 65 25
But usually the rel sent contains a conjugated preposition or a
pronoun governed by a prep MlW *yny delych yr koet y doethost
trwydaw* 'until you come to the wood through which you came'
RM 166 6, the rel *a* sometimes occurs MlW *ffiol eur a anho
llawn diawt y brenhin yndi* 'a gold cup in which may be contained
the king's full draught' WML 3 4, *y gwayw a dywawt y vorwyn
du amdanaw* 'the spear about which the black maiden spoke' WM
167 22 — Co *ma*, *may* Br *maz* are used in such rel sentences
Co *nep ma-n ressys the wethe* 'he to whom thou gavest him to keep'
OM 574, *frut may fen kellys* 'fruit by which we were lost' MC 153 4,
Br *dren curun spern maz uoe cernet e pen* 'through the crown of
thorns with which his head was encircled' MBH 45 In Co and
MnBr *a* is used also Co *onan a gotho ynno cresy* 'one in whom
one should believe' OM 1761, MnBr *ar marc'hadour a gomzomp
anezañ*, or *ma komzomp anezañ* 'the merchant of whom we speak'
Ernault Gramm 31, cf Vallée p 166f   The interrogative pron ,
followed by a prep , is also used relatively in Br   MlBr *dre-n marv
pe gant ez marvas* 'by the death by which he died' Jés 64, *an
croas pe en heny ez gouzaffuas hon Salueur* 'the cross on which our
Saviour suffered' MBH 58 8

(4) When the relative is genitive, the rel sent is in W intro-
duced either by *a* or by *y*, the noun governing the g being accomp-
anied by a g personal pronoun MlW *teithi hen a oresgynnwys mor
y kynoeth* 'T H , whose country the sea overran' RM 108 24, *ar
gur y buost neithwyr yn y ty* 'and the man in whose house thou
wert last night' 203 5 For W *piau* v § 374 — Co *a nep a vo y
gorf golhys* 'he whose body may be washed' PC 861   — MnBr *a
Doue a veulomp e vadelez* 'God, whose goodness we praise', Vallée 166

Note The demonstrative pron sg m *yr hun*, f *yr hon*, n *yr hyn*,
pl *y rhai* is frequently used in written W as relative in cases 3 and 4 (part-

icularly in translations) MlW *y llyfyr hwnn   yn yr hwnn yd edewir arwystyl* hic libellus   in quo   pignus   relinquatur' Delw y Byd p 23 In 16 th cent prose the interrog pron was also used in W as rel , numerous instances occur in the Bible *pechaduriaid, o ba rai pennaf ydwyf fi* sinners, of whom I am chief' ITim 1 15, but it has not in W established itself so firmly as in Br , and its use is now avoided

Etymology of the relative pronouns.

§ 397   (1) Ir relative eclipsis originated in the meaningless sandhi-*n*, v § 192, § 193,2   It probably developed as a relative first in improper rel sents   For rel -*n* as object v § 193,1, with relative preverbs, § 194

(2) Ir infixed -*d*-, MlW *yd* Co *yth* Br *ez* have all the same origin, an adverbial form **idhe* (cf Skr *ihá* 'here', v Ebel, KB 5 148), not relative originally   (In MlW and Co it can immediately precede the verb at the head of a principal sentence MlW *yd afi* I shall go' WM 118 27, Co *hag yd ethons dy besy* 'and they went to entreat him' MC 154, v ZCP 7 337)   It came to be regarded as a relative (1) in improper rel sents in which the relative was not expressed (the Brit development) and (2) when the usual expression of the rel (lenition) was obscured by a following infixed pers pron (the Ir development)

(3) The infixed and suffixed elements of the proper rel sents are the remains of the IE rel pron (*jo-s), NA sg neut *jod (Skr *yad* Gk *ŏ*)   This is represented in Ir by -*e* in 1 and 3 pl rel forms of verbs (*bert-e* 'who carry', 'whom, which they carry', *berm-e* 'whom, which we carry'), by -*a* in the proclitic *at-a* 'who are', § 388,2   After prefixes, v § 389   No trace of the rel remains in *as* 'who, which is', by anal with sg *as*, pl *ata* there arose 3 sg rel forms like *beres* 'who carries', *caras* 'who loves' — The rel pron appears as -*jo* in Gaul *duguontiio* § 394, *-*jo* could become *-*ijo* and then give W -*ydd*, § 21,3, which probably appears in MlW *yssyd* MnW *y sydd*, regularly used in proper rel sents with rel subject   The assumption that -*ydd* in this word is the same as the MlW particle *yd* /*əd*/ implies that *yd* can be subject, but *yd* is never found as subject (the exx given by Loth, RC 31 33 are incorrectly explained by him, v ZCP 17 107f , in each case the sentence is an improper rel sentence)   The rel pron is represented by -*o* in Br *s-o* 'who is'   After preverbs and the negative it was lost (thus after MlW *ry*- etc IE *pro)   In Brit the rel pron could

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also stand before the verb, the oldest form is OW *(h)ai* MlW *ay, ae*, but the form *a* has prevailed in W , Co and Br   The development of all these forms is not clear   (The rel pron *a* being unaccented was liable to be weakened to /ə/, and this weakened pronunciation is represented by *y* in W , v Delw y Byd 126 f , and cf Co   *ham banneth y roff theth vam* 'and my blessing (which) I give to thy mother' Beun Mer 3706)

Negatives and verbs in relative sentences.
Use of relative sentences.

§ 398. (1) The negative occasionally has in relative sents a form different from that in a principal sent , v § 409 — For the accent on the first prefix of a rel verb in Ir v § 402, 4

(2) When the relative is subject, the verb is generally in the 3 sg   **OIr.** *as-mmé m-oínur ar-id-rochell* 'that it is I alone who have taken it away' Sg 202 a 7 , *ní sní cet-id-deirgni* 'it is not we who have done it first' Ml 124 b 3   **MlW.** *ae ti a eirch uy merch ys mi ae heirch* 'is it thou who askest for my daughter ʹ It is I who ask for her' WM 479 29, *gwyr a gauas clot mawr* men who got great fame' RM 138 14   **Co.** *ol an bestes a gertho* 'all the animals which go' OM 313   **MlBr** *a me a dle ober en dra se* 'is it I who should do that thing ʹ' Jés 59 , *han dazrou gloeb a gulchy dyen ho eneb* 'and the wet tears which washed your face quite' MBH 45 14

Exceptions occur   In OIr the 3 pl of the copula comes after 'we', 'you' *it sib ata chomarpi Abracham* 'it is ye that are A 's heirs' Wb 19 c 20, the 3 pl also follows a 3 pl antecedent *indhí pridchite et forchanat brethir doé* 'they that preach and teach God's word' 29 a 12, *innani as-id-grennat* 'of those that persecute him' Ml 18 d 2   In MlW the verb is frequently 3 pl after a 3 pl antecedent *gweleis wyr goruawr a dygyrchynt awr* 'I saw huge men who were going to battle' BT 42 11 , *gwae yr sawl a gredan* 'woe to those who believe' RP 1164 15 The 3 pl is usual in MnW in a neg rel sentence, but 3 sg and 3 pl were formerly used MlW *gwyr ny techei* (MS *nyt echei*) 'men who would not run away' BA 1 13, *y ryw bryuet ni doeth* 'animals which have not come' WM 83 7, *dynyon   ny ellynt* 'men who could not' RM 193 14 , *guir ny gilint* 'men who would not escape' BBC 72 6   Gaulish also affords an instance of the 3 pl after a 3 pl antecedent *gobedbi dugiiontiio ucuetin* 'to the priests who serve Ucuetis (qui colunt Ucuetim)' ZCP 6 558

§ 399. When any word in a sentence is to be emphasized, it is placed as predicate after the copula, and is followed by the remainder of the statement in a (proper or improper) rel sentence Ir *is recht nóibas* 'it is the Law that sanctifies' Wb 24 a 28, *is immallei rofóitea* 'it is together that they have been sent' 27c 35 The copula is occasionally omitted *brothchán as chóir duib* '(it is) pottage that is meet for you' 33 c 15, *a persin ind iudidi asbeir som ani-siu* '(it is) in the person of the Jew that he says this' 5 a 1 — MIW *oed maelgun a uelun* 'it was M that I could see' BBC 1 8, OW *is gurth ir serenn   retit loyr* § 396, MIW *bit chuero y talhaur* it will be bitterly that it will be paid for' BBC 31 11, *ys guers yd wyf yn keissaw* 'it is for some time that I have been seeking' WM 487 8   But as a rule the copula is omitted   MIW *mi yd wyt yn y geissaw* '(it is) I whom thou art seeking' WM 138 21, *mi a-e heirch* '(it is) I who ask for her' 479 24, *kimri a oruit* '(it will be) the Welsh who will conquer' BBC 59 4, in MnW the omission of the copula is the rule

Note. The rule requiring relative construction if any word other than the verb begins the sentence did not obtain in Gaul   *ratin Frontu Tarbeisonios ieuru* 'F T made the fortress'   It never prevailed completely in W   *guir deur kymynint* 'brave men cut down' BBC 72 9   But the use of the particle *a* spread very much, no doubt first into (non-emphasizing) sentences in which it could serve as an infixing particle (*mi a-e crogaf* 'I shall hang it' WM 76 1), but later also into (non-emphasizing) sentences without an infixed pronoun   This however did not change the linguistic feeling of the speakers, who continued to distinguish syntactically between emphasizing sentences with a real relative (pronoun) *a* and non-emphasizing sentences with a meaningless (particle) *a*   MnW *myfi a aeth* it was I who went', *cenhadau a aeth* 'it was messengers that went', but *myfi a euthum* 'I went', *cenhadau a aethant* 'messengers went   Occasionally however we find in MIW instances like *Kennadeu a aeth* WM 51 8 in which no emphasis is required or intended upon *kennadeu*   This state of things in W   explains how *mi* and other pronouns could come to be felt as particles, § 240 n 1

In Co and Br, however, the construction of the emphasizing sentence apparently became general and normal in non-emphasizing sentences   Co *eleth de rygthy a seff* 'angels rise before her' MC 226, *me a gris* 'I believe , MlBr *me a gourchemen* I command', *he mestr he les he hunan hac a ya* her master leaves her by herself and goes' Barbe 125

XXX. The|preverbs.

§ 400. For close and loose composition of preverbs with verbs
▼ § 99 The personal endings of a compound verb are shorter than

those of the simple verb § 448 In loose composition (1) the preverb
is prochtic (2) Certain elements can be infixed between preverb
and verb, e g pronouns (3) The orig final consonant of the preverb
does not coalesce with the initial of the verb (4) Elision does not
occur when a preverb ending in a vowel precedes a verb with initial
vowel (5) A preverb orig ending in a vowel does not cause lenition
of the initial of the verb § 239, nor does eclipsis occur § 431, 7

The occurrence of close and loose composition.

§ 401 The negatives, the interrog particle and the relative
preverbs in OIr always form loose compounds with the verb This
is also the case when another preverb precedes the neg *arnach-n-*
aurchoissed 'that it should not detain him' Wb 8 a 4

§ 402. (1) In the **indic. and subjunctive** in OIr the accent falls on the
second preverb Verbs compounded with a prefix (word-forming
preverb) or the temporal preverb *ro* always change in form when
preceded by a neg , the interrog part or a rel preverb (syntactic
preverbs) *ind fochith fo-llongam* 'the suffering which we endure'
Wb 14 b 15, but *amal nad fulgam* 'as we do not endure', *ní fulgam*
'we do not endure' Ml 77 d 7, *co chonscarad* 'that he should destroy'
Ml 23 b 14, but *in coscram-ni* 'do we destroy?' Wb 2 b 20, *ass-*
éirset 'who will arise' Wb 25 b 16, but *in-eséirset* 'in which they will
arise' 13 c 20

(2) No pronoun can be infixed between a neg or *ro* and the
copula *ní-pa-dn aidrech* 'he will not be sorry for it' Wb 5 c 9, *inti*
ro-po magister § 239, 1 But the adverbial *-d-* and rel *n* are infixed
between preverb and copula *in-di-p* 'whether it may be', *in-di-d*
'in which it is', *ro-d-bo* 'or' § 390, 3, 4, 8, *amal ro-m-bo marb ísu* 'as
Jesus was dead' Wb 15 b 25

(3) There is already in OIr some evidence of a new devel-
opment by which *ro* even after another preverb forms a loose
compound with the verb *ni ru-m-chomairleicis-se* 'Thou hast not
permitted me' Ml 76 d 5 In MIIr *ro* is regularly prochtic after a
syntactic preverb, and in such cases a pron is infixed after *ro*,
v Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1895—98, p 186 *ní-r thúargaibset*
'they could not lift it' LU 8389, *uair na-r chomaill* 'since he had
not fulfilled' Atk LBr 4035, MIIr metre proves that it was the
syll following after *ro* that was accented (Strachan, op cit 185)
But a few instances of the older order occur in MIIr , while *-raibhe*

'was' has persisted up to MnIr (*go raibhe* 'so that he was', *ní raibhe*
'he was not' etc), otherwise MnIr has only -*r*   *gu-r*, *nío-r*, *ná-r*
(= MlIr *cor*, *nir*, *nar*)

(4) Close composition with the first preverb occasionally occurs
in proper rel sentences *di neuch thórnther* 'of anything which is
denoted' Sg 59 b 18 (*to-fo-rind-*), *is hed foirfea* 'it is this which will
cause' Wb 11 d 3 (*fo-fera* 'causes') Close composition in rel sents
occurs more frequently in MlIr

(5) Close composition with the first preverb occurs in answers
ní chumci son   *cumcim écin* 'you cannot do it   I can indeed'
LU 5166 f , *gaib i-t láim mo fóesom   Atmu ol Conchobar* 'take in
thy hand my protection I recognize it, said C ' 4895 f

§ 403 In the **imperative** close composition with the first preverb
is the rule   *taibrid* 'give ye' Wb 16 c 17, *taibrem* 'let us give'
13 d 15   Loose composition occurs when an infixed pron is used
du-m-em-se 7 deich tar-m-chenn 'protect me and take vengeance
for me' Ml 72 d 11 , if the verb is simple, *no* is used to infix the pron ·
n-an-glanad 'let him purify himself' Wb 11 d 8   — Close comp in
the **nominal forms** of the verb *tabart* 'to give', gerundive *tabarthi*,
part *tairberthae* gl incuruatum Ml 130 c 7

§ 404 **Further distinctions between the forms in close and loose
composition** (cf Sarauw, Irske Studier p 53—67) Difference in the
root appears between *con-lic* 'he can' and *ni 'cum-aing* 'he cannot'
Also *ad-lcon-darc* 'I have seen' (pres *ad-lciu*) and *ní lacca* 'I have
not seen', a further distinction here is the presence of the preverb
-*com*- in loose composition only, cf *ad-co-tade* gl consecutus est
Ml 89 c 1 *ní létade* (no change of root, the preverb *in*- interchanging
with *ad*-) There is an instance of a word-forming preverb in a loose
cpd being lost where a close compound is expected *at-ltáu* 'I am'
ni táu 'I am not' , also verbs in which the same preverb is put twice
in loose composition *do-ltuit* 'it falls' (*do-tui-t*), *fora-ltuit* 'on which
it falls' (in late OIr *du-fuit* occurs for *du-tuit*, as if the verb con-
tained the preverb -*fo*-)

§ 405 **The later development of close and loose composition in Ir.**
The old system was already breaking down in OIr , and the reduction
and loss of pretonic preverbs in MlIr (§ 105) completed the break-
down In MnIr , forms in which close composition has been general-
ized (*diultaim* 'I deny', OIr *do-lsluindi* 'he denies' *ní ldiltai*) exist
side by side with forms which have lost a pretonic preverb (*fuasalaim*

'I release', OIr *do-fuasilci* 'he undoes', inf *tuasulcud*) It is only in certain irregular verbs that the old differences are still retained in MnIr (*do*)*chonnaic* 'he saw', *ní fhaca* 'he did not see' (to OIr *ad-cí* 'sees'), *chuaidh* 'he went', *go n-deachaidh* 'that he went' (to OIr *tíagu* 'I go'), (*do*) *bhí* 'he was', *ní raibhe* 'he was not'

§ 406 **In Brit.** the rules for lenition and infixing in older W poetry (§240, §242, §349n , §394) show that originally a similar system of compounding to that of OIr existed But the Brit accent (§ 115) destroyed the system as it became impossible to distinguish between proclitic and originally accented preverbs

The negatives.

§ 407 The usual forms of the simple negative in principal sentences are Ir *ni, ní* MIW *ny* MnW *ni* Co *ny* Br *ne* § 93 In combination Ir *cani, caini, cain, cini* 'nonne' MIW *pony* § 378,1, Ir *cini, cin* 'although not', *mani, main, mini* 'if not', MIW *ny-t, pony-t* (MnW *nid, onid*, cf OW Juv *anit arber bit* gl num uescitur, MIW *anet ry vaethpwyt* 'unless one had been fed' BA 1 20), OIr *neb-, neph-* MIIr *nem-* MnIr *neamh-* OIr *neb-leiscc* gl non pigri Wb 5d 17, *i-i etaib neb-aicsidib* in invisible things' 4 a 24 For OIr *ni-con-*, MIIr *nochon-, nocha*, Sc *cha* v § 381

§ 408 Ir *na* MnIr *ná* W Co Br *na* nor', neither nor' in Ir 'neither' is not expressed (*siu ná tall* neithei here nor there' Wb 3d 17), in W and Br *na* is often repeated, in Co 'neither' is expressed by *na nyll* Before a syllabic vowel the form is W *nac* (pronounced *nag*) Co *nag* Br *nag nak*, in Ir *na* before an accented vowel, *nach* before a proclitic word *in rí nach in popul* 'neither the king nor the people' The orig Celt form was probably *ne-kʷe* cf § 86, the *a* is however difficult to explain

§ 409. (1) Ir *na* regularly negatives a proper relative sentence and an eclipsing sentence *na ro-pridchissem-ni dúib* which we have not preached to you' Wb 17b 31 , *bied aimser ná-m-ba lobur* 'there will be a time that he will not be feeble' 6 b 15 , *ar-na* 'in order that not', *co-na* 'so that not', also *coni* — In MIW *ny* usually negatives rel sentences, MnW *ni*, but *ni* has now generally been replaced by *na* After verbs of saying etc a negative dependent sent begins with *na* 'that not' *dywed na ddeuaf* 'say that I will not come', similarly after nominal conjunctions MIW *hyt na* 'so that not', *pryt na* 'since not' (causal), and after preps used as conjunctions MIW *yr na*

MnW *er na* 'though not' etc   But *ny* occurs in MlW *cyn ny* OW *çen nit* (Comp) 'though not', OW *hit ni* (Comp) MlW *hyny, yny* MnW *oni* (also *hyd oni*) until', MlW *o-ny* MnW *oni* 'if not'   For MlW *na = am na* 'because not' v Wilhams, PKM 245 — Co *na* negatives a rel sentence *neb na ylly* 'anyone who could not' MC 20   It also negatives dependent sentences as in W , but whereas in MlW *nat* MnW *nad* is used before initial vowels in Co *nag* is used *kyn nag-off* 'though I am not' MC 8, *aban nag vs ken maner* 'since there is not another way' PC 1513 — Br agrees with Co *vnan na duy* 'one who will not come' Nonne 28, *ioae   nac eux fin dezy* 'joy, to which there is no end' Barbe 789   A peculiar use of the neg occurs in expressions like *nac eu mar fier* 'however proud he is' Jés 3

Note 1. The neg *na* is very frequently used in answers (= that not) Ir *in doig   ? nad doig em* 'is it likely   ? It is certainly not likely' LL 61b 7, *dabér seótu dait nad géb-sa ón* 'I will give you treasures   I will not take it' LU 5806, *anat didiu ol Ailill nách aimfet dano ol Medb* let them stay then, said A   They shall not stay, said M ' 4632f – MlW *dyro nawd idaw na rodaf* give him protection   I will not give it RM 217 20, *ae guell y gwna neb   no mi uu hun na well* 'will any one do better than I myself ? No' (lit ' not better ', in MnW *nid gwell*, or more frequently *na* alone, or *nage*) WM 84 16   Co *nagha ol the gous gulan na nahaf* recant all thy talk entirely   I will not recant OM 2655 — MlBr *y ouz banisso Na raint quet* they will banish you   They will not' Barbe 767 Cf ZF 751, KZ 35 364, Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1899—1902, p 54)

(2) The neg *na* is used before the ipv Ir *na tuic séitchi* 'take not a wife' Wb 10a 30   MlW *na dos* 'go not' RM 204 6, *nac ewch* 'go (ye) not'   Co *na ol* weep thou not' RD 853   MlBr *na vez* 'be thou not', *na ehan quet* 'delay not' Nonne 615,10 — Ir *ni* W *ni* are used to negative the subjunctive   Ir *nis-s-coirther* thou shalt not put her away' Wb 10a 21, MlW *ny bo gwaeth* 'may it not be worse' RM 105 10   Co *na na allons caffus cheson* 'may they not be able to find cause' OM 1835   In MnIr *ná-r* regularly introduces a negative wish

(3) A negative clause following another clause is introduced by *na* (always preceded by 'and') Ir *o ro-bitis tra na buidne oc innsaigid Astoróth   7 na tabrad freccra doib 7 na hiccad iat* 'as the crowds had come to A and no response was given to them and they were not cured' Atk LBr 1958   Similarly in a principal sentence Ir *ro-bádusa bliadain imlán for oen lepaid 7 na-r fetus ergi* 'I have been a whole year on one bed and have not been able to rise 2777, cf *ní ind fessin eirbthi 7 nach do duaisilbi na-nní*

dognî 'it is not in himself that he trusts, and it is not to himself that he ascribes what he does' Ml 51b 12 — MlW *o gwely vwyt a diawt   ac na bo o wybot a dayoni y rodi itt* 'if thou seest food and drink, and there be no courtesy and goodness to give it to thee' RM 195 18 — Co *cuth ken ym bo   ha nagan byth gobyr* 'though sorrow be to me   and that we shall have no reward' OM 2821

Note 2. A peculiar use of *na* occurs in MlW *brenhin na vrenhin* 'a king and (yet) not a king' RP 580 33, 36 (cf BBC 62 16), *mi na vi* I and (yet) not I' BA 12 12   Cf Ir *mod nad mod* 'hardly', *comraic nad chomraic* 'joins, and yet not' Wi 702, *becc nat beg* King and Hermit 12 10

Note 3   Before a personal pron or before the lost 3 sg copula (KZ 35 412f) **a final back cons.** appears in the Ir neg (cf also § 408) *cid nách intsamlid* 'why do ye not imitate it ?' Wb 14a 28, *amal nách annse n duib* as it is not difficult for you' 6d 9   The form *nach-* later spread to other cases   — In Brit forms ending in a consonant came to be used to avoid hiatus   In W *na* is used before non-syll sounds and before a (lost) lenited *g* (MlW *yr na allei* MnW *er na allai* 'though he could not), before (original) initial vowels MlW *nat* MnW *nad*, with the ipv and in answers (where the part *y*, *yd* was not used in affirmative sentences) *nac* (pronounced *nag* in MnW) MlW *am nat aei* 'since he would not go' RM 184 27 MnW *am nad di*, *nac ewch* 'go ye not' , *nac ef* no', "it is not so" WM 161 13   The expression *nac ef* is written in MnW *nage* 'no   It is used even when any person is referred to, thus MlW *myvi a rannaf y bwyt   nac ef* 'I will share out the food   No', but cf *dywedwn y taw ti oed bown Na vi* 'I should say that thou wert B No' (not I ') Hengwrt MSS II 142 21, *ae myui ath uuwryawd di   Na thi* was it I who threw thee ? No' ('not thou") RC 33 193 15 In Co numerous exx occur of *na* before a syll vowel, before forms of the verb to be with initial vowel, *nag* always *prag nag vsy ef genes* 'why is he not with thee ?' OM 573, also before an infixed pron (*na-gan byth* 3 above) In MlBr *nac, nag* is the regular form before forms of 'to be' with init vowel *nac ouf* 'that I am not Jés. 41a, *mysterou   nac ynt licit da recitaff* 'mysteries which are not allowed to be recited' 62a   But usually *na* before a vowel with the ipv *na ehan quet* v 2 above

§ 410 Complex negatives with initial *na-*   (1) OIr *nade, nate* 'nay ¹', from *nad*, *nat* + *he* "it is not he" (cf MlW *nac ef*)   **(2)** OIr *nathó* 'no' (cf *tó* 'yes' LL 280a 15), MlW *na do* WM 425 28, *nado* RM 275 23 MnW *naddo* (answering questions in the preterite or perfect, cf *do* 'yes')   **(3)** OIr *fa-nacc* 'or not' *in tree   fa-nacc* 'is it through it or not ?' Wb 2c 4, also *fa-naic* Ml 91c 1, *naicc* 'no', *ni di nacca dim* 'not of a non-something' Ml 75b 20, *nacce* 'by no means' 72b 4   Co *nagh-a, -e, nahe* MlBr *nach* MnBr *nac'h* 'to deny' (MlW *naccav* WM 644 10, from *nag-ha-*, cf *necau* 83 24, v Williams, PKM 257, MnW *nacáu* is formed from MlW *nac*,

-c = /-g/, 'denial' RM 136 7, MnW *nág*, also MlBr *hep nac* 'without denial', *naquat* 'deny, refuse' Nonne 986, 360, MnBr *nalat* 'conceal, dissimulate')

Note Negative forms like those under (1) and (3) occur without *n-ate* no Ml 114a 15, MlIr *aicc*, *acc* 'no

The temporal preverbs.

§ 411. In Ir several preverbs, the most important being *ro-*, are used with indicative or subjunctive verb forms to express a perfect meaning, in other cases the same shade of meaning is expressed without the use of a preverb   Only one such preverb is found in Brit , corresponding to Ir *ro-*   The Ir preverb *no-*, used in certain cases in loose composition with non-perfect simple verbs, pretty well corresponds in use to the Brit preverbs W *y*, *yd*, etc and W Co Br *a*, it is treated in this section though it is hardly a temporal preverb

Meaning of the perfect verb forms in Ir.

§ 412 **The meaning of perfect.** (1) The preterite with a perfect preverb has the meaning of a perfect or pluperfect   OIr *ro-comal-nisid-si an ro-prldchissem-ni dúib* 'you have fulfilled what we have preached to you' Wb 26b 6, *argart doib nant maith ɔ-ro-uatar a-rríg* 'he reproached them that they had not guarded their king well' Ml 55c 1 (*com-* + *em-*)

(2) The pres ind with a perfect preverb has the meaning of a praesens consuetudinale perfectum   *in nuall do-n-gniat ho ru-maith for a naimtea remib* 'the cry which they make when they have defeated their enemies' Ml 51c 9

(3) The pres and ipf subjunctive with a perfect preverb *act ar-roi-lgither ind epistil so* 'as soon as this epistle (may) have been read' Wb 27d 13, *com-bad notire ro-d-scribad cosse* 'so that it was a notary who had written it hitherto' 27d 16

§ 413 **The meaning of possibility** (1) Pres *ciasu airegdu in fer ni ru-bi nechtar de cen alail* 'although the man is nobler neither of them can be without the other' Wb 11c 17   Occasionally the meaning is 'to be wont' *másu thú ém, ar Nadcrandtail, noco-rucaim-se cend úain bic don dúnud, ni bér do chend n-gillai n-amulaig* 'if it is thou indeed, said N , I am not in the habit of carrying the head of a little lamb to the camp, I will not carry thy beardless boy's head' LU 5755, cf Strachan, Ériu 2 61[6]

(2) Fut   *ní de-r-genat mú bás* 'they will not be able to ac-
complish my death' Ml 80a 9   Conditional   *mad aill duib cid
accaldam neich duib d-a-ri-gente* 'if you desired even to converse
with any of them, you could have done it' Wb 13b 3

(3) Subjunctive   *cia ru-bé cen ní duib ni ru-bai cenaib huli*
'though it can be without some of them it cannot be without all
of them' Ml 20d 4

§ 414 **Optative meaning and the like.** (1) Wish   *ro-p corœ doib*
'peace be with them' Wb 20d 1   (2) Command (the preverb in neg
sents only)   *ni to-r-gaitha* 'he should not defraud' 25b 5   (3) Pur-
pose   *arna de-r-lind* 'lest I should scandalize' 10c 14   (*sluind-*)
(4) Necessity   *is toich cia dorattid-si ní dia muintir* 'it is right that
ye should give something to his household' 16c 11 (*ber-*), *bói ní
ro-glante and* there was something to be purified there' 31c 18
(5) Concessive (in indefinite rel sentences)   *sechi chruth do-n-d-rón*
'in whatever manner I may do it' 5b 18 (*gní-*), *na maith ro-bé*
'whatever good there may be' 5d 30   (6) After *acht* 'provided that'
act ní ro-bat pecthe less 'provided he have no sins' 11d 9, cf § 412,3

Morphology of the Ir perfect-system.

§ 415   Ir *ro-* (*ru-*, prochtic sometimes *ru-*, *ra-* § 179,2, *rói-*
§ 156, *r-* by elision   *r-iccub-sa* 'I will come' Wb 9a 19, *r-a-fetar* 'I
know it', *-ri-* § 175, post-tonic *ro-* is reduced to *-r-*, *-ar-* *\ad-ro-* >
ár-, *\ess-ro-* > *ér-*, etc) stands immediately before the verb   *on-d-
ár-bastar* 'that it should be shown Sg 211a 10 (*do-ad-badar* 'is
shown'). *do-intarrái* § 202   That is the oldest rule   In some cases the
perfect preverb stands before the last word-forming preverb   *ni-m-
de-r-saige* 'do not awake me' ("thou mayest not awake me") LU
5119 (*di-od-* + *sech-*), *arna-fa-r-cabtis* 'lest they should be left' Wb
31d 13 (*fo-ad-* + *gab-*, v   § 179,2); the last preverb had become
inseparable from the verb   A more extensive deviation from the
old rule was the placing of *ro-* after the first preverb, this resulted
in *ro-* becoming movable   *do-ro-churestar* 'has brought forth', *ní
ru-tho-churestar* Ml 16c 6, 18d 6, v   also § 402,3   The beginnings
of a still further deviation are seen in OIr , whereby *ro-* is put
before the first preverb   *ru-tuirset* 'they have searched' Ml 44d 23
(*to-sír-*), MlIr exx   are not rare   *ro-im-ráidset* 'they considered'
LU 5845   In MnIr *ro-* remains as *-r* with syntactic preverbs (e g
níor labhair se 'he did not speak'), accented or post-tonic *ro-* is

retained only in a few irreg verbs *ní raibh* 'he was not', *go n-dearna* 'that he did' (to OIr *do-gníu* 'I do'), otherwise it has been replaced by *do*, v § 105, § 423

§ 416. The perfect preverb *-com-* frequently occurs, thus with all compounds of *org- manı-bé nech frıs-chom-arr doıb-som* 'if there be not someone who can harm them' Ml 77a 12 (but after a syntactic preverb, *ro-* is used *ho r-es-arta* 'by which they have been killed' 34 b 13), — *fochıth nad-fo-chom-olsam* 'tribulation which we cannot endure' Wb 14 b 15 (cf *fochıth fo-llongam* 'trib which we endure'), — *o ad-cu-aıd* 'when he has declared' 21 d 11 (*ad-fét* 'he declares', 3 pl *ad-fıadat*)

§ 417. In verbs in which *com-* is the first word-forming preverb, *ad-* is used as perfect preverb *co-tob-á-rrıg* 'has constrained you' Wb 9 b 19 (*ɔ-rıug* 'I bind'), — *con-a-scrad* 'has been broken down' 21b 15 (*com-* + *scar-*), — *ma ɔ-a-tıl bıucc* 'if he has slept a little' 29 d 15 (*con-tuıl* 'he slept' Thes Il 327 14) — *ad-* cannot always be clearly distinguished from *od- con-aı-t-echt* 'which I have sought' Ml 132 d 5, but *con-oı-t-echtatar* 'which they have sought' Wb 8 a 14, *ad-* occurs in *ní com-tacht* 'he has not sought' Ml 59 c 3 (*com-dı-* + *saıg-*, inf *cuıngıd*)

In verbs compounded with *com-od-*, the perf preverb is *ro-con-ro-scaıg* 'he has moved' Ml 45 c 2 (*com- od- + scuıch-*), also in verbs with *com-* as second preverb *for-ru-chon-grad* 'it had been commanded' 34 d 4 (*gaır-*)

§ 418. Possibly *ess-* is a perf preverb with *ıbıd* 'he drinks' *ass-ıbsem* 'we have drunk' Wb 12 a 7   But old instances of the narrative pret do not occur Similarly *long-* 'to eat, drink' uses *ess-* subjunctive 3 sg *as-lu* Ériu 7, 192

§ 419. As the perf preverbs *com-*, *od-* never come first, *to-* or *dı-* is used before them with a simple verb *du-cuı-tıg* 'he has sworn' Wb 33 d 10, *dara-do-ch-taısed* 'by which he could swear' Ml 78 a 4 (*tong-*), cf *do-cu-aıd* § 420, — *do-o-mmalgg* 'I have milked' Sg. 23 b 2, pret pass *do-o-mlacht* Annals of Ulster 732 (inf Mllr *blegon*), — *desıd* 'had settled itself' Wb 3 a 7, cf *du-n-essıd* gl desedısse Ml 121a 11 (narrative *sıasaır, sad-*), *dellıg* 'has fallen, has subsided' (cf Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1895—98, p 62, *laıgıd* 'lies down'), these two forms have affected each other, they contain either *dı-ess-* or *dı-en-*

§ 420. Different roots in perfect and non-perfect forms occur in

some cases *tiagu* 'I go', perf pret 3 sg *do-cu-aid* (with a root in *w-*) 'has gone', *ni dichtim* 'I cannot go' LU 5181, perf pres subj 3 sg *do-cói* 'may go' Wb 29a 28, narrative pret 3 sg *luid* 'he went' — *fo-ceird* 'throws', *-cuirethar* (pret narrative *fo-cairt*, *-corastar*), perf pret *ro-laa* 'has put' Sg 75a 4, pres subj *ɔ-ra-l* 'so that I may put' Wb 7a 4 So *du-corastar* 'he put' Ml 52, but *du-s-ra-le* 'he has put them' 23c 16, on the other hand *do-cuiriur* I invite is regular (pret perf 3 sg *do-ro-churestar*) — *birt* 'he carried' (*ber-*), perfect *ro-uic* 'he has carried', *nad-r-ucat* they have not borne' (praesens consuetudinale perfectum) Ml 87c 3, *con r-ucca* 'that he may bring' Wb 12c 32, *do-bert* 'he gave, brought', *do-ra-t* 'he has given', *do-uic* 'he has brought' (cf § 422,6) The other cpds of *ber-* are regular — *gat-* 'steal', *gatsat* 'they stole', *ma du-d-éll* 'if he has stolen' Wb 22b 7, *ɔ-t-all* 'so that I may take away' Ml 58c 6, but MIr 3 sg pret *ro gat* is found

§ 421. Perfect preverbs in non-perf function. (1) *ro-* is used to infix a pers pron before forms of the root *bí-* 'to be' if no other preverb occurs (Thurneysen, ZCP 20 204) *ro-t-bia lóg* thou shalt have reward' (but *ní-m-bia fochricc* 'I shall not have reward'), *ro-n-d-biad fáilte* 'that he would have welcome' Wb 16b 19 Before the conditional of the copula *ro-* is always used (to distinguish it from the ipf) *ro-bad bethu dom* 'it would have been life for me' 3c 28 (2) *ro-fitir* 'he knows', *ro-laimethar* 'he dares', *ro-cluinethar* 'he hears' always have *ro-* in the absence of some other syntactic preverb (3) In two verbs *com-* is inserted without significance between the word-forming preverb and the verb when the preverb is proclitic *ad-co-tat* 'they obtain', *ad-co-tade* 'he obtained', but *ní étade*, *ad-con-darc* 'I have seen', but *ní acca* I have not seen' (*-con-* in pret only), cf § 404

Note The narrative pret of hear and see is often accompanied by a superfluous *co n-* until, (and) then *amail imm ind-raitset, co n acatar Fiacc Find cuccu* as they were thinking of him, they saw F the Fian (coming) towards them' Thes II 241 11 (Thurneysen, KZ 37 58²)

§ 422 Some verbs take no perfect preverb, the same forms being used as perfect and non-perfect (1) Verbs compounded with *ro-as-ro-choilsem* 'we have determined' (inf *erchoiliud*), *do-ro-choinset* 'they have despaired' (inf *derchoiniud*) If by the rules given in §415 it can be separated from the word-forming *ro-*, then a perf *ro-* may be used: *dian-d-r-e-r-choil* to whom he has decreed it' 46c 7,

ní ru-de-r-choin 'he has not despaired' 44 a 1   **(2)** The forms of the
verb *gnin- etir-gén-sa* 'I have known' 79 a 11   The pret of this
verb usually has a present meaning   **(3)** The verb *dúthracht* 'wish',
whose pret has a pres meaning   **(4)** The verb *fo-gab-* 'find' with
pret 1 sg -*fuar* (the other cpds of *gab-* take perf *ro-*)   **(5)** All
forms of *ic-* with the auxiliary root *ang- ní-n-t-ánicc* 'it has not
come to us' Wb 1 d 1   **(6)** *do-uic* 'he has brought' functions as
perfect § 420, but in the sense 'understand' the verb has a full
paradigm without distinction of perf and non-perf forms (*t-uicci,
do-sn-ucci* 'he understands, he understands them'; the OIr vb
noun is *tabart* Ml 42 c 13, MlIr *tuicsiu*)   **(7)** *ad-* + *bath-* 'die' (*as-in-d-
bathatar* gl aduersarios interisse Ml 36 d 10)   **(8)** *ithim* 'I eat'

   § 423   The later history of the system of perfect preverbs. Signs
of the breaking up of the system appear early in MlIr , and the
perf pret is found encroaching upon the narrative pret about the
year 1100   In MnIr the old narrative pret has been given up
entirely   The only living perf preverb, -*r* and *do* § 415, accompanies
the pret , even in verbs which in OIr did not take *ro- nío-r thug*
he did not give', cf § 239, 2   Only one instance is retained of OIr
ro- with non-pret verb forms   the use of *ná-r* before a negative
wish   *ná-r bheiridh tú choidhche air* 'may you never catch him'

The perfect preverbs in British.

   § 424   The morphology of the perfect forms in Brit. is simple   The
only form is that corresponding to Ir *ro-*   It stands before all
verbs, even such verbs as have no perf preverb in Ir   MlW *ry duc*
he has brought , Co *re thokko* 'he may bring'.   A very notable
exception is Co *gallas* 'has gone, has become', which is always
perfect but never takes a perf preverb (G P Williams, ZCP 7
338, 342), as non-perf pret *eth* 'he went' occurs, which can also
be used as a perfect

   The original rule whereby **ro-* came after all word-forming
preverbs is seen in OW *di-r-gatisse* gl concesserat (vn MlW *dyadu*
'leave, cast')   But apart from this instance the perf preverb MlW
ry Co *re* Br *ra* precedes all cpd verbs as well as simple verbs   It
can be followed by the infixed pron , and exx abound, v numerous
instances from early MlW , Co and MlBr given by Loth, RC 31
30ff , 364f   Its form is modified when combined with some infixed
prons   MlW *rwy-* § 349 n , Co *ru-m* (*ty ru-m gruk* 'thou hast made

me' OM 88, *re-m* is very rare)   The rel pron was also originally
infixed after **ro* (§ 240,1, § 394), two instances of the orig adverbial
yd infixed after it occur in OW *rit pucsaun mi* 'I should have
desired', *rit ercis* 'he has required' BBCS 6 218f (the MlW.
instances given by Loth, RC. 31 32f are very doubtful, v Lewis,
HGCref 200), also Co *re-s-eth, re-g-eth* 'has gone' ZCP 7 339 But
in MlW *a* or *y* were also used to infix the pers pron before *ry*
y-th ry-gereis 'that I have loved thee', *duw a-n ry amwc* 'God can
protect us' BT 29 20, ultimately *a ry, y ry* were freely used when
no infixed pron occurred In Co and Br however the original
rule was strictly adhered to

    After certain words ending in a vowel W *ry* is reduced to *r*
neu-r (the preverb *neu* § 430), *ny-r* (*ny* 'not', more frequently *ny*
ry), *gwedy-r* (before the vb nn , *gwedy* 'after'), *py-r* (§ 377, 8) This
also occurs after the particle *y*, giving *y-r   ef a dybygei   yr ymor-*
diwedei a hi 'he thought that he could overtake her' WM 15 35,
from such uses as this arose probably the MnW preverb *yr* before
vowels, in MlW it occurs even before consts (with lenition) *ac*
y-r gyscwys 'and he has slept' WM 41 21   (In MlW MSS *yr*
is frequently written when it can only be for non-syllabic *r = ry*
pechu yr digonsam 'we have sinned' RP 1145 12, where the metre
requires *pechu r-ddigonsam* "(it is) sinning that we have done"),
cf Loth, RC 31 343—356 — The form *r* from *re* occurs in Co
do-r-sona dyugh 'God bless you', MnCo *du-r-dala the why* 'God
reward you' (RC 3 84)

    § 425 Use of the perfect preverb *ry* in W. (1) Perfect meaning.
(a) The pret with *ry* has the meaning of a perfect *peth ryued*
ryweleis 'I have seen a strange thing' RM 194 5 The perf pret
can also mean what was customary in the past *ry duc oe lovlen*
glas lavnawr 'he was wont to bear blue blades with his gauntlet' BA
19 20, it approaches the pres meaning (like Gk gnomic aorist) in
proverbial statements *ny ry golles nef ny uo ynuyd* 'he who may
not be foolish has not lost (is not wont to lose) heaven' LlH 254 4
Cf Loth, RC 29 14, 24f , 30 22, Strachan, Ériu 2 219   — The
pret without *ry* may be perfect or narrative, it is never narrative
with *ry*

    (b) With the pluperfect *ry* rarely modifies the meaning, but
it can suggest a state prior to the plpf *beth uuassei y arglwydiaeth*
ef arnadunt hivy y vlwydyn honno y urth ryuuassei kyn no hynny

'what his lordship over them had been that year as compared with what it had been before that' RM. 7 22, cf Zimmer, KZ 36 536

(c) With the pres ind *ry* gives a consuetudinal perfect present meaning *ti a nodyd a ry-geryd o pop karchar* 'thou dost protect whom thou hast loved from every prison' BT 53 9, *a nodo duw ry-nodir* 'whom God may protect has been (is wont to be) protected' BBCS 4 3

(d) With the ipf *ry* can denote habitual plpf *nit atwanei ri guanei* 'he would not strike again (the one) whom he had struck' BA 36 22 It also seems to denote what was customary *ban ry-reint brein ar crev* 'when ravens were wont to croak over gore' BBC 100 1

(e) With the subjunctive, pres OW *hit ni-ri-tarnher* 'until it be reckoned' BBCS 3 256, MIW *nyt oes ar y helw namyn yr un ty hwnn ny-s ry-dycko iarll* 'there is not in her possession but this one house (anything) that some earl may not have taken' RM 184 25, *kyt ry-wnelych di sarhaedeu llawer kyn no hynn ny-s gwney bellach* 'though thou mayest have done many injuries before this thou shalt not do them henceforth' 99 2, — ipf *mynet a oruc serch y uorwyn ym pob aelawt itaw kyn nys rywelhei eiroet* 'love for the maiden entered every limb of his though he had never seen her' WM 454, 22 (*yr na-s gwelsei* RM 102 5)

(f) With the verb-noun it denotes a perfect infinitive *y vynegi chuedyl   nyt amgen ry-lad y oresgynnwr* 'to tell news, namely that his oppressor had been killed' Hist Gruff ap Cynan 114 18 This usage is a new development in W

(2) **The meaning of possibility:** *ry-seiw gur ar vn conin* 'a man can stand on a single stalk' BBC 89 2, *racod ny ry-imgelir* 'from thee one can not be concealed' 98 10, *ry-dieigc glev o lauer trum* 'a hero can (is wont to) escape from many a difficulty' 91 8 — With verbs referring to the future *ry* sometimes expresses certainty *ry dibit div maurth dit guithlonet* 'Tuesday will (surely) come, a day of wrath' 57 3 Very frequently however *ry* seems to have no meaning Cf Loth, RC 29 48—54, Strachan, Ériu 2 215ff

(3) **Optative** *ry phrinom-ne di gerenhit* 'may we deserve thy friendship' BBC 88 15, *ry-m-awyr dy wedi, rac ygres ry-m-gwares dy voli* 'mayest thou grant me my prayer to thee, may my praise of thee deliver me from persecution' BT 3,12 — Very rarely with the ipv *nev-r imwaredun* 'let us deliver each other' BBC 24 10,

y kam ry-wnaetham na ry-noetha 'the wrong we have done do not expose' RP 1285 38

Note MlW *ry* is used in negative sentences also, RC 31 28 ff , this is probably a new development in W , as it does not occur in Co and Br It also occurs after the interrog part *a a ry-ju ef genhyt ti, na ry fu* has he been with thee ? No, he has not been' WM 121 20.

§ 426. Use of the perfect preverb *re* in Co   (1) In a perfect sense with the pret and plpf *ny re-n welas* 'we have sought him' Beun Mer 1038, *an tol re wrussens* 'the hole which they had made' MC 180, but *re* is not obligatory It is never used with the narrative pret or the modal plpf

(2) In one instance it denotes possibility *ow holen gvak dyvotter ru-m kymmer hag awel bos* 'my stomach being empty, famine and desire for food can take hold of me' OM 366 (v Loth, RC 30 18)

(3) Optative *beneges re bo an tas* 'blessed be the father' OM 1745 In a dependent sentence *my a pys an tas a nef re thanjono ingeans* 'I pray the Father from heaven that he send vengeance' PC 2631

Note. Co *re* is never used with the neg (*ny* or *na*), but it is used with *byner, bener* which has a neg force *ffrut da byner re-thokko* may it never bear good fruit OM 583 It does not occur after the interrog part , nor after *pan* 'since' PC 1338, 2861, MC 208, 223 – In MnCo *re* is used only in an optative sense

§ 427 Use of the perfect preverb *ro* > *ra* in Br. (1) The perf use with the pret and plpf occurs in OBr only *ro-luncas* gl guturicauit, *ro-gulipias* gl oluauit, *ro-ricse[n]i-i* gl sulcauissent (2) MlBr and MnBr *ra* is found only with the optative meaning MnBr *Doue ra vezo meulet* God be praised' In Tréguier *ra* is replaced by *da* (also MlBr , v. RC 30 21)

Note. Br *ra* does not occur after a negative

Etymological explanation of the system of perfect preverbs.

§ 428   The preverbs used in the perfect-system are such whose etymological meaning made them suitable to indicate thoroughness or intensity With Celt **ro* < **pro* cf Sl *pro* 'through', with Celt **k'om* cf Lat *con-ficiō* 'I do thoroughly', *com-edō* 'I eat up, devour', with the preverb **ad-* cf the intensive prefix **ad-* (Ir *apprisc* 'brittle' *brisc*, W *add-oer* 'very cold' *oer* 'cold') Hence the meaning 'posse' and 'consuesse' ('he does it entirely, to the end' = 'he can do it', or it is his custom [nature] to do it') Moreover at a time when the IE perfect and the IE.

aorist were tending to coalesce (as in Latin), these preverbs could be used to emphasize the perfect meaning of a preterite (but they were superfluous in this function in the cases where perfect and aorist did not coalesce Ir *do-uic* 'he has brought', originally an IE perfect, cf W *d-ug*, but *do-bert* 'he brought', aorist) For details v VKG II § 578—582

§ **429.** (1) The perf preverbs were not used originally with nominal forms of the verb nor with the ipv The MIW use of *ry* with the vb noun and the isolated instances of *ry* with the ipv are new formations Ir *serc* 'to love' properly means 'love', and so with an intensive preverb could only mean 'great love' (MnIr *ró-shearc*), not 'to have loved' In a command a preverb whose force is 'completely, to the end' is hardly necessary

(2) They were not used originally after a negative With verbs the neg was the antithesis of the emphasizing preverb, cf in nominal composition Ir *co-bsud* 'steady' (*fossad*) *an-bsud* 'unsteady' This may well have been originally the case after the interrogative particle also, cf Co, § 426 n These old restrictions on the use of the preverbs were not maintained in W or in Ir

The Irish preverb *no*.

§ **430** The Ir preverb *no* forms a loose compound only, and only with simple verbs No other preverb can be used with it With the pres ind and subj, the fut and pret, and the ipv, *no* is only used to infix a pers or rel pron or rel *n* With the ipf ind and subj and with the conditional, *no* is always found even without a pron if no other preverb occurs Exx *is hed inso no-chairigur* 'it is this which I reprimand' Wb 11d 1, *is lerithir inso no-n-guidim-se dia* 'so urgently do I beseech God' 27d 19, *n-anglanad* 'let him purify him(self)' 11d 8

With Ir *no* cf MIW preverb *neu* (with infixed pron *neu-m*, *neu-s*, etc, before verbs with init vowel, and before substantives, *neu-t*, with *ry*, *neu ry* oi *neu-r*) used as an affirmative particle, v Morris-Jones, WG 426, Strachan, Introd 125, Gotze & Holger Pedersen, Muršilis Sprachlahmung, p 62, also Co *na-* in *na-ns-yw* 'is' (OM 2758), *na-ns-o* 'was' (MC 230)

The word-forming preverbs.

§ **431.** In Ir various adverbs standing before the verb came to be preverbs This did not happen to the same extent in Brit

17*

In Ir a verb accompanied by a preverb has special personal endings, but not in Brit A list of all words regarded with certainty as preverbs in Ir follows here

(1) Ir *ad-*, before pers prons *at-*, but in rel sents. sometimes *ad-id-*, *ass-id-* § 342, 5 In close composition *-d* is assimilated to a following *s*, an explosive or an *m*, is lost with compensatory lengthening before *r*, *l*, *n* § 245, § 44, *ad-* remains intact in close comp before a retained or lost syllabic vowel and before IE *w* *ad-all* 'visit', *ni adhub* 'I shall not visit', *do-ad-bat* 'he shows', *ad-* can disappear after the accent, cf *ní com-tacht* § 417

Note 1. *ad-* is often in loose comp mixed with *ess-* and *in-*, with which it fell together before a pronoun, similarly *ind-* and *aith-*, *in-* is very frequently replaced by *ad-* *in-cu-aid*, *ad-cu-aid* 'he declared', *ad-greinn* 'who pursues' Ml 140c 2, vb nn. *in-greimm* *ad-* became *ass-*, first in certain rel constructions (§ 389) then in other cases *as-fenimm* 'I testify' Wb 22a 20 beside *do-ai-r-fenus* 'I have declared' 18d 7, on the contrary *ad-* for *ass-* (*ess-*) *ad-ru-bartmar* 'whom we have mentioned' Sg 197b 16 Cf Sarauw, Irske Studier, p 61—66

W *add-* in *add-oer* 'very cold', G *Ad-mageto-briga* PN , OW *ad* (= /að/) 'to' (v BBCS 3 261) Lat *ad* 'to' ON *at* OE *æt* E *at*

(2) Ir *air-*, proclitic *ar-*, with rel pron *ar-a-*, *ar-e-*, when accented, liable to be modified to *er-*, *ir-* § 175, *\aur-* § 166, *\arr-* (*\airr-*) from *\air* + *ro-* § 245 It is also a preposition, as rel preverb *ar-an-* Wb 2a 10 etc , *ar-in-d-* 5a 31 (*ar-id-* 7d 2) *ar-a n-* is also used as a conjunction 'so that, that', neg *ar-na-* Cf W *ar-fer* 'use', *er-grynu* 'tremble', Co *er-vyre* 'consider', Br *ar-boella* 'save', G *Are-brigium* PN

(3) Ir *aith-*, procl *ad-*, before pers pron *at-*, *\aud-*, *\ed-*, *\id-* cf § 166, *\aith-* + *ro* > *air-* *du-air-chér* 'I have bought' Thes I 498, 14 (*to-aith-* + *cren-*)

For mixing with other preverbs v Note 1 (*as-gen-su* 'thou knowest' Ml 140b 3 , *asa-gninaim* 'I know' Sg 146b 16, vb nn *aith-gne*)

Cf W *ad-fer*, *ed-fryd* 'restore', W *ad-waen* Co *as-won* 'I know', Br *ad-ober* 'refaire', G *Ate-boduus* MN

(4) Ir *cáin-* 'good, fine' occurs as preverb *cain-\ro-gnatha* 'which were well done' Ml 39a 24 Cf OW *ni cein-guodemisauch* gl non bene passa (for the reading v BBCS 5 5)

(5) Ir *cét-*, procl *ceta-*, *cita-* *cét-buid*, *cétbaid*, *cétfaid* 'sense',

ceta-bunn gl. *sapiebam*, *cita-brat* 'they feel', *lase ɔ-\céit-banı* 'when thou consentest' Wb 1 c 9

W *can-fod* 'perceive' (pres 3 sg *cenn-yw*, pret *can-fu*), *ar-gan-fod* 'perceive'. OW *cant* 'with' W. *gan* etc .

(6) Ir procl *ceta-*, *cita-*, *cetu-*, *ciatu-* 'first' *ıt hé ciatu-ru-chreitset* 'it is they who have first believed' Wb 14 a 29, *ceta-thuıdchetar* 'who have first come' 21c 5 It was not orig a preverb, but an infixed adverb with a cpd vb *intan ad-cıta-acæ* 'when she first saw' Thes. I 488 21 — Related to W *gynneu* (from **cynneu*) 'a (short) while ago' Co *a-gynsow* MlBr *a-guetou*, cf Ir *cét-* W *cynt* etc Ir *ciatu-* is by anal with the conjunction *cıa* (*cetu* 'although they are' etc.)

(7) Ir *com-*, procl *con-* (non-eclipsing *con-cela-sıu* 'thou mayest hide'), before pers prons *cot-*, ın rel sents sometimes *con-ıd-* § 342,5 In close comp *-m-* becomes /-*n*-/ (wr *-n-*) before *g-*, *n* (/*N*/) before *d-*, ıt disappears before *s-*, *k-*, *t-* § 70, disappears regularly before *w-* § 75.2 cf *ad-cu-aıd* § 416 The form *com-* (*cum-*) ıs regularly retained before vowels and before *r, l, n*, ıt ıs often restored analogically in other cases, especially in nominal forms, cf § 243 It ıs reduced after the accent *for-n-gaıre* 'command', cf *a for-chon-gaır* 'what he commands' Wb 5 c 23 For *coım-*, *coem-* v § 156 — As prep , *co n-* 'with' (but as rel preverb *la-* ıs used)

W *cyf-ar-fod* 'meet', *cy-r-haedd* 'reach', *cynnal* 'hold' (**cyn-dal*), Co *kev-ar-wouth* 'comfort thou' PC 1043 , W *ar-gy-weddu* 'to harm', OBr *ar-co-gued* gl *ınıquos*, G *Uer-com-bogıus* MN , Lat *cum*

(8) Ir *deıchmo-* 'best' *deıchmo-derech* who has best avenged' (*dı-* + *fıch-*), v ZCP 18, 398, Ériu 11,168 Cf *dech* 'best' § 323 n 2

(9) Ir *dí-*, *dı-*, *de-*, procl *do-* Reduced after the acct *nád cuın-t-gım* 'that I seek not' Wb 14c 12, *nı cuın-gem* 'we seek not' 14 d 38 beside *amal chon-de-gam-nı* 'as we ask' Ml 107c 8 (*com-dı-* + *saıg-*) |*dı-* + *od-* > *dıu-*, Thurneysen, KZ 28 150, considers *dú-* (*dú-thract* 'wish', *do-dú-rgımm* 'I excite') to be a continuation of *de-* + *fo-* Also prep , *dı* 'from', rel preverb *dıan-* Wb 8c 11 etc (cf conj *dıa n-* 'if'), *dı-na-d-*, *dı-na-con-* § 194

W *dı-* "out, extreme" *dı-noethı* 'denude', *dı-ddanu* 'comfort, amuse' Co *dy-thane* OBr *dı-danuud* gl *elıcıo* BBCS 5 3f (cf OIr *do-donaımm* gl *solor* Sg 53 b 7, vn *dídnad* 'comfort'), *dı-* "without", negatıve. W |*dı-\flas* 'tasteless', |*dıflas* 'disagreeable' Co *dyflas* 'un-

pleasant, shameful' MnBr *dıvlaz* 'insıpıd' As postposıtıon ın Gaul βρατου-δε §297, Lat *dē* All from an orıgınal *dē (ın Celt also *de) Cf Sommerfelt, *Dē* en ıtalo-celtıque, Chrıstıanıa (= Oslo) 1920 (Vıdenskapsselskapets skrıfter)

(10) Ir *ess-*, procl *as-*, before a pers pron *at-*, ın rel sents sometımes *assıd-* § 342, 5, wıth the rel pron *as-* or *assa-* (the latter form appears fıxed ın non-rel use *asa-gnınaım* gl sapıo, v 3) The form ¹*ess* < *eks interchanges wıth *ek, whose *-k* ıs assımılated to a foll explosıve *epert* § 506, 3, *eıtech* § 644, 2, *ecra* 'enemy' (*care* 'frıend'), *-k* ıs lost wıth compens lengthenıng before *r-, l-, n-, m-, éı-rge* 'rısıng' The form ¹*ess-* occurs before vowels *ess-éırge* 'resurrection', also before a voıceless explosıve *do-es-ta* ıs wantıng' *ess-* ıs analogıcally restored before *f-* *es-foıtı* 'sent' (g m) Ml 48 c 8 Before lıquıds *eks ıs rarely restored, tbe restored *-ksl-, -ksr-* gave *-ll-, -rr- errenaıd* 'pay ye' Ml 20 c 2 (*as-ren* 'he pays'), cf *dellıg* § 419 There ıs later restoratıon of *es-* before a voıced expl *nı es-gaıbter* gl nec excıpıuntur Ml 145 c 1 *a* for *e* ıs analogıcal ın *aıs-nd-ıs* 'exposıtıon' besıde *ass-ınd-et* 'expounds — Reductıon after the accent *ɔosna* 'ıt ends' Sg 22 a 4, vn *cum-s-anad* 'rest' (*com-od-ess- + an-*) — Cf also note 1 above

As prep, *a, as* 'out of', rel preverb *as-an-* Wb 5 b 39 etc *as-na-* Ml 125 b 7

As preverb ın MlW *ech-tywynnu* 'to glıtter' *ech-dıhenedıc* 'exhausted' (BBCS 1 114 f), W *es-gor* to be delıvered', MlBr *eh-anaff* 's'arrêter' As nomınal prefıx ın MlW *eh-ofyn* MnW *ehofn, eofn* 'bold, fearless', G *Ex-obnus* MN (Ir *ess-amın*), MlW *es-gar* 'foe' Co *eskar* As prep, MlW *ech y gadwynawr* 'out of ıts chaıns' BT 10 23 Lat *er* Gk ἐξ

(11) Ir *etar-*, procl *eter-, etır-, ıtır-*, takes prons of the *-d-* series § 342, 5 Exx *etar-scarad* 'separatıon Wb 9 b 19, *eter-scértar* 'they wıll be separated' 8 b 3 As prep, *eter, etır* 'between', rel preverb *eter-an-* Wb 28 b 3

OW *amal ıter-cludant* gl ut subıgant, W *ıyf-athı-ach* 'affinity, ıntercourse', prep OW *ıthr* etc § 64, 3

(12) Ir *fo-*, procl *fo-, fu-* In close comp ıt can become *fu-* (vowel raısıng, *fu-bae* 'flaw', MlIr *fu-ba* 'hewıng', vn of *fo-ben-*), *fa- (a-*umlaut, *nı fa-gaıb* 'he does not fınd' cf § 179, 2), or be contracted wıth a foll vowel (*fócre* 'proclaımıng', *fo-od- + gaır-, ara-foıma* 'that ıt may assume' Ml 17 c 3, *ar-fo-em-* § 143, *facbáıl* 'to

leave' < *fa-ad- < *fo-ad- + gab-) Reduced after the accent ¦aur-gnaid 'prepare ye', ar-fo- + gni- cf § 166, tó-be 'cutting off', to-fo-+ ben-, cf (9) — As prep , 'under', rel preverb fo-an-

OW ni cein guo-demisauch gl non bene passa, MnW. go-ddef, di-o-ddef 'suffer', Br gou-zañv (Ir fo-daimim 'I suffer') Ètym § 30

(13) Ir for-, takes prons of the d- series § 342,5 ¦to-for tór-mach, vn of do-for-maig 'he increases' — Prep 'on' Rel preverb for-an- (Wb 29a 23), for-san- (6b 22), with neg for-na-, form-bed 'on whom should be' Ml 23d 17

OW di-guor-mechis 'he added' RC 11 205 (cf Ir do-for-maig), guar-phenn 'end' MnW gorffen Co gorfen Br gourfenn, OBr guor-ceidorion gl circumcellionum, G uer-tragus Etym § 30

(14) Ir frith-, procl friss-, before a pers pron frit-, but in rel sents sometimes frissid- § 342,5 In close comp there occurs sometimes apparent assimilation to a foll explosive frecre 'answer', frebaid, vn of fris-ben 'heals', but forms with -th followed by analogical lenition are also found nad frith-chomart 'who injured not' Ml 47a 2, and also forms with fres- fres-csiu 'hope' (fris-aiccim gl opperior Thes II 228 31, to ad-ci-), freisndis 'refutation' Wb 13a11 < frith-ess-ind- + verb (-fiad-) — As prep , fri 'against', rel preverb frissan- — Etymology § 7,1, cf § 226

Originally not a preverb, friss- is really the 3 sg conjugated form — MlW gwrth-eb 'answer', Co gorth-eby 'to answer'

(15) Ir iarm-, iar-, procl iarmi-, iarmu-, iarma- iarm-uidigthe gl postposita Sg 3b 31, iarmu-ru-sudigestar gl postposuit Ml 130a 7, iar-f-aigid 'to question', iarmi-foig 'which he asks for' 70c 6 — Prep iar n- 'after'

Orig not a preverb, the procl forms contain a pron (iarmu-= iarum 3 sg masc , iarmi-? 3 sg fem), thence apparently is derived the form in close comp , with loss of the vowel of the second syll (iar-faigid with unlen f, cf MnIr fiafruighe, the len in iarm-uidigthe is analogical) In nominal comp iar n- may occur an-iar-túaid 'from the north-west' Thes II 13 30

(16) Ir imb-, procl im-, imm-, with rel pron imme-, imma- The form ¦imb- can come before a vowel and r- (even after loss of len f-), it coalesces with len s- to imp- imb-radud, im-radud 'thought', impúd 'turning', imme-soi-siu 'which thou turnest' Ml 111a 6 Before other consts ¦im-, before vowels often ¦imm- — In some cases it became a syntactic preverb denoting reflexive or

reciprocal action *imm-un-cualammar ní-m-un-accammar* 'we had heard of one another, we had not seen one another' Wb 18d 3 — Prep *im, imm* 'about' Rel preverb *imman-, immon-, immuan-,* MIIr *mo-an-* (cf § 105), *im-* (*cid im-luid siu* LL 71a 39)

Etym § 8 W Co Br *am-*, more often W *ym-* Co *em-, ym-, (om-)* Br *em-*, the latter group of forms are freely used to form reflexive and reciprocal verbs MIW *yd ym-gerynt* 'that they loved each other' RM 234 13, *nyt ym-gelaf* 'I shall not hide myself' 209 3, Co *em-lathe y honan* 'to kill himself' RD 2073, MIBr *em-rentaff* 'se rendre' Cf Vendryes, Les verbes composés avec *ym* dans les Mabinogions, Mélanges Loth, 1927, 49 ff

(17) Ir *in-*, before a pers pron *at-*, in rel sents occasionally *assid-* § 342,5 The *-n* is the IE final and coalesces with foll explosives and certain other consonants *écoscc* 'appearance' (*in-com- + sech-* 'signify'), a short vowel appears in MIIr *tecosc* 'instruction' MnIr *teagasg* (OIr *tinchosc* Wb 5c 16) By contamination with *ind-* (18), the form *in-* is followed by lenition *in-chosc* 'denotation, mark' Sg 209b 11, Wb 15a 29, *t-in-chosc*, also ǀ*ind-* for *in-* before vowels *hua-r-ind-ualad-su* 'whereby thou hast entered' Ml 93c 14 Cf also note 1 — Prep *i n-* 'in', rel preverb *in-* (cf § 393,3)

For the Brit forms of the prep v § 196, § 350, § 353, § 356 As preverb G *e-ssedum* 'war-chariot' § 26,10 Lat *in* Gk ἐν, ἐνί Goth *in* The by-form **eni* occurs in nominal comp (Ir *ingen* 'maiden' § 35,9), in verbal comp another by-form **ni* (Skr *ni* 'downward, into') *ar-nei-gdet* 'they pray' Wb 25c 23

(18) Ir *ind-*, procl *in-*, before pers prons *at-* (*in-samlathar* 'he imitates' Wb 9a 15, *a-ta-samlibid* 'ye will imitate them' 5a 13) For a rel form *inde-, inda-* v Thurneysen, ZCP 14 373 In close comp the form ǀ*ind-* before vowels and certain (lenited) consonants *ind-ar-pe* 'expulsion', *intamil* 'imitation' (*-t- < -d- + len s*) It is not always easy to distinguish between *ind-* and *in-* (17) Gaul *ande-* § 98, VKG II 10.

(19) Ir *mad- mad-bocht* 'it was well reaped' Thes II 334 3, *mad-genatar á thimthirthidi* 'blessed are his servants' "well born" Ml 90b 12 — MIW *mat mat ganet* 'luckily was he born', *ny mad aeth* 'not luckily did it go', v BBCS 2 121ff, Ériu 2 219[2]

(20) Ir *mí- mi-tn-imret* 'that they deceive him' Ml 74b 22, vn *mí-imbert, mi-thoimtiu* 'false opinion' Orig not a preverb

(21) Ir *oc-*, procl *ocu- ocu-biat* 'they will touch' Ml 126b 12, *nad ocmanatar* 'who are not touched' 54a 12 — Prep *oc* 'at' The procl form is the 3 sg neut of the conjugated preposition The *-m-* after *oc-* in close comp may be from the *b-* of the verb, cf § 186,1, but it is influenced by *iar-m-*, *re-m-* etc

(22) Ir **od-*, in close composition only The *-d-* coalesces with a foll consonant and disappears with compensatory lengthening before *r-*, *l-*, *n-*, *-d-m-* > *-mm-* The preverb is recognizable after the accent only by the condition of the preceding and following consonant (it contracts with a preceding vowel *fócre* 12) It often occupies the first position in verbal nouns *uccu* 'choice' (*gu-*), *opad, obbad* 'refusal' (*od-* + *bo-n-d-*), ind *ócbál* 'the rising' Thes II 13 24f In the finite verb it is always preceded by another preverb *co-ta-ocbat* 'they raise themselves' Thes II 13 26

(23) Ir *rem-*, procl *remi-*, with rel pron also *reme- remi-suidigddis* 'they used to set it before' Sg 28a 9, *a tréde remi-érbart* 'the three things which he has said before' Wb 5c 22, *reme-n-uicsed* 'that he preferred' Ml 47c 12, *rem-suidigud* 'placing before' Sg 215a 4 — Prep *re n-* 'before' (temporal) Not an old preverb, the procl form is 3 sg fem of the conjugated preposition

(24) Ir *ro-* as a word-forming preverb usually stands immediately before the verb (and so after any other preverbs), v § 422,1, but cf *turcbál* 'raising' (*to-ro-od-* + *garb-*), *dirósci* 'surpasses' Sg 42b 2 (*di-ro-od-* + *scuich-*) For its position as perf preverb v § 415

MlW *ry-buched* (/-*d*/) 'a desire, wish', *ry-buchaw* 'to desire' (also *puchaw*), W *rhy-gyng* 'ambling pace', MlW *ry-o-dres* 'pomp' BA 5 10, *rodres* RP 1324 39 MnW *rhodres*, in second position in MlW *cy-r-haedd* 'reach' MnW *cyrraedd* Co *d-re-heth-o* it may reach' PC 2758 MlBr *di-r-haes* 'reach' MnBr *direza* (Ir *ro-saig* 'reaches') v Loth, RC 30 259f , MlW *cy-r-bwyll* MnW *crybwyll* 'mention', Loth, RC 38 167 As perf preverb, § 424 — Gk *πρό*, Lat *pro-ficiscor*, Goth *fra-*, Skr *pra-* The preverb seems to have stood orig in all IE languages immediately before the verb, cf Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1895—8, p 170, KZ 35 612f , Jackson, KZ 36 149ff

(25) Ir *sechm-*, procl *sechmi-*, *sechmo- lasse sechmi-n-ella* 'when he passes by' Ml 61a 5, *sechmo-ella* 'lacks' Sg 196b 2, *nad sechm-alla* gl qui non omittit Ml 35d 13 — Prep *sech* 'past' § 56, § 226, rel preverb *sech-an-* Ml 120b 2 Not an old preverb,

sechm-, *sechmo-*, *sechmi-* by anal with *iarm-* etc 15, cf 21,23,26,2₉

(**26**) Ir *tarm-*, procl *tarmi-*   *tarmi-berar* 'it is transferred' Hib Min 1 24, *tairm-thecht* 'transgression' Wb 2c 18   Prep *tar* 'across, over' § 226, rel preverb *tar-an-*, *dar-an-*   Not an old preverb, *tarm-*, *tarmi-*, by anal with 15, 23

(**27**) Ir *to-*, procl *do-*   ᴵ*to-* can become ᴵ*tu-* (vowel raising *ceta-thui-dchetar* 'who first have come' Wb 21c 5 beside *do-dechuid* 'he has come', *do-tiag-*), ᴵ*ta-* (-*a*-uml , *nicon-ta-rat* 'he has not given' Ml 36a 1, cf § 179,2)   For the forms ᴵ*ti-*, ᴵ*te-* v § 506, 9, § 576, 3, § 639, 5   Before a vowel it becomes *t-*, before a lost IE *w-* it contracts with a foll vowel (*tor-mach* 'increase', *do-for-maig* 'increases')   In the earliest OIr texts prochtic *to-*, *tu-* *to-nd-echomnucuir* (-*ch-* = -*c*-, /-*g*-/) 'has happened', *tu-thegot* 'who go' Thes II 247 11,17 — Prep *do* 'to', rel preverb *di-an-*

Note 2 Nils Holmer, RC 50 105ff, separates the prep *do* from the preverb *to-* But the preverb has very clearly in a great many instances tho meaning 'to It is true that in some cases it has a different semantic development from the prep , quite as the preverb *air-* often differs from tho prep *ar* (*air-* means '*περί*' in *con-er-chlói* and many other cpds , this meaning being unknown in the case of the prep *ar*) But this is no objection to identity It may be surprising that the prep has completely (or perhaps only almost completely, cf *t-air* 'in the east', *an air* from the east', both of which may contain prepositions) generalized the initial *d-*, but in Brit even the preverb has almost completely generalized the initial *d* The identification of Ir *do* with OE *tó* E *to* is therefore inadmissible

W *dy-* Co *de-* Br *di-* W *dy-chwel* 'return' Co *de-wheles* OM 728, W *dy-huddo* 'console' MlBr *di-huzaff*, MIW *dy-gymer* 'takes' LlH 289 25 Co *de-gemerys* 'taken' MlBr *di-guemer* 'take thou' MBH 18 16   W *ty-* in nominal comp *ty-wysog* 'prince' § 143, possibly too in *ty-wynnu* 'to shine' and (with elision) in *t-er-fysg* 'disturbance' (OIr *t-air-mesc*, cf *do-air-mescad* 'it might disturb' Monast Tall 127 18)   There are numerous cpd groups of this preverb + other preverbs, v VKG II 300f

Note 3 Thurneysen, ZCP 14 9f, suggests that this preverb occurs in G *tomezeclai*, /*to-med-ek-lai*/ ponit (posuit) me

(**28**) Ir *trem-*, *tre-*, procl *tremi-*, *tris-*   *tremi-berar* 'it is transferred' Wb 8a 5, *ni trem-feidliget i-ssa suthin* 'they do not endure for ever' Ml 21d 4, *tris-n-gatat* 'that they pierce' 75b 9, *ro-t-tre-gdastar* 'has pierced thee' LL 108b 47 — Prep *tri*, *tre* 'through'; rel preverb *tre-san-*, *tre-sin-* — *tremi-*, *trem-* by anal with *remi-*, *rem-* 23, *tris-* by anal with *fris-* 14

W *try- try-wanu* 'to transfix, pierce', *try-dwll* 'perforated',
try-dar MlW 'noise' MnW 'birds' chatter' (v RC.20,355) OBr
tre-orgam gl perforo

Etym § 226, 1

Note 4 An old preverb not found in Ir is seen in W *he brwng* etc
§ 49, cf Skr *sam*- together

§ 432. Accumulation of preverbs is exceedingly common in Celt ,
as can be seen by the exx in §431, but groups of more than three
preverbs are rare As a general rule it is only the last preverb that
seems to have a definite meaning, those preceding it give the
impression of having been added later, v VKG II 302 The
different preverbs in a group have often become confused in Ir ,
fo-ro- is mixed with *for- for-aith-minedar* 'calls to mind' Ml 55c 1,
fo-da-r-aith-minedar 'that remembers it' 25c 5, *to-ro-* (*to-r-be* 'profit')
is treated as *to-for-* (*do-r-or-ban* 'can be of use' Ml 62 a 20) A simple
verb is treated as a compound *tongu* 'I swear', *no-thongad* 'that
he used to swear', *do-d-fongad* 'who swore it' Ml 36 a 20, 21, *lasse
nad-n-adraim-se* 'when I do not worship' Ml 132 c 1 *ad-ro-rsat* 'they
have worshipped' Wb 1b 19 (< Lat *adōrō*)

XXXI. The Verb.

Syntax of the finite verb.

§ 433. Position of the verb. Normally in insular Celt the verb
stands at the head of the sentence Placing some other part of the
sentence first, for the sake of emphasis, is avoided by the relative
circumlocution (§ 399) The verb can only be preceded by (1)
conjunctions, (2) the adverb Ir *bés* 'perhaps', (3) the preverbs and
negatives, (4) the infixed pronouns, (5) certain adverbs, (6) inter-
rogative particles and pronouns

Note This fixed position of the verb is a special development in insular
Celt , v Vendryes, MSL 17 337ff But Thurneysen, ZCP 16 301ff , 14 9f ,
suggests that the Gaul graffiti may offer instances of a verb at the head of
a sentence — There are numerous examples in the older W poetry of
principal sentences in which the verb is preceded by some other part of the
sentence *keith kwynynt* 'captives lamented' LlH 5 3, *Dewi differwys y
eglwysseu* D defended his churches' 205 1, *dyhet dy-m goryw* (MS *gorwy)
strife overcomes me' 24 16 In the last example the accus pron is infixed
after the preverb, when the verb was simple a pron was infixed by means
of the particle *a Duw a-m difero* 'may God defend me' 33 30 Then the
particle *a* was used even in the absence of an infixed pronoun *diliw a dyvu*

dytbrawd a dyu 'the flood has come, doomsday will come' Sentences of this type did not differ in appearance from mixed sentences (relative circumlocution, § 399) They are freely used in literature to this day, but are rare in spoken W Cf Henry Lewis, BBCS 4 149ff, Datblygiad yr Iaith Gymraeg, 112ff

§ 434. **Tenses.** (1) The indicative has a present, an imperfect and a preterite, in Ir a future and a conditional, in Brit a pluperfect (a) The Ir pres has the usual functions of a pres and can also denote an action continuing up to the present *atát tri laa 7 teora aidchi and* 'they have been there three days and three nights' LL 249 b 11, similarly MIW *ys gwers yd wyf yn keissaw* 'I have been seeking for a while' RM 126 28, Br *tri miz zo ez eo klañv* 'he has been ill three months' In W and Co, which have no future tense, the pres has also a fut meaning, in Br it is the pres subjunctive that has a fut meaning

(b) The ipf denotes in Ir repeated or customary action in the past *dognithe a n-asbered Moysi* 'what Moses used to say used to be done' Wb 15 a 18 In Brit it has a much wider scope of meaning, it denotes not only what used to be, but also what continued in the past MIW *ual y kyrchei ef y bont* 'as he was approaching the bridge' WM 433 8, *pan deuthum i yma gyntaf eingon gof a oed yma* 'when I first came here there was a smith's anvil here' RM 129 12 In W and Co the ipf corresponds in meaning to the Ir. conditional MIW *oed llessach yr march* 'it would have been more beneficial' WM 17 29, *ny wydyat hi beth a wnaei* 'she knew not what she would do' RM 268 29. Co *fy thyso pan leuersys temple dev y-n tystrewys* 'fie on thee that thou hast said thou wouldst destroy God's temple' PC 2862 The ipf of 'to see' and 'to hear' are used in narrative in W MIW *ym pell yn y coet ef a glywei diaspat Sef y gwelei wreic* 'far in the wood he heard a cry, he saw a woman', the meaning is very nearly 'he could hear, he could see' cf Morris-Jones, WG 315f, EWG 107f, and the same meaning occurs in Co and MIBr, v § 445 n 3

(c) The Celt preterite corresponds to the IE aorist and perfect and derives its functions from both sources

(2) The imperative has only one tense, the present The subjunctive, corresponding to the IE subjunctive and to the IE optative, has two tenses, pres and ipf, in Brit it has also a pluperfect

§ 435. **Person and number** (1) The insular Celt verb has three

singular and three plural persons For simple and conjunct endings
v § 448   (2) In the Brit languages from the earliest period the
verb stands in the 3rd sg when it precedes even a plur subject
(except when the subject is a pers pron) Numerous examples
occur however in the older W literature, particularly in poetry,
of agreement in number between the verb and its following plural
subject, the subject noun in such cases having an initial consonant
lenited *atchwelwynt wydyl* BT 18 8, v ZCP 17 107ff, BBCS
5 194 In MnW the verb is invariably sg when it precedes its
subject In early MlW the verb agreed in number with its preceding
subject noun *guir deur kymynint a dur* 'brave men slew with steel'
BBC 72 9, cf § 433 n In the later development of this construction
with the particle *a* preceding the verb, this agreement has persisted
in literature even to this day Such sentences, though resembling
in form mixed sentences (relative circumlocution), are as a rule
distinguishable from the latter, which usually have the verb in the
3rd sg after a subject rel pronoun MnW *ni a aethom* 'we went'
but *ni (nyni) a aeth* 'it was we who went' In Co and Br however
this distinction has not been observed, and in the 'impersonal'
conjugation the verb is always 3rd sg   Co *my a gar* Br *me a gar*
'I love', etc , v Ernault, RC 9 249—258

Note 1. In MnIr , persons of the verb are expressed either synthetically
(with the inherited personal endings) or analytically (the verb 3rd sg +
independent pers pronouns, *ceilidh mé, tú*, etc 'I conceal etc), also 3 sg
before a plural noun as subject

(3) Transitive verbs are often used impersonally in Ir *rofetar
niu-m-irchói nach géin lib-si* 'I know I shall not be delayed for any
long time with you' ("that it will not delay me") Wb 7a 11, *bec
nach-am-ralae i n-derchoiniud* 'I have almost fallen into despair'
("it has thrown me") Ml 90c 17

Note 2. In the later language a personal construction has been sub-
stituted, the verb being made intransitive and the original object becoming
subject *ro lá i socht mór inti Mac Dathó* 'M D fell into long silence' (orig
"it threw him") Wi 97 6

The use of the subjunctive in Irish.

§ 436. The subjunctive in Ir expresses a wish *d-a-ro-lgea dia
doib* 'God forgive it to them' Wb 31a 2 Also a command (when
not to be obeyed at once, the subj often corresponds to the
Lat ipv in *-tō*) *dogné-su maith fris-som* 'thou shalt do good to him'
Wb 5d 39, *soira-siu* 'thou shalt set free' gl liberato Ml 61c 15

§ 437. It can also be **potential.** (1) In principal sentences *dofuthris-se a buith i-m gnais féin* 'I could wish that he were with myself' Wb 32 a 9 (2) After *bés* 'perhaps' *béss risat ade ani asatorbatha* 'perhaps they may reach that out of which they were cut' 5 b 39 (3) In a dependent question *nihil horum sciens i in-damsoirthae du lamaib mu námat fa-naic* 'whether I might be saved from the hands of my enemies or not' Ml 91 d 4 (4) In conditional or concessive sentences (and in rel clauses integrating the cond or concess sents) *mani pridag atbél ar ocht et gorti* 'if I preach not, I shall die of cold and hunger' Wb 10 d 24, *cia fudama in firián ní du imneduib hi-sin biuth frecndairc soirfithir dano in céin n-aili dano* 'though the righteous man endure something of troubles in the present world, he will also be delivered the other time' Ml 68 d 14

Note The subj is not required in dependent interrog sents or in conditional or concessive clauses as such, when they have no potential meaning *ma du d esta ní di bar n-iris iccfidir per aduentum* 'if anything is lacking in your faith it will be made good per aduentum Wb 25 a 30, *cia ru-d-chualatar ilbélre* though they have heard many languages' 12 d 28 — *cid, cit, mad, mat* are subjunctives (*cid* functions as an indic in Wb 5 a 16), cf Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1895 – 98, p 267[1]

As a conditional conjunction *dia n-* always takes the subjunctive, as a temporal conj it takes the indicative, *acht* (eclipsing) save that takes the indic , *acht* provided that' takes the subjunctive

(5) In relative clauses of an indefinite character *cid a-tob-aich cen dílgud cech ancridi doçnethe frib* 'what compels you not to forgive every injury that may be done to you ?' Wb 5 c 20 (6) After *amal* 'as', *indaas* than' *acht amal fu-n-d-ló* 'but as he can (may be able to) endure it' Ml 32 d 2, *indaas bemmi i n-doiri coricci sentaid* 'than that we should be in captivity till old age' Ml 105 b 6 They take the indic when the meaning is not potential

§ 438 The subjunctive denotes **purpose** in Ir (1) In final clauses proper (after *ara n-, co n-* and *co* 'in order that', *coni, cona, arna, na* 'in order that not') *coni bé etir in peccato act co beid in poenitentia* 'that he may not be at all in peccato but that he may be in poenitentia' Wb 9 b 2, *arm-bad irlamu de don buáith* 'that he might be the readier for the victory' 11 a 7 Also after *co n-, co* 'until' to express purpose *ni taïrbre grád for nech o-feser a inruccus don grád sin* 'thou shalt not confer orders on anyone till thou knowest his fitness for those orders' 29 a 22

Note If *co n-, co* does not denote purpose it takes the indic   *roptar*

irlıthı ar moge dun ɔ-tanıcc hıress our slaves were obedient to us, until the faith came' Wb 29 b 2

(2) In objective sentences *cı as-ıd-ru-bart-sa nad-tıntae-su* 'though I have said that thou shouldst not translate' Ml 3 a 15, pestilentiae proprium est inficere ı *frıs-norr* Ml 15 a 10 ˙

(3) In rel sents *bóı ní ro-glante and* 'there was something to be purified there' Wb 31c 18, *co m-betıs degnımaı leu trıssan-etıs bethaıd afrıthıssı* 'that they should have good works through which they might obtain life again' Ml 107c 12   Also in rel sents expressing some restriction or limitation of the purpose or desire *conná ruchrete-sı do neuch act nech doyned na ynımu sın* 'that ye might not believe in any one save one who did those deeds' Wb 17a 13, *toısc lımm fer oín-sétche du-nua-rructhae act oen tuıstıu* 'I desire a husband of one wife, unto whom hath been borne only one child' Thes II 241 9

(4) In dependent interrog sents *ara scrúta ad forchana do hícc cách* 'that he may scrutinize what he may teach to save every one' Wb 31b 10   Also in a direct question *cınnas fuırechlem* 'how may we beware ' LL 120 b 13

§ 439   The subjunctive in Irish denotes what is **unreal** or **impossible**   (1) In rel clauses forming part of what is denied in a negative sentence *nı tabır dıa fornnı fochıth nád-fochomolsam* 'God puts not on us suffering that we cannot endure' Wb 14b 15, *nad-fıl nech congne frıs acht dıa* 'that there is no one who helps him but God' Ml 114b 18, also in a sent virtually negative *ın sí a meıt frıscomartatar co n-dosılıs huılı a fıde Chrıstı* 'have they offended so greatly that all fell a fide Chrıstı' Wb 5 b 11, *doıochóınset arn-da-beth ın taırsem hı-robatar rıam* they had despaired of having the state in which they had been before' Ml 131c 9

(2) After *resíu* 'before'   *mohd 7 álgenıgıd resíu rocúrsacha* 'he praises and soothes before he reprimands' Wb 4 a 2   (3) In a quoted statement etc which is doubtful or incorrect *asberat alaıh . co m-bad du dethrıub no-tesad án Iacob* 'some say that the word Jacob would apply to the Two Tribes' Ml 34d 6, *ında leu-som nı-s-roıssed ımned* 'it seemed to them that trouble could not reach them' 39c 34   (4) In conditional clauses (ıpf subj , the conditional in the principal sentence) *docoıth dígal forru matıs tuıcsı ní ríyad* 'vengeance fell upon them, if they had been elect it would not have fallen' **Wb.** 11a 22

(5) In sentences of comparison and in relative clauses in them as part of the unreality which is expressed (ipf subj) *ropridchad dúib céssad crist amal adcethe l forócrad dúib amal bid fiadib no-crochthe* 'Christ's passion has been preached to you as though it were seen, or it has been announced to you as if he had been crucified in your presence' Wb 19b 6 , *amal ni cuimsin hi frecndirc a n-asberinn per epistolas* 'as though I being present could not do what I said per epistolas' 17b 1

The use of the subjunctive in British.

§ 440. The subj can express a **wish** or a **command** in Brit OW *anbuc guell* gl aue MlW *hanpych gwell, henpych gwell* MnW *henffych well* , MlW *duw a rodo da ytt* 'God prosper thee' RM 15 2 Co *yn della thyn re wharfo* 'so may it happen to us' OM 667 MlBr *doe guir roe tron ra-m pardono* 'God, the true king, pardon me' Nonne 388

§ 441. The subj has in Brit a **potential** meaning (1) In principal sentences The subjunctive here closely approaches a future, this use often occurs in earlier W poetry, but becomes rare later, in Br the use of the subj as future became regular MlW *nyt arbettwy car corff y gilyd* 'a kinsman shall not spare his companion's body' BT 16 13 , MlBr *pebez anquenou a gouzafhet oar ann bet man* 'what anguish you would suffer in this world' Jés 44 b

(2) In a dependent interrog sentence MlW *manac ditheu y mi pa furyf y gallwyf hynny* 'do thou tell me how I may be able to do that' RM 3 5 , *heb wybot pwy vei eu gelynyon* 'without knowing who their enemies might be' RBB 105 5   Co *prederys peb ay worfen fettyl allo gorfenne* 'let every one consider his end, how he may be able to end' OM 228 , *myr pa-n-dra wylly ynny* 'look what thou mayest be able to see in it' 801

Note 1   When the potential meaning is absent the indic is used MlW *mi a wnn pwy wyt ti* 'I know who thou art' RM 2 11

(3) In a conditional or concessive clause In W in a second (negative) conditional clause following, without a conditional con-junction, a preceding conditional clause MlW *o gwely vwyt a diawt or byd reit itt wrthaw ac na bo o wybot a dayoni y rodi itt kymer dy hun ef* 'if thou seest food and drink, if thou hast need of it and there be not the courtesy and goodness to give it thee, take it thyself' RM 195, 18 , also in a rel clause forming part of the con-

dition in a future conditional clause MlW *or byd ae gwarauunho itt hediw* 'if there will be to-day anyone who will refuse it to thee' 253, 21   After MlW *cyn, cyt* 'though', neg *cyn ny, cyny,* Co *kyn, ken* MlW *a chyt archo ef itti yr eil* 'and though he ask of thee the second (blow)' RM 3 19, Co *kyn leuerryf guyr den fyth ahanough ny vyn crygy* 'though I speak the truth no man of you will believe' PC 1481, — also after MlW *yr na* 'although not' MnW *er na* MlW *darogan yw idaw kaffel etiued ohonat ti yr na-s kaffo o arall* 'it is prophecied that he shall have an heir by thee though he may not have had one by another' RM 101 23 — In expressions like 'the more, the better' MlW *goreu yw gennyf-i bo kyntaf* 'the sooner the better for me' 12 4, *a phei vwyhaf vei y vrys ef pellaf vydei hitheu ywrthaw ef* 'and the more his haste the farther she would be from him' 9 5 — Disjunctive MlW *pan dycko beich na mawr na bychan uo* 'when he carries a burden whether great or small' 109 19, *na marchawc na phedestyr y del idaw* 'be it a rider or a pedestrian he come to' 246 9

Note 2   After W *o,* (and MlW *or*) the indicative is used, also after Co , Br *mar* 'if' Co *mar myn dev* 'if God wills' OM 650, MlBr *mar tech* 'if she escapes' Barbe 401   But after OW *hou* 'if' the subj occurs *hou boit cihitun ceng ir osceir* 'if it be along the back of the limb' BBCS 5 246 (cf *hou bein atar 1* 'if they be birds' 236), for the subj OW *boit* cf MlW *boet, bwyd* (*-d* — /d/) after *cyt kyt boet keuynderw y mi* though he be a cousin to me WM 62 2, *kyd bwyd drwc ganthaw* 'though he regret' 449 35, v Williams, PKM 228   In Co the indic of the verb 'to be' sometimes follows *ken ken nag of gvyw* though I am not worthy' PC 481 — In MlBr the indic is used in such sentences as *nac eu mar fier* § 409,1

It is difficult to distinguish between conditional and temporal conjunctions   In MlW the subjunctive follows *pan* 'when', *gwedy* 'after', *tra* while when the action of the verb is future or is repeated *pan delych dy hun yth wlat ti a wely a wneuthum yrot ti* 'when thou comest to thy own country thou shalt see what I have done for thee' RM 6 10, *a phan dywetter Arthur y dywedwn ynneu* and when A would say   I also would say' 147 24, *gwedy delych atref par uessuraw yr ynys* 'when thou comest home cause the island to be measured' 96 28, *hediw a pheunyd tra barhao y wled* to-day and daily while the feast lasts' 17 10   In Co *pan* is followed by the subjunctive when the action is future *marow vyth pan yn kyffyf* 'he shall die when I get him' RD 1777

(4) In indef rel clauses MlW *yr a ymbiho a thi* 'however much he may beseech thee' RM 3 19, *pa diaspettych di bynnac* 'however much thou mayest shout' 104 7   Co *suel a vynno bos sylwys golsowens ow lauarow* 'whoso would be saved let him hearken to

my words' MC 2 MlBr *da ober seder a querhet* 'to do surely what
ye desire' Jés 45a, *hoaruezet a hoaruezo* 'happen what may' Nonne
1593

(5) After MlW *ual* MnW *fel* 'as' MlW *mi a wnaf ual y
dywettych di* 'I will do as thou sayest' RM 276 27 After Co *del*
'as' *my a wra ol del vynny* 'I will do entirely as thou wishest'
OM 246, *mar scon del y-n guylly* 'as soon as thou seest him' RD 1694

Note 3 The comparative conjunction as such does not require the
subj MlW *ual y daw y mywn* as he comes in RM 226 5, Co *an arluth
ker del yu c luen a versy* the dear Lord, as he is full of mercy' OM 1822

§ 442 The subjunctive in Brit denotes **purpose.** (1) In final
clauses proper MlW *mal y crettoch* 'that ye may believe' RM
131 10, *carchara wynt hyt nat elont drachenyn* 'imprison them so
that they may not go again' 34 14 Co *may hyllyf clewas* 'that I
may be able to hear' PC 554, *rag na ro degees* 'that it may not be
opened' OM 964 MlBr *euit maz guili* that thou mayest see'
Nonne 1156 After MlW *yny* until' MnW *oni, hyd oni*, referring
to the future or when purpose is directly denoted MlW *ny russya
dim ragot yny delych y-m kyuoeth i* 'nothing will hinder thee till
thou comest to my domain' RM 3 26 Also after MlW *hyt pan*
'until', v BBCS 1 104 After Co *erna* 'until' *gans myyn gureugh
hy knoukye erna wrello tremene* 'beat her with stones till she pass
away' OM 2695, after Co *bys ma ty a vew bys may fy loys* 'thou
shalt live till thou be grey' OM 72 After MlBr *quen na* 'until'
ahanenn em tennet quen na duy pret da donet dauedoff retire hence
till the time comes to come to me' Nonne 537, MnBr *ken na*, v
Vallée 206, 208 (*gortozit ken na zeuio* 'wait till he comes')

Note MlW *yny* takes the indic when the idea of future or purpose
is absent *ny bu hir yny vyryaud Peredur cf* it was not long before P
overthrew him RM 200 8 Similarly MnBr *ken na sker a reas gantañ ken
na varvas* he hit him till he died Vallée 209, MlBr *gant eur boan quen
terribl que na uoe eur mis cren en poan* with such terrible pain that he was
a whole month in pain Loth, Chrest 348 7

(2) In objective clauses MlW *mi a baraf na bo i-th gyuoeth
na gur na gureic a wyppo na bo tidi wu yf i* 'I will cause that there
be in thy domain neither man nor woman who may know that it
be not thou that I be' WM 4 28, *deuis di ae kerdet ae na cherdych*
'choose thou to walk or not' RM 150 25, *auory y mae oet dyd yrof
i ac ef y rodi y vorwyn honno idaw neu ynteu a ladho vy meibon* and
to-morrow I have an appointment with him to give him that maiden

or for him to kill my sons' 189 10   Co *me a-th pys may leuery* 'I
beg thee to speak' RD 2046, *ha my a wyth na-n lyttry* 'and I will
watch that thou steal him not' 58   MlBr *m-oz pet ez autrehet ez
mirvif affet da quentaff* 'I beseech you to grant me that I indeed
die first' Jés 35 a

(3) In rel clauses   MlW *llyma a wnelych* 'this is what thou
shalt do' RM 201 30, *a cheissun greft y caffom yn ymborth* 'let us
seek a trade by which we may have our food' WM 65 25, *py derw
ytti pryt nat atteppych y neb hediw* 'what has happened to thee
that thou dost not answer anyone to-day' RM 176 20   (In exx
like the last the clause is almost causal) Co *lyf bras my a thoro a
gutho ol an nor beys* I will bring a great flood to cover all the face
of the earth' OM 982

(4) In dep interrog clauses (asking what should be done)
MlW *roduch im kynghor pa uorwyn a geisswyf* 'give me counsel
what maiden I shall seek' WM 93 9 This use of the subj occurs
in W only The indic also occurs in such sentences in W

§ **443.** The subj in Brit denotes **the unreal or impossible.** (1) In
rel clauses forming part of what is denied in neg sents MlW *nyt
oes yndi neb ny-th adnapo* 'there is in it no one who knows thee not'
RM 3 29, *ny wnn i neb a-e gwypo* 'I know of no one who knows it'
131 2 Co *tra ny vyth yn pow adro na wothfo the tharryvas* 'there
is not a thing in the country which he knows not how to discover'
OM 190 MlBr *na nemeux quet tra en bet nemet huy, tra a carhenn*
and there is nothing in the world that I would love but you'
Barbe 101

(2) Co *kyns del vy serrys my a wra ol del vynny* 'rather than
thou be angry I will do entirely as thou wishest' OM 245

(3) In a quoted statement which is doubtful or incorrect
MlW *hawd yw gennyf kaffel hynny kyt tybyckych di na bo hawd*
'I can easily get that though you may think it not easy' RM 120 26,
nyt er tebygu ohonaw ef na bei deilwg 'not that he thought he was
not worthy' RBB 26 15

(4) In conditional clauses (ipf subj   the indic ipf or plpf
in the principal sentence) In MlW such clauses are mostly intro-
duced by the conjunction *pei*, itself in origin the 3 sg ipf subj
of the verb 'to be' *pei iach dy angheu uydei* 'were he well he would
be the death of thee' RM 133 27, *bei dywetut ti   minneu a
dywedun* 'if thou wouldst say   I would say' 194 22, *minneu a*

*baraf pei dottιt yssyd yn y seith cantref hynn o vwyt a llynn yndι
na bo llawnach no chynt* 'I will cause that ιt be no fuller than before,
(even) ιf all the food and drιnk of the seven cantrefs were put ιn
ιt' (here the prιncιpal sentence ιs not 'unreal') RM 13 29 — Co
a-n caffen er an ascal y-n toulsen yn creys an tan 'ιf I caught hιm
by the armpιt I would throw hιm ιnto the fιre' RD 289, *mar-s-
ellen hep cous orty hy holon hy a torse* 'ιf I were to go wιthout speak-
ιng to her, her heart would break' OM 2173 — In MlBr the subj
also occurs ιn the maιn sentence *mar carhe me-n rohe dezaff* 'ιf he
lιked I would gιve ιt to hιm' Nonne 1568

   (5) In sentences of comparιson (ιpf subj) MlW *mal pei y
cledyf a dotter yn y wein* 'as ιf he were sheathιng the sword' RM.
128 7 Co *kepar ha pan ve hegar* 'as ιf he were a frιend' MC 40
(but ιndιc ιn *kepar ha del ens* 'as ιf they were goιng' MC 64) MlBr
euel pan ve me ma hunan en deffe y gret 'as ιf ιt were I myself who
had done them' Loth Chrest 297 23

Active inflection of the pres. and ipf. ind and of the imperative

   § 444. Irish present paradigms (*bιru* 'I carry', *benιmm* 'I strike',
carιmm 'I love', *gaιbιmm* 'I take', *léιcιmm* 'I leave')

	-o- -e- stems	-na- stems	-ā- stems	-ι- stems	-ī- stems
Pres. simp					
Sg 1	*bιru*	*benιmm*	*carιmm*	*gaιbιmm*	*léιcιmm*
2	*bιrι*	*benι*	*carι*	*gaιbι*	*léιcι*
3	*berιd*	*benιd*	*carιd*	*gaιbιd*	*léιcιd*
Pl 1	*bermι*	*benmι*	*carmι*	*gaιbmι*	*léιcmι*
2	*berthe*	*bente*	*carthe*	*gaιbthe*	*léιcthe*
3	*berιt*	*benιt*	*carιt*	*gaιbιt*	*léιcιt*
Pres. conj.					
Sg 1	*-bιur*	*-benιmm*	*-caru,* *-carιmm*	*-gaιbιu,* *-gaιbιmm*	*-léιcιu,* *-léιcιmm*
2	*-bιr*	*-benι*	*-carι*	*-gaιbι*	*-léιcι*
3	*-beιr*	*-ben*	*-cara*	*-gaιb*	*-léιcι*
Pl 1	*-beram*	*-benam*	*-caram*	*-gaιbem*	*-léιcem*
2	*-berιd*	*-benιd*	*-carιd*	*-gaιbιd*	*-léιcιd*
3	*-berat*	*-benat*	*-carat*	*-gaιbet*	*-léιcet*

	-o- - -e- stems	*-na-* stems	*-ā-* stems	*-i-* stems	*-ī-* stems
Ipf.					
Sg 1	*-berinn*	*-beninn*	*-carinn*	*-gaibinn*	*-léicinn*
2	*-bertha*	*-benta*	*-cartha*	*-gaibthea*	*-léicthea*
3	*-bered*	*-benad*	*-carad*	*-gaibed*	*-léiced*
Pl 1	*-bermis*	*-benmis*	*-carmis*	*-gaibmis*	*-léicmis*
2	*-berthe*	*-bente*	*-carthe*	*-gaibthe*	*-léicthe*
3	*-bertis*	*-bentis*	*-cartis*	*-gaibtis*	*-léictis*
Ipv.					
Sg 2	*beir*	*ben*	*car*	*gaib*	*léic*
3	*berad*	*benad*	*carad*	*gaibed*	*léiced*
Pl 1	*beram*	*benaim*	*caram*	*gaibem*	*léicem*
2	*berid*	*benid*	*carid*	*gaibid*	*léicid*
3	*berat*	*benat*	*carat*	*gaibet*	*léicet*

Note 1 The difference between the various classes of stems as regards inflection is seen almost only in the 2 and particularly the 3 sing of the praesens compositum (conjunct) A more important difference is that of the quality of the final root consonant In the *-o- -e-*stems it is non-palatal in the 1 sg , 1 and 3 pl of the pres conjunct, in the ipf palatalization distinguished the ind from the subjunctive *at beirmis* we used to say it' Wb 26 b 19, *as-beirtis* (they) who used to say' 4c 23, palatalization does not occur in 3 sg , 1 and 3 pl ipv The *-na-* and *-ā-*stems had non-palatalization, the *-i-* and *-ī-*stems had palatalization But these rules for palat can be regularly modified *taibred* let him give' Wb 22 b 7 (palat caused by the *-b-*) There are also mixed and analogical formations

Vowel changes can occur only in Class I   Raising of *e* is regular in 1 sg of the conjunct and in the 1 sg of the simple present (*-biur, biru*), it also occurs in the 2 sg , *biri* (Skene, Celtic Scotland III 426 12), *-bir*, cf *du-fichi* Ml 71 b 18, *con-rigi* 119 b 8, but *ara-rethi* n 3

Note 2. As a sub-section of the *-o- -e* class can be considered verbs whose root ends in a vowel (after loss of *w, j* or *s*) They are distinguished by the **retention of the otherwise lost final vowel** *at-noi* 'he entrusted him' (vn *aithne* gl depositum, W *ad-nau* deposit, pledge'), *o-úi* guards' , *do-gniu* I do , *ad-cíu* (and *ad-cí*) 'sees

Note 3 **Varying endings of the present** The 1 sg pres simp regularly ends in *-u* in Class I in OIr (*biru, tiagu* 'I go', *arco* I beseech', MIIr *tongu* 'I swear', cf *biuu-sa* Wb 16 d 8), but there are exceptions as *dligim* 'I am entitled to , *ithim* I eat , *melim* 'I grind', *saigim* 'I seek In the other classes the ending *-u* is rare *gaibiu* 'I take', *ibiu* I drink Trip L 54 15 (v K Meyer, Miscell Hib 51, but *ib-*, 3 pl *ebait* originally belonged to Class I) In MIIr the ending *-imm* prevails throughout The simple ending *-imm* is also often

used in conj. forms, it is the usual form in all but the -o- -e-stems where it is not so common (*for-chanim* 'which I teach' Wb 8 c 3 beside *for-chun* 10 a 13) The 2 sg simple ending can occur as conj ending *ar-a-rethi* 'which thou assailest Wb 6b 22   In archaic OIr the 3 pl pres simp ends in -*ot* *tuthegot* '(they) who come', *tuesmot* (they) who pour Thes II 247 17,19

Note 4 Forms with relative subject or object 3 sg rel   *beres, benas*, *caras, garbes, léices*, 1 pl rel   *berme* etc , 3 pl rel   *berte* etc   For forms with suffixed pers prons v § 343

Note 5 The imperative has a 1 sg form *tiag-sa* let me go, I will go Ml 58 c 6   In rare cases forms in origin subjunctive have become ipv   *décce* *lat* see' Wb 10 c 20, *na-dene aimmnit* 'do not do patience' 'be not patient Ml 55 a 1 (verbs *ci*-, *gni*-) *cuirre* 'put Thes II 19 36 For other subjunctives used as imperatives v § 452 n 3

Note 6 Mnlr. development The endings of the non comp verbs have been generalized in all regular verbs, but the 3 sg ending -*ann*, *eann* long remained as a special dependent form (after syntactic preverbs), ultimately replacing almost entirely the simple ending of the 3 sg   *idh* (For the origin of this ending v VKG II 334f) The old conjunct form of the 3 sg is retained in a few irreg verbs (*adeir* says , etc) The 2 sg has the ending -*ir*, probably taken from the deponent, it occurs already in MlIr   *d-a fhuigir* 'which thou obtainest' Atk LBr 7538 In the 1 pl OIr -*mit* (verbal ending ǀ pron object) became the usual pl ending in MnIr -*mid, -maid*, v § 347

§ 445. Brit. present paradigms (MlW Co MlBr *caraf* 'I love')

			MlW	Co	MlBr
Pres	Sg	1	*caraf*	*caraf*	*caraff*
		2	*kery*	*keryth*	*querez*
		3	*car*	*car*	*car*
	Pl	1	*carun*	*keryn*	*queromp*
		2	*kerwch*	*kerough, kereugh*	*queret quirit*
		3	*carant*	*kerons*	*queront*
Ipf.	Sg	1	*carwn*	*caren*	*carenn*
		2	*carut*	*cares*	*cares*
		3	*carei*	*care*	*care*
	Pl	1	*carem*	*caren*	*caremp*
		2	*carewch*	*careugh*	*carech*
		3	*kerynt*	*kerens*	*carent*
Ipv.	Sg	2	*car*	*car*	*car*
		3	*caret*	*cares, carens*	*caret*
	Pl	1	*carwn*	*keryn*	*queromp*
		2	*kerwch*	*kerough, kereugh*	*queret, quirit*
		3	*carent*	*carens, cares*	*carent*

Note 1. Traces occur in Brit of **different classes of stems** A series of forms derived from -ĭ-stems differ from the above paradigms pres. sg 1 in -if in older MlW (*kenif* 'I sing', *kwynif* 'I complain', *bythf* I shall be', *dygif* 'I bring', *gweinnu* 'I serve', *kenu* I love LlH 1 16, 4 3, 6 23, 8 1, 24 12, *mudif* 'I change' RP 1037 10, *gwneif* 'I do, make' BA 1 5, B T 63 21, *kuynhiw* 'I (shall) lament' BBC 100 15, — 3 eg forms with affected vowel (*ĭ*-umlaut) in W Co and Br W *geill* 'he can' (also *gall*) Co *gyll* MlBr *guell*, W *geilw* 'he calls' (1 sg *galwaf*) Co *gelow*, W *tyr* breaks' (1 sg *torraf*) Co *ter*, W *cyll* loses' (1 sg *collaf*) Co *a geyl* OM 319, — archaic MlW 3 sg in *id* (note 3), and perhaps the archaic MlW 3 pl pres forms in *ynt* (note 3), — the archaic MlW 3 sg ipf in -*i* with umlaut of the vowel in the penult, also Co MlBr -*y* (note 3), — 3 sg ipv in -*it* in MlW and 3 sg, pl ipv in -*ys* (*es*), -*yns* with umlaut in Co (note 3)

Except in the 3 sg pres only the vowel *a* undergoes umlaut in W The affected vowel in Co is written e, y or ey   In MnBr umlaut has as a rule been set aside

Note 2 Verbs with old **hiatus** (due to lost *s* or *p*) are hardly attested But verbs with later hiatus due to loss of lenited *g* are frequent, the deriv verbs in 1 sg MlW -*haaf* The regular inflection in MlW is pres sg 1 *rydhaaf* I set free , 2 *rydhey*, 3 *rydha*, ipv sg 2 *rydha*, 3 *rydhaet* etc The pres sg 3 and ipv sg 2 forms were regularly accented on the penult, cf *llleha* 'will place', *lrydha* '(it) will set free', *na m lcassa* hate me not' RP 1174 23, 25, 35 The final unaccented -*a* came to be regarded as a personal ending and was added to stems other than those in -*ha*- MlW *cerda* 'goes' MnW *cerdda* walks' Another consequence has been the accenting of the final -*ha* in MnW   *rhyddlha* 'sets free' (as if the form were -*ha-a*)

Note 3 Older or variant forms Pres 1 sg   OW *ni choilam* 'I do not believe   *ni guardam* 'I laugh not' BBCS 5 234 6 102, OBr *rannam* gl partior, *lemhaam* gl acuo, *enmetiam* gl innuo, *guirgiriam* gl hinnio *doguorenniam* gl perfundo For MlW -*if* v note 1 — 2 sg OW *nerthi-ti* gl hortabere, *gurt trichi-ti* 'thou decidest' (BBCS 3 267f), *ha chepi* 'and thou shalt find' (ib 256), in the older MlW verse the 2 sg ending -*yd* = /*yd*/ occurs *atebyd* answerest , *dywedyd* sayest , *kyuerchyd* greetest' RP 582 36-9, *doit* comest' BBC 102 1, *keed* (= ke-yd) 'obtainest' LlA 151 23, v Strachan, Introd 83, Morris-Jones, WG 319 — 3 sg in -*id* = /*id*/ OW *prinit* buys' (Ir *crenid*, -na-etem), *retit* runs (Ir *rethid*, -o- -e-stem), *hegit* goes , MlW *ottid*, *tohid* '(snow) falls, covers BBC 89 14, *dyrcheuit* rises HGCref 90 4, 3 sg in -*yt* = /*yd*/ MlW *eyt* 'goes' RP 1055 16, *perheyt* 'lasts' 1168 28, *llwytyd* 'proepers' LlH 45 14, 3 sg in MlW -*awt* = /*aud*/ OBr -*ot* MlW *dyrchauawt* will arise RP 579 19, *gwasgarawt* 'will scatter 581 39, *gunahaud* 'will make' BBC 54 4, *briuhaud* 'will break' 58 9 *kymerawd* will take' LlH 37 2, *llewychaut* shines' 252 24 *methawd* will fail', *ymhoelawd* 'will turn WM 457, 11, 13, OBr *crihot* gl uibrat, *fleriot* gl redolet, *cospitiot* gl titubauerit These forms correspond to the Ir forms with simple endings, those in -*id* often occur eide by side with conjunct forms *trenghit golut, ny threingk molut* 'wealth perishes, fame does not perish , *tyuit maban*,

ny thyf y gadachan a babe grows, his swaddling-chothes grow not' RB 1082, *chwaryit mab noeth, ny chware mab newynawc* 'a naked child plays, a hungry child plays not' 1060 A few instances occur in MlW of a 3 sg in *-yd,* OW *-id = /yd/* OW *nit egid* 'goes not' BBCS 3 256 8, 17, MlW *ni glwit* 'that hears not' BBC 20 5, *a uedyd* that rules' BT 40 23, *na welyd* 'that he sees not' RP 1159 24 (in all the MlW exx the verb is in a rel clause, v Morris-Jones, WG 323) — 1 pl OBr *na docordom-ni* (? *docondom*) gl arcemus RC 8 493 — 2 pl OBr *guotrout* gl demulgitis — 3 pl OW *amal iter-cludant* gl cernis ut subigant Juv , OW *-int* MlW *-ynt* OW *limnint* gl tondent, *nertheint* gl armant, *scamnhegint* gl leuant Juv , MlW *dottint* they set', *diuryssint* 'they hasten' BBC 58 8, 89 14, *torrynt* they will break' RP 582 5, *teihyn* will flee BT 15 24, OBr *ent imcobloent* gl apocant, OW *-haunt* MlW *(h)awnt cuinhaunt* 'will lament' Juv , *gwnahawnt* 'they will make BT 13 8, *pebyllyawnt* 'they will encamp' 77 15, *bydawnt* they will be' 78 5 — In the 3 sg and pl forms *-h-* has been taken over from the subjunctive The 3 sg ending *-id* occurs in *elit* goes RP 581 20, *gwnelit* does , indicative in meaning though *el* and *gwnel* are generally subjunctive § 453 n 2, v BBCS 4 15

Ipf 1 sg Co *-yn ny yllyn* I could not (vn *gallos*) RD 533 *ny welyn* I saw not, could not see MC 220 3, *ny wylyn* RD 434, PC 3022 (rhyming with *dewlyn,* W *deulin*), *ny gyfyn* I could not find (vn *cafos*) RD 1850 (rhyming with *termyn,* W *terfyn*), *ny gowsyn* I used not to speak MC 79 4 — 3 sg MlW *-i* Co MlBr *-y* MlW *renni* he shared *(rannaf)* LlH 4 9, *keri* he loved' *(caraf)* 29 3, v Strachan, Introd 84, Morris Jones, WG 324, Co *keffy* 'he found' (vn *caffos*) MC 187 4 *a wodevy* he suffered (vn *gothaf)* 54 1, *leuery* 'he spoke *(lauaraf)* 146 1, *ny ylly* he could not 60 3, 83,3, *fylly* it lacked *(fallaf)* 180 2, MlBr *diguery* he opened' Jés 209b *(digor* open thou !'), *guilly* 'he was able Barbe 336 (vn *gallout*), *ne guyly* saw not, could not see' PBret 109 1, v Ernault, RC 32 75° 3 sg MlW *at -yat* in certain verbs *atwaenyat, atwaenat* was acquainted with', *gwydyat, gwydat* 'he knew , *adwaeniad, gwyddiad* occur often in early MnW poetry, and *gwyddad* is still used in spoken W in Cardiganshire This ending also occurs in forms of the verb to be , v § 485 — 3 pl MlW *eint* (by anal with 3 sg) *achubeint* they seized WM 466 38, v Morris Jones, WG 324f

An ipv 3 sg in *-id* occurs in W MlW *ledwid* may he keep LlH 48 2, *rwydheyt* may he make easy' WM 161 30, cf Morris Jones, WG 329

Note 4 Later forms The 2 sg pres in MnW ends in *-i* (*ceri*), the 2 sg ipf in *-it* (*carit, cerit*), 2 pl ipf in *-ech* (*carech*), 3 pl ipf in *-ent* (*carent*) — MnBr 1 sg pres in *an* (*karan*, in Trég *añ* Vallée 35²), 2 sg pres in *ez* and in *-es,* cf Loth, RC 10 348 In the pres tense the vowel in the penult is often not modified *karit* or *kirit* you love

A 3 sg pres ending *-iff,* with a variant *-ith* is very common in spoken W , without modification of a preceding vowel *caniff* he will sing' The origin is to be found in *caiff* he will get', this led to *aiff* 'goes', *gunaiff* does', *troiff* 'turns' etc , a form like *troiff* could be wrongly analysed as *tro-iff,* cf *troir* for *tro-ir* etc This deduced *-iff* then spread to all verbs This explanation is preferable to that given by Morris-Jones, WG 323, 332

Etymological explanation of the present paradigm.

§ 446. The stem classes. The -*o*- -*e*-class corresponds to the type represented by Gk φέρω (pl φέρομεν, φέρετε, φέρουσι), Lat *scribō* etc   This class has also absorbed some of the original consonantal stems, in particular some verbs with an infixed nasal (forming the present) *bo-n-gid, -boi-n-g* 'breaks', pret pass -*bocht*, cf Skr 1 sg *bha-na-ž-mi*, 3 sg *bha-na-k-ti*, 1 pl *bha-ṅ-ž-más*, part *bhag-ná-s* 'I break' etc , *to-n-gu* 'I swear', pret (perf) *du-cui-tig*

Note The only consonantal stem retained in Celt is Ir *am* 'I am', cf Skr *asmi* Gk εἰμί etc

The Ir -*na*-stems correspond to the type of Gk πέρνημι 'I sell' (Ir *renim* 'I sell', subj 3 sg *ni ria*), mid πέρναμαι   IE -*nā*- (pres act sg) alternated with -*na*- (in the other forms) in this type, the form -*na*- became general in Celt With this type a large number of verbs mixed in which IE -*neu*- alternated with -*nu*-, in Celt -*nu*- became general (consequently the root vowel was raised in Ir) Ir *ar-a-chrinim* gl defetiscor, 3 sg *ar-a-chrin*, 3 pl *hore arin-chrinat* 'because they decay' Wb 27b 1

The Ir -*ā*-stems correspond to the -*ā*-stems or to the -*ājo*- -*āje*-stems in the other IE languages The rarer -*ōjo*- -*ōje*-stems were probably mixed up with the -*ājo*- -*āje*-stems in Celt

The Ir -*i*-stems correspond to the type of Lat *capiō* In this class a stem in -*jo*- -*je*- became mixed up with a stem in -*i*-

The Ir -*ī*-stems correspond to different original types, in part the -*ī*-stems alternating with stems in -*jo*- -*je*- (-*ijo*- -*ije*-) in other languages (cf Lat *farciō*, 1 pl *farcimus*, *fīniō*, 1 pl *fīnimus*), with which stems in -*ējo*- -*ēje*- could be confused in Celt , in part the old causatives and intensives in -*éjō* (with IE -*o*-grade in the root syll) Ir *at-suidi* 'establishes'Goth *satjiþ* 'places' Skr *sādáya-ti* Also some orig nasal presents have passed over to this class Ir -*léicci* 'leaves' to Lat *linquō*

§ 447. The IE. personal endings to some extent differed in the -*o*- -*e*-stems and in the stems not ending in -*o*- -*e*- Gk φέρω, but πέρνημι, εἰμί   Also IE distinguished between primary and secondary endings, the pres ind had primary endings, the ipf ind secondary endings Skr pres *krīnā-mi* 'I buy', 2 sg *krīnā-si*, 3 sg *krīnā-ti*, ipf sg 1 *á-krīnā-m*, 2 *á-krīnā-s*, 3 *á-krīnā-t* Many IE languages partially have secondary endings in the present

§ 448. The contrast between simple and conjunct endings in Celt.

does not depend on the old distinction between primary and secondary endings, but (according to the theory of VKG) on the habit of suffixing a subject pron after the uncompounded verbal forms — Some of the personal endings derived from IE which resembled to some extent the Celt subject pronouns became of use in the new system, in particular the 1 sg ending of stems other than -o-stems, -mi, which is identical in form with the Celt pron *mi 'I' — The distinction between simple and conjunct endings was given up very early in Brit (as it was later in MnIr), as a rule the simple endings became general, but in the 3 sg (and pl) the conjunct endings prevailed

§ **449. Explanation of the individual personal endings of the present.**
1. sg. The -o- -e-stems have kept the ending -ō (Ir -biur Gk φέρω), the -na-stems the ending -mi (Ir renim Gk πίρνημι), in the -ā-, -ı-, and -ī-stems, which alternate with -ājo- -āje-, -jo- -je-stems etc , both endings could be found Ir carim goes back to *qarā-mi, Ir -caru to *qarājō, Ir léicim to *liŋkʷī-mi, Ir -léiciu to *liŋkʷjō Cf the hiatus verbs Ir -tau, -biu 'am The Ir simple ending -u (biru 'I carry', tiagu 'I go') may have been formed, as suggested by Thurneysen, Handb p 339, on the anal of the 2 sg (-u corresponding to the -u-quality of the conjunct ending as the 2 sg -i corresponds to the -i-quality of the conjunct ending) — The -m of the Ir ending -im must have been lenited originally, cf W Co MlBr caraf etc , but in the historical period it is always non-lenited in Ir , and this is probably due to the influence of the verb 'to be' (Ir am < *esmi, but in Brit *esmi has been replaced by a form with anal lenition, W wyf etc) In Brit before the lenited -m (-f) stands the vowel -a- which is derived from the -na-stems, spreading thence most probably at a very early period to the -ā-stems The MlW ending -if has the vowel -i-, derived from orig -ī-stems

2. sg. Meillet, MSL 14 412ff , assumes an ending -ei for -o-stems, and derives Ir -bir from *bherei (cf Lith vedì 'thou leadest', reflexive vedíe-s) The other stems had the ending -si (Skr krīnā́-si 'thou buyest'), Ir beni may be from *bhina-si The ending -si may have been treated as the simple ending (as if it were a pronoun, cf 1 sg -mi), and -ei as the conjunct ending, in this way analogical double endings would arise *bherei-si along with *-bherei, *bhina-si and *-bhina-jei etc , *bherei-si would yield Ir biri, but in the other classes the two sets of endings would fall together Forms like do-

eim 'thou protectest' are irregular   The endings of the -*ā*-stems
(Ir *cari, -cari*) must be analogical — The Brit endings are derived
from the -*i*-stems   OW *cepi* MIW *kei̯y* from -*i-si*, MIW *keryd*
Co *keryth* MIBr *querez* from -*i-i̯ei* — In Ir *a-t* 'thou art' W *wy-t*
Co *o-s* MIBr *ou-t* an actual pronoun is added to the simple ending

3. sg. The Ir conjunct forms are derived from forms with IE
secondary endings Ir -*beir, -ben, -cara, -gaib, -léici* from **bhere-t,
*bhina-t, *qarā-t, *ghabi-t, *linkᵘī-t*, similarly W *rhed* 'runs' from
*rete-t cél 'conceals' from **k'ele-t*, the vowel affection in Brit.
(§ 445 n 1), is derived from forms orig in -*it* The IE primary
ending was -*ti*, Ir *berid, benid, léicid* could come from **bhere-ti,
*bhina-ti, *linkᵘī-ti* (but also from **bheret is* etc) The W ending
-*id* can be from -*i-ti*, MIW -*awd* OBr -*ot* from -*ā-ti*

1. pl. Ir -*beram, -benam, -caram, -gaibem, -léicem* < **bhero-
mos, *bhina-mos, *qarā-mos, *ghabi-mos, *linkᵘī-mos*, the -*m* is
as a rule lenited Ir *bermi, benmi* (with non-len *m*) can be explained
from **berom ni* etc The Brit. forms are late re-formations, W
Co -*n* is probably a survival of an affixed pers pron (W *ni* Co *ny*),
the -*n* being retained after loss of *-*v* the len form of the -*m*- of
the orig ending, the Co vocalism has probably been influenced by
the 2 pl The Br non-len -*m*- may be influenced by the form of
the verb 'to be' *omp*, the -*p* developing between the non-len *m* and
the initial *n* of the affixed pers pron (MIBr *ni*), -*mn-* > -*mpn-*
§ 75.5, the umlaut in the penult, MIBr *queromp*, is by anal with
the 2 pl

2 pl The orig personal ending was perhaps -*te* (Gk pres
φέρετε) Ir -*berid, -benid, -carid, -gaibid, -léicid* from **bhere-te,
*bhina-te, *qarā-te, *ghabi-te, *linkᵘī-te* The simplex (Ir *berthe*
etc) may be from very early amalgamation with an affixed pers
pron **bhere-te wes* etc The orig IE ending would give in Brit
forms in -*t* (= /*d̥*/), with an affixed pron **swēs* § 357 this would
give **-trw-*, the umlaut in the penult shows that Brit had before
the personal ending a short -*i*- (derived from -*i*-stems, or from -*e*-
or -*a*- affected by *ī* in **swīs* < **swēs*), **-itxw-* > **ixw* > **-iwτ* >
-*ui* (W -*wch*, Co -*ough*), in Br the -*t* was later restored

3. pl. The IE primary ending was -*nti*, the secondary ending
-*nt* Ir -*berat, -benat, -carat, -gaibet, -léicet* < **bheront, *bhinant,
*qarānt, *ghabhi̯ont, *linkᵘi̯ont*, for instances of old forms in -*ot*
v § 444 n 3 Ir *berit* < **bhero nti* (or **bheront ei*) The umlaut

in the Co and Br penult by anal with the 2 pl — OW -(h)aunt
MIW -(h)awnt is derived by anal with 3 sg -awt

§ 450. The forms of the ipf. The origin of these forms is obscure
The IE ipf was distinguished from the pres by the augment *e-
and by secondary endings (Gk ἔ-φερον Skr á-bharam 'I carried'),
the augment was lost in most languages, so that there was no
characteristic difference between the pres and the ipf in forms
directly derived from IE Some languages supplied the deficiency
by modifying the stem, this seems to have been the case in Brit ,
judging by the -e- in Co Br and in the W pl But the chief
peculiarity of the Celt ipf is the form of the endings Some of
these are middle — 3 sg Ir -ed, -ad are derived from old middle
forms with the ending -to Ir -bered etc < *-bhere-to etc , cf Gk
ἔ-φέρε-το, similarly the -ad in MIW gwydat (which belonged
in Celtic to a middle paradigm, cf Ir ro-finnadar, ro-fitir 'knows'),
after which the synonymous MIW atwaenat was formed -ad <
-a-to But the other endings seem to be a modification of the
active endings

§ 451. The imperative The 2 sg was the bare stem *bhere >
Ir beir, *rete ≥ W rhed 'run' etc , cf Gk φέρε, Lat scribe This
was probably the case in all stems, so that we may safely assume
for Celt ipvs *bhina, *qarū, *ghabhi, *link"ī — The 3 sg forms
can be traced to old middles with the secondary ending -to *bhere-
to, *bhina-to etc , in Brit the form of the -o-stems became normal,
-e-to > -ed (W -id may be a survival from -i-stems), and a 3 pl
-ent (Co -ens) was modelled upon it (in MnW -ant occurs by anal
with the pres indic) — The other forms are identical with the
pres indicative (in Ir the conjunct forms)

Active inflection of the subjunctive

§ 452 Ir. subjunctive paradigms (ber- carry', léic- leave', tiag-
'go')

			-ā-subjunctive		-s-subjunctive
Pres simp.	Sg	1	bera	léicea	tiasu
		2	bere	léice	tesi
		3	berid	léicid	téis
	Pl	1	bermi	léicmi	tiasmi
		2	berthe	léicthe	*tiaste
		3	berit	léicit	tiasit

			ā-subjunctive		-*s*-subjunctive
Pres. conj.	Sg	1	*-ber*	*-léic*	*-tias*
		2	*-bere*	*-léice*	*-téis*
		3	*-bera*	*-léicea*	*-té', -téi*
	Pl	1	*-beram*	*-léicem*	*-tiasam*
		2	*-berid*	*-léicid*	*-tésid*
		3	*-berat*	*-léicet*	*-tiasat*
Ipf.	Sg	1	*-berinn*	*-léicinn*	*-tésinn*
		2	*-bertha*	*-léicthea*	*-tiasta*
		3	*-berad*	*-léiced*	*-téised*
	Pl	1	*-bermis*	*-léicmis*	*-tiasmis*
		2	*-berthe*	*-léicthe*	*-tiaste*
		3	*-bertis*	*-léictis*	*-tiastis*

Note 1   The stem of the -*ā*-subjunctive is mostly formed by adding -*ā*- to the root, the elements forming the present of -*o*- -*e*-stems, -*nn*-stems and -*i*-stems disappear in the subj   thus *renim* 'I buy', *gaibim* 'I take' have subj 3 sg   *ria*, -*gaba*, occasionally the root-vowel differs in the subj ind *mairnid* 'betrays', *at-baill* 'dies', subj 3 sg -*mera*, *at-bela*   The final consonant of the root is always non palatal in the subj , except that ind -*i*-stems have an -*ā*-subjunctive with palatal final root cons (-*ea* and *e*- for -*a* and -*a*- in the endings)

The quality of the -*s*- of -*s*-subjunctives varies in much the same way as consonants in the ind of -*o*- -*e*-stems The *s*- is added directly to the root (ending in a back consonant or in a dental), and consonantal changes occur which are usual in the case of -*s*-groups, pres infixed -*n*- disappears 1 sg *tiasu*, 2 sg *con-lis*, 3 sg *in-fé*, *in-ré*, *fris-n-orr*, 3 pl *fris-n-orrat* from *tiag*- go' *com*- + *ic*- 'be able', *in* + *fiad* relate', *in*- + *reth*- 'attack', *frith*- + *org*- offend A final vowel in the 3 sg pres conj is regularly lengthened when the verbal form is accented, this lengthening is sometimes transferred analogically to other forms 1 sg *fu-lós* after 3 sg *fo-llo* from *fo-lo-n-g*- endure' etc § 132, and the diphthong -*ia*- is substituted by anal for an -*e*- before non-palatal consonants 3 pl ipf *in griastais* from *in grennat* 'who persecute' (**ghre-n-dh-na*-), cf § 133 In the case of verbs whose 3 sg pres conj ends in a vowel, the vowel if originally short is lost when the verbal form loses the accent *na-d-fu-l* 'which he may not endure', *fo-lo n-g* , an originally long vowel, which should remain, is often lost also *con-éi-t* 'who may be indulgent', *com-in*- + *tiag*-, occasionally a short vowel is retained *arna-in-gre* 'that he may not persecute' Ml 111c 6 As a result of such loss of vowels forms occur in which only the initial consonant of the verbal root remains, in some cases not even that *as-n-ind* Ml 23d 2 (i ind *as-ind-iut* gl obsero) — The root vowel rarely shows a different grade from the ind in

the -*s*-subjunctive *guidimm* 'I pray', subj 2 sg -*geiss*, *con-da-rias* 'that I may bind them', *reg*- 'bind'

Note 2 Forms of the -*ā* subj and of the -*s*-subj are mixed in **hiatus verbs**

 Thus nd *biuu* I am -*gntu* 'I do', 3 sg *blid, -bi, gnīith, -gni* subj 1 sg *beo, gnéo*, 3 sg *beid, be, gné* (with the vowel -*e*- in the subjunctive throughout ipf 1 pl -*bemmis, -gnemmis*, etc) Ind -*i*- beside subj -*e*- occurs also in *ad-cī* 'sees', subj 2 pl *ad-ced* Wb 11 b 22 (the subj of this verb has middle endings)

 The subjunctive of -*na* stems shows mixed inflection 1 sg *coni-gleu* gl ut non haeream Ml 86 b 8 (ind *glenaid* sticks), 3 sg -*ria*, 3 pl *riat* (*renim* 'buy') 3 pl rel *glet e* which stick The attested forms are -*ā*-subjunctives, except the 1 sg

Note 3 **Variant endings** The 1 pl conjunct of the copula is -*ban*, with which the ipv *baan, ban* is identical Forms of the -*s*-subj used as ipv are *tair* come (*to air*- + *ric*), *a t rá* arise Ml 126 c 3, *coméir* 'arise' Fél Aug 26 (*reg*-), *foir* help (*fo rith*-), *no-m ain* protect me (*aingid* protects')

Note 4. Forms combined with pronouns 3 sg rel *beras, tias*, 1 pl rel *berme, tuasme*, 3 pl rel *berte, tiaste*

Note 5. For the subjunctive in MnIr cf Sarauw, ZCP 4 72 ff

§ 453. Brit. subjunctive paradigms MlW *caraf* I love', Co MlBr *gallaf* 'I can' (MlBr *bewaff* 'to live', *deceff* 'to deceive')

			MlW	Co	MlBr.
Pres.	Sg	1	*car(h)wyf*	*gyllyf*	*guillif*
		2	*cer(h)ych*	*gylly*	*guilly*
		3	*car(h)o*	*gallo*	*gallo*
	Pl	1	*car(h)om*	*gyllyn*	*guelhomp* *(beohimp)*
		2	*car(h)och*	*gallough*	*guelhet*
		3	*car(h)ont*	*gallons*	*galhint* *(deceffont)*
Ipf.	Sg	1	*car(h)un*	*gallen*	*galhenn*
		2	*car(h)ut*	*galles*	*galhes*
		3	*car(h)ei*	*galle*	*galhe*
	Pl	1	*car(h)em*	*gallen*	*galhemp*
		2	*car(h)ewch*	*galleugh*	*galhech*
		3	*cer(h)ynt*	*gallens*	*galhent*

Note 1 The characteristic *h* of the **subjunctive stem** is attested in the present tense only in the pl in MlBr , it never occurs in Co The *h* coalesces with a preceding consonant according to the rules explained in § 203, and the resulting provection is attested also in Co MlW 3 sg *dycko, dywetto,*

eustatho (beside *lladho*), Co pres 2 sg *lyttry*, ipf 3 sg *ladtre* RD 58, OM 2232
from *laddra* 'to steal'; pres 3 sg *deppro* OM 187 from *dybbry* to eat' (but
na-n laddro 'that he may not steal him' RD 380, *may tebro* that he may
eat' OM 200) In MnW the *h* has entirely disappeared, and provection is
nowadays rare — In MlW the *h* has spread to non-subjunctive forms
§ 445 n 3 In MnBr *f < vh* (MlBr *marvhenn, bevhenn,* ipf subj of *meruell*
die', *beuaff* live') spread through the ipf subj MnBr *kanfenn* 'I would
sing', *h* has disappeared from the pres subj pl *kanimp* etc (dialectal
fomp, -fet, -font)

The *h* comes from *s*, three MlW forms occur in which this *s* combined
directly with the final consonant of the root *duch* may bring , pres ind
dygaf (*-/x/ < ks*), v Loth, RC 20 79f and cf *dyduch* LlH 212 10, *gwares*
he may succour , vn *gwared* (*-s < ts*), v Rhys, RC 6 36, *gwnech* 'he may
do' (*/-x/ < ks*, with *k* from *g* which has generally disappeared after being
lenited in other forms of the verb, *gwnaf* 'I do' etc , cf OW *guragun* 'let us
make' Lib Land XLiii 8, MnW *gwnawn, gwnech* also shows different grade
of root vowel), v Morris-Jones, WG 339 (a further example BT 37 18)

Note 2 (Supplementary forms, -*l*-subjunctive) The verb to go , whose
ind is formed from the IE root **ag* (Lat *agō* § 35,1), W Co *af* MlBr *aff*
I go , 3 sg *a*, has a subjunctive from a different root MlW pres sg 1
el(h)wyf, 2 *el(h)ych*, 3 *el*, pl *el(h)om, el(h)och, el(h)ont*, ipf *el(h)wn* etc ,
Co pres *yllyf, ylly, ello, yllyn, yllough*, ipf *ellen* etc (*ll- < -lh-*), MlBr
3 sg *me a y-el, me a y-elo* 'I shall go' (the only form of this root frequently
occurring in MlBr , v § 150), 2 pl *net elot* you will not go Jés 201b There
are also regular forms from the root **ag'-* MlW 3 sg *aho*, pl *ahont* RB
140 16, BT 17 6, with future meaning, these are the prevalent forms in
MlBr pres sg 1 *if(f)*, 2 *y*, 3 *ay*, pl 1 *a(h)imp, ehomp*, 2 *ehet, eheut*,
3 *ahint*, ipf sg 1 *ahenn*, 3 *ahe*, pl 2 *ahech* — Similar supplementary forms
occur in the case of the verb to come' (W ind *deuaf* I come' etc) MlW
pres sg 1 *del(h)wyf*, 3 *del* etc , besides these forms there occur in MlW a
3 pl *deuhont* BT 3 8 and also forms composed of *dy-* with the verb to
be sg 1 *dy-bwyf*, 3 *dybo, dyvo, dyppo, dyffo*, etc , v Morris-Jones, WG 366,
these compounds are the prevalent forms in Co *dyffyf, dyffy, deffo dyffo*,
etc , in Br pres sg 1 *duiff*, 2 *duy*, 3 *duy, deuy*, pl 1 *deuhymp*, 3 *du(h)ynt*,
ipf sg 3 *deuhe*, pl 2 *deuhech*, 3 *duehent*

The root used in these supplementary forms is used in Ir to form the
fut of *ag-*, v § 491 For the pres ind *-ella* (*ll* from *ln*) v § 540

By analogy with these two verbs the verb 'to do' in W (*gwnaf* 'I do')
and Co (*guraf*) has assumed an *-l*-subj MlW *gwnel(h)wyf*, 3 sg *gwnel*
(beside *gwnaho* BT 16 2, *gwnech*, note 1 above, also 3 pl *gwnahont* BBC
61 15), Co *guryllyf, gurylly, gurello* etc (beside 3 pl *may wrons* 'that they
may do' OM 2034) Only regular forms occur in Br MlBr sg 1 *gruif, grif*,
2 *gruy, gry*, 3 *groay, greay, gray*, pl 1 *gr(o)ahimp*, 2 *grehet, greheut*,
3 *grahint, groaint*, ipf 1 *grahenn*, etc — The *-l-* is treated as a derivative
element in Co in the verb 'to give' (*rof* 'I give') subj pres sg 3 *rollo*
(beside *roy*), pl 3 *rollons*, ipf sg 1 *rollen*, 3 *rolle, rolla*

Note 3. Variant endings. The pres 3 sg ending *-wy* occurs in MlW poetry *rodwy* 'he may give' RP 1030 8, *donnwy* 'he may endow' LlH 31 26, v further examples Henry Lewis, HGCref 174, a variant of *-wy* is *-oe* (cf *mwy, moe* 'greater' § 21, 1) *creddoe* 'he may believe' BBC 53 15, OW *boi* 'it may be', pl *-wynt eluunt* 'they may go' ZCP 20 60 1, *elwynt* BA 2 16, *kaffwynt* 'they may find' RP 1054 24, *-oent deuedoent, deuetoent* 'they may say' ZCP 20 64 11, 33, *talhoent* 'they may pay' ALW I 228 10, *deloent* 'they may come' Delw y Byd 81 This *-oe-* is also found in the 1 sg *talloef* I may pay' ZCP 20 54 23, *-o-* also occurs *gwnscof* 'I may dress' WM 97 31 For traces of old deponents in MlW v § 467 – In MlBr the *-i-* of the 1 sg spread to 1, 3 pl, these forms being thus distinguished from the ind, 3 pl in *-(h)ont* occurs more rarely (Ernault, RC 37 116), absence of umlaut in the penult shows that the ending *-(h)int* cannot be old OBr forms *decmint* 'they will tithe', *iolent* gl precentur (with unexpected *-e-*) In MnBr the pres 1 sg *f* has been replaced by *-nn* (ipf) *kaninn* 'I shall sing', 2 pl *-ot kanot* you will sing

Etymological explanation of the subjunctive.

§ 454. Pres subj The 1r *-ā-* subjunctive has an exact counterpart in Lat 1 sg *scrībam*, 1 pl *scrībāmus* beside the ind *-o- -e-*stem *scrībō*, OLat 3 sg *ad-uenat, per-uenat* beside *ueniō* Both the *-ā-* subj and the *-s-*subj (an *-s-*stem or mostly a *-so- -se-*stem) are related to the aorist forms of the other IE languages

The individual forms of the 1r *-ā-*subjunctive 1 sg *-ber* < **bherām* cf Lat *feram*, the simple *bera* is formed from *-ber* as ind *biru* from *-biur* Forms in which originally a *-i-* stood before the IE ending **-ām* should have given Ir conjunct forms with the ending **-e*, but forms without this ending have displaced them analogically (*no-főid* gl mittere 'that I may send' Wb 23 d 1, an old *-ī-*stem) 2 sg *bere* < **bherāsi*, *-bere* possibly from **bherā-ei* 3 sg *-bera* < **bherāt* § 92, *ber(a)id* < **bherā-ti* The pl forms as for ind *-ā-*stems — *-s-*subj 1 sg *-tias* < **steigh-s-ō*, 2 sg *-téis* < **steigh-s-ei*, simple forms as for ind *-o-*stems 2 sg *a-t-ráe* (used as ipv) < **reg'-s-s*, 3 sg *-téi, -te* < **steigh-s-t* The pl forms as for ind *-o-*stems

The origin of the Brit forms is obscure The *-h-* is obviously derived from the *-s-*subj, but the only real *-s-*subjunctives are the three MlW forms cited in § 453 n 1, which suggest an original *-se-*stem (e g *guares* < **wo-ret-se-t*) W *êl* 'may go', etc, may go back to an ending *-āt* (*ā-*subj) But the explanation of the vowels of the actual endings is extremely difficult Cf VKG II 356, Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 30f, Morris-Jones, WG 339

§ 455. The ipf. subj. is a new formation based on the old -s-subj , with ipf endings   The -h- found in Brit disappeared entirely in Ir   In forms like Ir -ber(a)inn etc   the quality of the final root cons was influenced by the -ā-subjunctive   MIW *carhut* goes back to an old optative (-u- = Gk -oi-, the ind *carut* must then be analogical)

Active Inflection of the Future and Conditional.

§ 456. Irish future paradigms (*rannid* 'shares', *léicid* 'leaves', *canid* 'sings', *berid* 'carries', *guidid* 'prays')

		-b-future		-ā-future		-s-future
Fut. simp.
Sg	1	*rannfa*	*léicfea*	*cechna*	*béra*	*gigsea*
	2	*rannfe*	*léicfe*	*cechne*	*bére*	(*gigsi* ?)
	3	*rannfid*	*léicfid*	*cechnid*	*bérid*	*gigis*
Pl	1	*rannfimmi*	*léicfimmi*	*cechnimmi*	*bérmi*	*gigsimmi*
	2	*rannfide*	*léicfide*	*cechnide*	*bérthe*	*gigeste*
	3	*rannfit*	*léicfit*	*cechnit*	*bérit*	*gigsit*
Fut. conj.
Sg	1	-*rannub*	-*léiciub*	-*cechan*	-*bér*	-*gigius*
	2	-*rannfe*	-*leicfe*	-*cechne*	-*bére*	-*gigis*
	3	-*rannfa*	-*léicfea*	-*cechna*	-*béra*	-*gig*
Pl	1	-*rannfam*	-*léicfem*	-*cechnam*	-*béram*	-*gigsem*
	2	-*rannfid*	-*léicfid*	-*cechnid*	-*bérid*	-*gigsid*
	3	-*rannfat*	-*léicfet*	-*cechnat*	-*bérat*	-*gigset*
Conditional
Sg	1	-*rannfinn*	-*léicfinn*	-*cechninn*	-*bérinn*	-*gigsinn*
	2	-*rannfada*	-*léicfeda*	-*cechnada*	-*bértha*	-*gigesta*
	3	-*rannfad*	-*léicfed*	-*cechnad*	-*bérad*	-*gigsed*
Pl	1	-*rannfimmis*	-*léicfimmis*	-*cechnimmis*	-*bérmis*	-*gigsimmis*
	2	-*rannfide*	-*léicfide*	-*cechnide*	-*bérthe*	*-gigeste*
	3	-*rannfitis*	-*léicfitis*	-*cechnitis*	-*bértis*	-*gigsitis*

Note 1. Stem-formation   (a) The -b- future has the inflection of the -o- -e-stems in 1 sg fut conj , and the endings of the -ā-subj in 1 , 2 sg fut simp , 2 , 3 sg fut conj   — The quality of the future -f- or -b- depends in part on the immediately preceding final of the root of the verb (*rannfa*, with -ā-pres *rannid*, non pal -*nn*-, *léicfea*, with -ī-pres *léicid*, pal -*c*-), fut forms with pal -f-, -b- often occur beside -ā-presents (*atrefea* 'will dwell',

pres. *atreba* 'dwells') If a vowel stands between the final of the root and
the *-f-*, *-b-*, the quality of the latter varies, but palatalization is more fre-
quent than otherwise, final *-b* of 1 sg fut conj is always non-pal , in *nīo-
ainib sa* 'I shall not rest' Ml. 53 b 8 etc *-i-* is written for *-iu-*   — As regards
the sonority of the fut cons (1) *-b-*, *-b* appears at the end of a syllable (1 sg
fut conj *-lérciub*, cf *folnibthe* 'you will reign'), (2) *-b-* as a rule between
vowels, but *-f-* also occurs often, (3) *-f-* always after consonants, except after
-s- (and in other rare cases, as *d-a-ucbaid* 'you will understand it' Wb 21c 12,
nacha-soirbed 'that he would not deliver them' Ml53 d 6), *-b* coalesces with
the *-f-* (*atrefea* 'will dwell , with variant spelling *atrebea*)

(**b**) The *-ā-*fut has the endings of the *-ā* subjunctive The final con-
sonant of the root is always non-palatal *no-n da bértais* that they would
carry them' Ml 124 b 6 The *-ā-*fut is as a rule reduplicated, two types are
to be distinguished one with a zero grade root, and one without Instances
of the latter type are *-cechna* 'will sing , *nio-chechrat* they will not love' (*carid
he loves*), retention of the *-ch-* is regular only if it is assumed that a vowel
stood between *-ch* and *-n-* or *-r-* also *f a-didmed* 'would suffer it' (*fo-daimim
I endure*'), where palatalization of the secondary consonant group implies
loss of a front vowel

A zero-grade root vowel occurs in the fut as in the pres in *gn i-u*, *do-
gn i-u* 'I do , fut 1 sg *do-gen*, 3 sg *do-géna* (**g'eg'nāt* or **g'ig'nāt*), also in
itar-gninim gl sapio, fut 3 pl *etir-genat* (to be read as *-ē-*) A zero-grade root
vowel in the fut beside another grade in the pres *celid* 'conceals', fut 1 sg
-cél (**k'ek'lām* or **k ik lām*), *gairid* 'calls', *ar-gair* forbids , *fris gair* 'answers',
fut 3 pl *ar gerat*, 3 sg *fris-cera* (to be read as *-ē-*, **gegrā-* or **gigrā-*) This
type of future with long *-ē-* spread analogically *gatid* 'steals', fut 1 sg *-gét*,
gaibid 'takes', fut 3 sg *gebaid* (*-ē*) Reduplication is carried out in various
ways in verbs with initial vowel *di-em-* protect' follows the *-ē-*type (fut
3 sg *du-ema* Ml 67c 5, *-é*), *ib-* drink' has the subj stem *eba-*, a fut stem
iba , fut 1 sg *nach hib*, with *-i-* from *-ii* , beside the subj stem *era-* grant'
(pret 3 sg *ro-ir*), fut 3 sg with suffixed object *ebarthi* will grant it' (Thurn-
eysen, ZCP 13 10⁷ derives **ebraid* from **(p)iprā s* , IE *pr-* > Ir *-ðr*), and
by analogy with this, *alid* nourishes' has MIr fut 3 sg *no-dn eblae* (for
ebla) who will rear him Wi 141 18 Cf § 491, § 493

An *-ā* fut without reduplication occurs in fut 3 sg *regaid*, *do-rega*, 1 sg
do-reg, supplementary paradigm to *tiagu* I go , *do tiagu* I come' Sarauw,
Irske studier 96f , takes them to be an old pres and (~ Gk *ἔρχομαι*) which
assumed a fut meaning and took *-ā-*fut endings

(**c**) The *-s-*fut had originally the same inflection as the *-s-*subjunctive
The 1 sg fut simp assumed the ending *-a* early *gigsa* LL 278 a 34 (for
*gigsea, *-gs-* palatal owing to the front vowel lost after *-g-*, the palatalization
is attested by *gigse-sa* gl supplicabo Ml 47d 4) The s-combines with the
final consonant (dental or guttural) of the root as in the subjunctive In the
3 sg fut conj as in the corresponding enclitic form of the subj , the root
vowel sometimes remains as a final and is sometimes lost *ni mema* will
not break' (*maidid* 'breaks), *co tn imthœ* it will accompany him (*com imb-*

+ *tiag*-), but *do-da-cich* ZCP 3 463 18 from *do-cing* 'comes', *ni indail* 'he will not part' Ml 96a 8 (*dlongid* severs', possibly from *ind-* **ndhi-* + *de-dlughst or *didlughst, *-d-d-d-* > *-d-*, anal palatalization of *-l*), *du-fi* gl uindicabit Ml 67c 5 (*wewrqst or *unurqst, pres *do-feich, do-fich*)

The *-s*-fut is as a rule reduplicated The reduplicator has sometimes the vowel *-e-* (*ni mema* will not break' *maidid* breaks'), sometimes the vowel *-i-* The groups *-dl-, -chl-* remain after the vowel of the reduplicator *no-didlastais* they would split' LU 7701 (*dlongid* above), *ad-cichlus* gl uenabor Thes II 48 6 (*an ad-cladat* 'when they hunt for Ml 112b 2) Exx with init *s* and *f-* MlIr *no-t-selas* 'I shall kill thee' to *slaidid* 'kills', MlIr *do-ssib* he will pursue' LU 10678 to *an du-m-sennat* 'when they chase me' Ml 39c 28 (the root had IE **sw-*), MlIr *ro-sia* 'will reach' LU 7243 (*sesâgst or *susâgst), pl 1 2 *ro-sesum, ro-sesaid* (with *-e-* from disyllabic *-ia-* cf § 103, 146), OIr *lase do-n-da-fius* 'when I shall vanquish them' Ml 126c 19 (*to-* + *fich-*), *fessa* I shall fight' LU 10921 (with *-e-* from the hiatus group, so that the fut stem accidentally resembles the non-redupl subj stem *fess-*) Reduplication with initial vowel *friss-iurr* gl auersabor, *fri-tamm iurat* 'they will afflict me' Ml 37c 12, 33a 1 to *friss-oirc* 'hurts' (regular reduction of the hiatus group in *a fris-n-errat* when they will injure' Ml 100c 9), *ithim* I eat', subj stem *ess-*, fut stem *is-* (with vocalization like *ib-* 'drink', subj *eba-*, fut *ib-*) -- Disappearance of reduplicator with compensatory diphthongization (cf § 156) *fo-chichur-sa* I shall throw' LU 5761 (to *fo-cheird* 'throws'), but *ni foichur-sa* LL 251b 20 -- *s*-future without reduplication occurs in a few verbs *ni-sn-ain* 'it will not protect them' Wb 1d 1 (*aingid* protects'), *an atamm re(s) sa* 'when I shall arise' Ml 31c 14 (*ess-* + *reg-*), *in-ré* will invade 113a 7 (*ind-* + *reth-*), *sess* 'he will sit' Salt 8266, Wb 26a 8 (*saidid* sits), *con-lee* will he' Voy of Bran I § 51 (*laigid* lies'), *ni téis* (leg *tess*) I shall not flee LU 5747 (*techid* flees'), v VKG II 362, Thurneysen, IF 38 145

Note 2. The **hiatus verbs** in part have an *-s*-future, the *-s* disappears between vowels *as-ririu-sa* I shall pay Wb 18a 14 (*as ren* pays'), 3 sg *as-riri*, 2 sg MlIr *lile* thou wilt follow' (*lenaid* 'follows) has *-â*-inflection In the fut pl and in the conditional, *-s-* and *-â*-inflections fell together *lilit* they will follow', *giulait* gl haerebunt (with regular development of *-gl-*) to *glenaid* 'sticks', *ara-chiurat* 'they will perish' to *arachrinim* gl defetiscor The forms *imm-us-aiccichet* 'they will see each other' TripL 158 11, *in acciged* where he would see' LU 5336, are *-â* futures, *du-é-cigi* 'who will see' Ml 111c 13 (MS *duécigigi*), (*di-en-* + *ci-*), is by anal with *-s*-fut *as-riri*, *do-gega* I shall choose' Wb 23b 33 is an *-â* fut (*to-* + *gu-*, to Lat *gus-tus* etc) -- The verb to be' has a non-redupl *-â*-fut *bieid, -bia* will be', also its cpds which have pres stem *ben-* *fris-bia* 'will heal' (*fris-ben* 'heals', vn *frebaid*) Also *ben-* strike' has non-redupl fut , but with *-s*-inflection *du-fó-bi* gl abscidet Ml 96a 7, non-reduplication in this case is due to anal with cpds of the verb to be' and also of a root **wi-*, whose redupl fut stem in Ir regularly has the appearance of a non-redupl form (*ad-fether* 'it will be paid back' Wb 20b 7, to *fen-*, v Thurneysen, Handb 378)

Note 3. An archaic ending occurs in *in-eresom-ni* 'in which we will raise' Thes I 713 26

Note 4 **Forms with suffixed pronouns** Rel 3 sg *rannfas, léicfes, cechnas, béras, giges, liles* 'which will follow' Wb 10 a 5 (*lenaid* 'follows'); pl 1 *ranfimme* etc , pl 3 *rannfite, léicfite, cechnite, berte, gigsite, beblé* 'who will die' Wb 25 b 16 (to *no-m-baad* gl mori, 3 sg ipf subj) Forms with suffixed object *ebarth-i* he will give it Ml 46 b 12, *bi-th-us* 'he will kill them' LU 10481, *gebtit* 'they will receive him Wb 26 a 8, \ \ 343 By anal with the 3 and 1 pl forms in *-tit, -mit* a 1 sg in *-at* was formed *raga-t sa* 'I shall so go' LU 1493, while *-aut* also occurs (v Bergin, Ériu 11 136), the pronoun is often meaningless in MlIr *cloenfat-sa* 'I shall bend , *biat-sa* 'I shall be LU 5183, 1338 (cf Strachan, ZCP 2 488) In MnIr *-ad* has become the usual ending of the 1 sg

Note 5 **MnIr development** The *-f-* came to be pronounced *h*, which can further be dropped It is variously treated in the dialects, cf VKG II 363 - The *-f* fut (*-béra* etc) has developed to an *-eo-*fut See Bergin, Ériu 2 36—48 - In Sc the fut has been displaced completely by the pres

Etymological explanation of the future paradigms.

§ 457. (1) The Ir *-b-*fut , in origin predominantly an *-o- -e-* stem (§ 456 n 1), was later remodelled partly on the *-ā-*fut and the *-ā-*subjunctive As original forms, 1 sg **-ā-bhō, *-ī-bhō,* 3 sg **-ā-bhet, *-ī-bhet* may be assumed, cf Lat *amā-bō* etc

(2) The *-ā-*fut and the *-s-*fut differ from the *-ā-*subj and the *-s-*subj in the reduplication only — The regular *s-*fut recalls the Indo-Iran desiderative (Skr *śu-śrū-ša-tē* 'wishes to hear', root *śru-*), the *-s-*futures without reduplication recall the Gk futures (Ir *less-to laigid* 'lies', Gk *λέξομαι*) Cf Thurneysen, IF 38 143 ff , Vendryes, RC 38 105 ff

§ 458 **The conditional** can be a new formation modelled on the ipf ind and the ipf subj

The active inflection of the Preterite and Pluperfect

§ 459. Ir. preterite paradigms (*carid* loves', *léicid* leaves', *rádid* 'speaks', *berid* 'carries', *guidid* 'prays', *canid* 'sings')

		-s-preterite	-f-preterite	Suffixless preterite	
Pret. simp					
Sg	1	*carsu*	*léicsiu*		*gád*	*cechan*
	2	*carsi*	*léicsi*			
	3	*caris*	*léicis*	*birt*	*gáid*	*cechuin*
Pl	1	*carsimmi*	*léicsimmi*		*gádimmir*	*cechnimmir*
	2					
	3	*carsit*	*léicsit*		*gáditir*	*cechnitir*

	-s-preterite		-t-preterite	Suffixless preterite	
Pret. conj.					
Sg 1	-carus	-léicius	-biurt, -ru-burt	-gád	-cechan
2	-caris	-léicis	-birt, -ru-bairt	-gád	-cechan
3	-car	-léic (-rádi)	-bert, -ru-bart	-gáid	-cechuin
Pl 1	-carsam	-léicsem	*-bertammar, -ru-bartmar	-gádammar	-cechnammar
2	-carsid	-léicsid	-bertid, -ru-bartid	-gádid	-cechnid
3	-carsat	-léicset	-bertatar, -ru-bartatar	-yádatar	-cechnatar

Note 1   Stem-formation The -s- in the -s-pret when intorvocalic has
as a rule analogical palatal quality in the 1 and 3 pl   ro-pruikhissem 'we
have preached'   s-pret with non pal final consonant of the root beside an
-i-present 1 sg ro-gabus, 3 sg ro-gab to garbud takes'

Only roots ending in g, r, l, m form -t-preterites as-r-é-racht has arisen'
(ess-ess- + reg-), ro ort 'has slain (org-, /x/ lost between r and t), ro alt 'has
nourished' (-ail nourishes'), do-r-ct 'has protected' (di- + em-) Final -cht
regularly (§ 170,2) remains non-palatal ni comtacht su 'thou didst not ask'
Ml 60 b 20

The suffixless pret is formed either with reduplication or without
Without reduplication (1) lod I went , 3 sg luid (luagu 'I go'), the irregular do-
cer 'he fell' (3 sg with non-pal final, in enclisis the -r is as a rule palatalized
do-ro-chair has fallen , to do-tuit 'falls , 3 pl do ro-chratar 'have fallen),
(2) a series of verbs which lengthen the root vowel to -a   -gard (guidid
prays), raith (rethid runs), -táich (techid 'flees), -scaich (scuichid yields'),
also fo-caird (fo ceird 'throws'), cf ro-huaid 'has lent' RC 24 407 (oides 'who
lends' SM V 272 4)   In the majority of cases the suffixless pret is re-
duplicated, the reduplicator always having the vowel -e-   cechaing 'he went'
(pres cingid), -sescaind sprang forward' (sceindid), fo-nenaig 'washed' (nigid),
-leluig licked' (ligid)   In isolated late OIr and MIr instances the reduplic-
ator has assumed the root vowel   ro-cachain 'has sung' Ml 48 b 11, at-bobuid
refused' LU 10954 (bo-n-d-) -bobig 'broke' RC 11 446 69 (to bongid
'breaks Thurneysen, Handb 394), cf ZCP 13 101f   The groups explos-
ive (> spirant) + sonant remain analogically ro-cechladatar 'they have
dug' (claidid), non-syllabic groups beginning with -s- sephainn 'played'
(pres -seinn, -ph- = -f represents the lenited sound of IE *sw-), -selaig 'he
cut down' (sligid 'cuts down', lenited -s- disappears), -senaich 'dropped' (pres
snigid, len -s- disappears)   In roots with init f- (IE w-) reduplication may
be obscured by loss of intervocalic -w- and of the vowel of the second syll
fichimmir 'we fought' LU 10986 (with -i- instead of -e- by anal with the
present, with fich- cf Lat uincō)   Peculiar reduplication the root icc-,
t-ánicc 'he came' (1 sg t anac, 3 pl t-áncatar), cf Skr ānáśa 'reached' , for

ro-ír 'has granted' v § 456 n.1 b, *-leblaing* 'he leapt' (*lingid* 'leaps'), with *-bl-* from IE **pl-*, v ZCP 13 107 (though *lingid* does not appear to derive from an original with **pl-*, this suggests that *-leblaing* is analogical though no model is attested), by anal. with *-leblaing*, *drebraing* advanced' (*dringid* 'steps') After the accent the reduplicator disappears, sometimes with compensatory diphthongization (*for-roichan* 'I have taught' etc , § 156), sometimes leaving no trace (*ad-con-dairc* 'has seen to *ad-cí* 'sees' cf Gk δέδορχε)

Note 2 Hiatus verbs An orig final vowel is retained in the 3 sg *bói* 'was' (suffixless pret , 3 pl *bátar*), *ro-clói* 'has conquered' (*-s*-pret) The diphthong thus arising in the accented 3 sg spread to enclitic forms in the case of the root *so* 'turn' Wb *do-intariái*, Ml *du intarrae* turned back (*to-ind-ro* + *soi*), similarly the root *lu-* 'move, agitate (*as-ru-luus* 'I have escaped' Wb 17d 16) pret *as-ro-chum-lai* has gone out Sg 7b 19, *as ru-chum lae* Ml 17b 2 A simple vowel is regular in an unaccented syllable *ni ro-be* 'has not been (accented *ro bói* has been') *ro cuale* 'has heard (perhaps **k'uk'lowe*, with irregular reduplicator 1 sg *-cuala*, pl *-cualammar*, *-cualid*, *-cualatar*, pres *ro-cluinethar*), *-acæ* 'saw' (perhaps **ad-kᵘekᵘose* or **ad-kᵘekᵘowe* to *ad-cí* sees', root **kᵘes-* or **kᵘis-*, **kᵘeis-*) Cf *ro-bebe* 'has died' (ipf subj 3 sg *-baad*), *ad-co-tedae*, *ad-co-tade* 'has obtained', *imm reræ* 'sailed' Sg 62b 7 (vn *im-ram*, ipf *-raad*) From such cases the ending *-e* has been taken in *-ra le* beside *ro-laa* has thrown (an *-s*-pret of the type *-car*) — 3 sg in *-i*, *-i bi* he struck (3 pl *beotar* formed on the model of roots with initial *f-*, § 456 n 2), pres *benaid*, *ro géni* has done' to *gníu* I do' (*do-ri-géni* and *do-ri-gni*), *ad-ru choisséni* 'has striven after , pres 3 pl *ad-co snat*, to *sní-*, *as-roilli* 'has deserved , to *slí-* (*-s* pret , 3 pl *ad roilliset*) From such cases was possibly taken the *-i* in *ad-ro-ni* 'has entrusted', *imm r-ani* 'has bequeathed', cf pres *atnoi* 'entrusts himself' — Only the initial consonant of the root remains after the reduplicator (which shows vowel raising) in a series of verbs in *-i- -fuair* has found (**weur-* > **weur-*, pret pass *-frith*, to *fo-gaib-*, pret 1 sg *fuar*), *dith* sucked (*denid* sucks'), *cích* to *cíd* 'weeps', *-rir* 'sold' (*renaid*), *lil* (3 pl *ro-leldar*) to *lenaid* 'follows , *-cuir* bought' (*crenaid* 'buys *do-r-ad chuir* 'has ransomed' 1 sg *du-air-cher*), *ara-rui-chiuir* (3 pl *-ar r-c(h)eorotar*) to *ara-chrinim* I perish *-giuil* to *glenaid* 'sticks fast', *ad geuin* 'knew' (1 2 sg *-gén*, 1 pl *-genammar*, pres 1 sg *-gninaim*) The groups of explosives and sonants develop regularly after the reduplicator — Some roots orig ending in a vowel have preterites with combined reduplication and *-s*-pret 1 sg *ad-co tudus*, 3 pl *ad-co-tatsat* (*ad-cota* 'obtains), 3 sg *reris* Voy of Bran I § 61, 3 pl *-rersat* (to *rá-* 'sail' with the secondary meaning betake oneself"), 3 sg *bebais* 'died' Fél , 3 pl *bebsat* (cf *-bebe* above), 1 sg *dorignius*, 2 sg *dorignis*, pl *dorigénsam*, *dorigénsid*, *dorigénsat* (*do-gni* 'does'), v Thurneysen, ZCP 13 103f — The root of *do-ra-t* has given', 3 pl *do-ra-t-sat* § 179, 2, § 420, is attested only in the perf pret and the related perf forms

Note 3 The endings The sg of the *-t-* pret may be assumed to be the same as the *-s* pret 1 sg **birtu* etc , the 2 sg of the suffixless pret as the

conjunct form, the 2 pl of the -*s*-pret , **léicuste* (cf -*s*-fut), of the -*t*-pret and suffixless pret , **berte, *cechnide*

The 1 and 3 pl conjunct forms in -*mar* and -*tar* were also used as simple forms MIIr *lodmar, lotar* 'we, they went' (beside *lotir*), OIr *bátar* (acctd), *batar* and *batir* (proclitic) 'they were   The distribution of the forms -*ammar, -atar* and -*mar, -tar* is not constant, the shorter ending seems to be preferred in particularly long forms *as-ru-bartmar* 'we have said' (but 3 pl *as-ru-bartatar*, where apparently coalescence of the two -*t* was avoided, this was not the case with -*d*- and -*t*-, cf *lotar* they went', on which was modelled 1 pl *lodmar*, so *do-cotar* 'they have gone , 1 pl *do-commar*, cf *do-dechommar* 'we have come') Cf Thurneysen, KZ 37 97 — In MI -*t*- pret forms like *ad-r-obartat* gl obtulerant, *con-aitechtat* gl quaesiuerunt etc occur

The 3 sg conjunct ending -*i* is found in some verbs in -*i* , but is gradually given up *ru-radi* 'has spoken' Wb 7d 9 but *imm-e-ro-raid* 'whom he has mentioned' Sg 197b 15

In the 2 pl (conjunct), MIIr *bair* (by anal with 1 pl -*mir*, -*mar*, and influenced by the infixed pron -*bar*) occurs *t-ancabair* 'you have come', \ exx from LU given by Strachan, ZCP 2 492f , the -*r* is palatal, probably because the old ending *id* had a palat -*d* MnIr -*bhar*

Note 4. Forms with suffixed pronouns 3 sg rel of the -*s*-pret *soeras* 'who delivered' Thes II 302 25, *amal foides* as he sent' 304 33 (cf *intan reras* 'when it fared Voy of Bran I 43 8), of the -*t*-pret *in tan berta* 'when she bore LU 10614, of the suffixless pret *luid-e* 'who went', *gád-e* 'who prayed', *giul æ* which adhered 1 , 3 pl of the -*s*-pret *carsimne, carsite* (*glaidsete* 'who roared' gl rugientibus Thes I 713 29), of the -*t*-pret and the suffixless pret *bertar, bertatar, lodmar*

3 sg with object *leics-i* 'he let him go' Ml 52, *saids-ius* he put it (fem)' LU 4796, *gabs-us* took them' 8217, *boi-th us* was to them' § 343, *bi-th-us* 'he killed them' LU 6184

Note 5 In MnIr a uniform pret has been formed by mixing the -*s* pret and the suffixless pret sg 1 *do ghabhas* 'I took', 2 *do ghabhais*, 3 *do ghabh*, pl 1 *do ghabhamar* 2 *do ghabhabhar*, 3 *do ghabhadar*, sg 1 *adubhras* 'I said', 2 *adubhrais*, 3 *adubhairt* (OIr *at-ru-bart*), pl 1 *adubhramar*, 2 *adubhrabhar*, 3 *adubhradar* , sg 1 *do chualas* I heard , 2 *do chualais*, 3 *do chuala*, pl 1 *do chualamar* etc

§ 460 **The Brit preterite paradigm** consists of a preterite and a pluperfect The pluperfect is used (1) as a plpf and (in W and Co), (2) as a conditional, and (3) as a subjunctive As ex of the inflection the verb 'to love' is given

		MIW	Co	MlBr
Pret. Sg	1	*kereis*	*kerys*	*quiris*
	2	*kereist*	*kersys, kersta*	*quersot*
	3	*carawd* (*cafas* 'got')	*caras*	*caras*

		MIW	Co	MlBr
Pl	1	carassam	kersyn	quersomp
	2	carassawch	kersough	quersoch
	3	carassant	carsons	quersont
Plpf. Sg	1	carassun	carsen	carsenn
	2	carassut	carses	carses
	3	carasset	carse	carse
Pl	1	carassem	carsen	carsemp
	2	carassewch	carseugh	carsech
	3	carassynt	carsens	carsent

Note 1 (a) Traces of **different classes of stems** are found, especially
in W Before the *-ss-* of the pret pl and of the plpf occurs sometimes *a-*
(*cur a-ss-am* etc), sometimes *-y-* (*mynn-y-ss-ynt* they had wished') The
vowel is occasionally lost, cf Co and Br *adausset* he had promised ,
cawssant they obtained' (sg cef eis, eist, cafas), *kymersant* (and *kymerassant*)
they took', *gwelsant* 'they saw' In the 3 sg pret before the *-s* stands *a-*
(*cavas* 'got', *gwelas* saw), *e-* (stems with -o or oe- OW *dicones* made ,
MlW *anfones* 'sent , *ymhoeles* returned', cf Loth, RC 31 492), *-i-* (stems
with -a- or *aw* > -e-, -ew- *peris* caused , *sefis* stood , *querendewis* listened ,
cf also *dechreuis* commenced WM 27 22, *ymcueilis* seized' RC 33 247 11
vb nn *ymafael*), *u-y* or *-u-* (*kerdwys* 'walked went WM 8 33, *kerdus* Hist
Gr ap Cynan 112 2, *dechreuws* began' 116 18, *us* remains to this day in
the spoken W of Glamorgan and Gwent), cf Morris-Jones, WG 325f Co
3 sg *leuerys* 'spoke , *gylwys* called *toys, tos* swore , *kemeres, kemeras* took'

(b) In the 3 sg pret in W forms occur in MlW *-awd* MnW *-odd*
lladawd, lladdodd killed (1 sg *lledeis, lleddais*), *dygwydawd* 'fell' *kerdaud*
went' In MnW *odd* is the regular ending in literary and spoken W , *rhoes*
gave', *troes* 'turned however still occur spoken and written (for *-ws* v supra)

(c) **Remains of the** *-t-***pret** (cf Rhys RC 6 24ff) MlW 3 sg *kymerth,*
kymyrth took' Co *kemert(h)* MC 3, MlW 3 sg *differth, diffyrth* 'defended
(also *differwys*), cf Ir *-bert* — MlW 1 sg *gweint* 'I pierced, charged' LIH
17 30, 3 sg *gwant*, 1 sg *keint* I sang' BT 23 20, *keintum* LIH 40 17,
2 *ceuntost* BBC 21 8, 3 *cant*,   3 sg *maeth* nourished LIH 255, 3 (*magu*
'nurse') 3 sg *dyrreith* returned' BT 54 24 (root **reg-*, cf Ir *as-r é-racht*
has arisen), 3 sg *amwyth* defended LIH 20 25 (v *amuc* (d) below, vb
nn *amwyn*) A full *-t* pret occurs in the verbs 'to go', to come' 'to do
MlW sg 1 *euthum* 'I went' LIH 3 21, *euthum*, 2 *aethost*, 3 *aeth* (MlW simple
form *euthyd* BT 52 22, 23 *euthyt* RP 1145 28, cf the pres forms § 445 n 3),
pl 1 *aetham*, 2 *aethawch*, 3 *aeth-ant, -ont*, sg 1 *deuthum, doethum* I came ,
2 *deuthost, doethost*, 3 *deuth, doeth*, pl 1 *doetham*, 2 *doeth-awch, -och*,
3 *deuthant doeth-ant, -ont*, sg 1 *gwneuthum* LIH 316, 9, *gwneuthum*, 2 *gwneu-*
thost LIH 72 26, *gwnaethost*, 3 *gwnaeth*, pl 1 *gwnaetham* etc , sg 1 *im-t-euth*

'I went' BBC 22 10, 3 *ym-d-aeth*, also an analogical re-formation MIW 1 sg *ymdeew* Chw SDR 1 851, with which cf the MnW spoken forms *es* 'I went', *est* 'thou didst go , *des* 'I came , etc), Co sg 1 *yth* 'I went' 2 *ythys*, 3 *eth*, pl 2 *etheugh*, 3 *ethons*, MIBr sg 1 *yz* 'I went' (Ernault, RC 32 81ᵃ), 3 sg *aez, eaz*, pl 1 *ezomp*, 3 *ezont*, sg 1 *duiz* 'I came', 2 *deuzout*, 3 *deuz* (late MIBr *deuas*, by anal with forms in -*as*, Ernault, RC 33 82 n), pl 2 *deuzoch*, 3 *deuzont*, MIBr sg 1 *gris* I did (with -*s* instead of -*z* by anal with the regular conjugation)

Plpf stem in -*je*- Co sg 3 *dethye, dothye, dothe* 'had come , pl 3 *dothyans, dethens*, v ZE 595, MIBr 3 pl *azyent* 'they had gone Barbe 183 (2 sg *azes* Jés 213 b), sg 1 *deuzien* I had come Barbe 294, 3 *deuzye* Jés 232 a, *deuze* Barbe 180, pl 2 *deuzech* Jes 7a, 3 *deuzyent* RC 10 303 7 The MIW plpf of these verbs is formed by composition with the ipf of the verb 'to be sg 1 *ath-oedwn* 'I had gone , 3 *ath oed, ad oed*, pl 3 *ath oedynt*, sg 1 *dath-oedwn* I had come , 3 *doeth oed, doth-oed, dath-oed*, pl 3 *doeth-oedynt, doth-oedynt*, sg 1 *gwnath-oedwn* 'I had done , 2 *gwnaeth-oedut gwnath-oedut* 3 *gwnaeth-oed, gwnath-oed, gwnad-oed*, pl 3 *gwnaeth-oedynt*

(d) **Suffixless preterites** (cf Rhys, RC 6 16ff) MIW 1 sg *cigleu*, (later MIW and early MnW *ciglef*), 3 sg *cigleu* heard' (vn *cly-bot, clyw-et*, pres 1 sg *clywaf*), cf Ir 1 sg *cuala*, 3 sg *cuale* the vowel -*y*- would be expected in the reduplicator, not -*i* — (with present meaning) MIW sg 1 *atwaen* 'I know , *atwen* 2 *atwaenost*, 3 *atwaen, atwen* (MnW *edwyn*), pl 1 *adwaen-am vn* (MnW *om*), 2 *adwaenawch, etweynwch* (MnW *adwaenoch*), 3 *atwaenant*, plpf with ipf meaning MIW sg 1 *atwaenwn*, 2 *atwaenut*, 3 *atwaenat* § 445 n 3, § 450 pl 1 *adwaenem*, 3 *atwaenynt*, Co sg 1 *aswen* Beun Mei 73, 3 *aswon* pl 1 *aswonyn*, cf Ir redupl pret -pres sg 1 *ad-gén*, 3 *ad-geuin*, to *gnin* , MIW *adwaen* BBC 70 2 seems to be for *adwoen, as it rhymes with *hoen, poen*, Rhys, RC 6 211 suggests that the form contains *u o < *upo-, cf Morris-Jones WG 356, but it is also possible that the -*q* of the reduplicator may have developed as -*qw*-, cf § 34, 3 (no trace of the *wo- appears in the vn *ad-na bod*), and in this case the vowel of the reduplicator must have been *a* or *o* § 185 2, — MIW 3 sg *dywawt* 'he said' also *dywat, dywot*, MnW dial *dwad* (all other forms are -*s* forms, 1 sg *dywedeis*, etc , vn MIW *dywedwyt, dywedut*, MnW *dywedyd, dweud*), 3 sg *godiwawd* overtook' (vn MIW *godiwes* MnW *goddiweddyd*), 3 sg *gwa-rawt* succoured (vn *gwa ret*, cf Ir *fu-rránth* to *reth*-), 3 sg *amkawd* 'said' MN 453, 454, 3 pl *amkeudant* 486 11, 488 14 (*amkeudawt* 473 2 477 6, 478 29, 479 18), obscure forms — MIW sg 1 *dugum* I brought', 2 *dugost*, 3 *duc*, pl 3 *dugant* (*ducsant* Yst Car Mag 52 25, *dugassant* RC 33 223 11), plpf sg 3 *ducsei* Hen MSS II 140 7, pl 3 *dugessynt* RC 33 187 11 (pres *d-ygaf*, vn *dwyn*, also the other compounds of this root 3 sg *am uc* 'he defended' 3 pl *amugant* BT 44 12, but *amucsant* BA 15 21, plpf sg 3 *amucsei* RP 1044 19, sg 1 *gorugum* I did', 2 *gorugost*, 3 *goruc*, pl 1 *gorugam*, 2 *gorugawch*, 3 *gorugant*, without plpf , beside *gwneuthum, gwnaeth*, to *gwnaf* 'I do'), Co pret 3 sg *duk*, plpf 2 pl *decsyugh* MC 50 (Co 1 , 3 sg *gruk* 'did , len *wruk, wreg*, the remainder consists of -*s*-forms sg 2 *grussys*,

gressys, 3 sg len. *ros*, pl 1 *grussyn*, 2 *grussough*, 3 *grussons*, plpf *grussen*
etc.), — archaic MlW 3 sg *goreu* 'did', MlBr *guerue, geure, guere*, MnBr
geure (MlBr sg 1 *gris* v (c) above, pl 1 *gresomp*, 2 *gruesoch*, 3 *gruesont,
gresont*, plpf *groasenn, grassen* etc), - MlW sg 1 *buum, bum* 'I was', Co
sg 1 *buf, buef, bef* (i e */bov/*), MlBr sg 1 *biof, biouf*, etc v § 485

Note 2 Older or variant forms. Regular forms of the -s-pret in OW,
and OBr 1 sg OBr *strouis* gl straui, 3 sg OW *diguormechis* 'he added'
RC 11 205, OBr *ro-guliprias* gl oluiauit, *ro-luncas* gl guturicauit, 2 pl OW
ni cein guodemisauch gl non bene passa (v BBCS 5 5), 3 pl OW *linisant* gl
lauare (v BBCS 6 118), plpf 3 pl OBr *ro-ricse(n)t-i* gl sulcauissent —
By anal with 3 sg pres forms in MlW *-id, -yd* (= */d/*), OBr *-ot*, § 445 n 3,
these terminations were added to -s- and -t-preterites MlW *kenytessid* 'he
conquered LlH 26 15, *delyessid* he held' 10 7, *medressid* he ruled' 26 21,
prynessid he bought' 10 19, *rodyssit* he gave' RP 1149 40, *keressyt* 'he
loved' RP 1168 25, *llochessid* he harboured' (rhyming with *-yd*) LlH 173 27,
pregethyssit he preached , *yscoryssit* 'she begot' (both rhyming with *-yt*)
BT 54 12, OBr *toreusit* gl attriuit, MlW *eithyd* 'he went BT 52 22, 59 15,
RP 1145 28 — 1 pl *-som*, 3 pl *-sont, -ont* also occur in MlW , cf Loth,
RC 31 493 Morris Jones, WG 326 - The verbs 'to go' to come' have
pret forms compounded with the pres of the verb to be' in MlW 1 sg
ath-wyf, ad wyf 'I went , 2 sg *athwyt*, 3 sg *ethiw, eiiw* (-t- = */d-/*), *ethyw,
edyw*, pl 1 *ethym*, 3 *ethynt*, sg 1 *doth wyf, dod-wyf* I came', 2 *doth-wyt,
3 doth-yw, dod-yw, ded-yw*, pl 1 *dod-ym*, 2 *dod ywch*, 3 *ded ynt* Analogical
forms are found in other verbs in the plpf sg 1 *kawss-oedwn* I had got ,
2 *cawss-oedut*, 3 *kawss-oed, causs-oedat* RC 33 221 20, *kawss-od yat* 220 28,
cawss-oeder Hon MSS II 170 10, pl 3 *kawss-oedynt* (vn *cael, caffael*), sg 3
roess oed he had given', pl 3 *roess oedynt*, v Strachan, Introd 87, Morris
Jones, WG 342, 344 similarly pret forms of the verb 'to do', were fashioned
later *gunedd-wyf* I did etc These compound pret forms are still used
(with modifications) in spoken W in South Wales in 1 and 2 sg sg 1 *etho*
'I went' (from *ethwyf*), *detho* 'I came , *gunetho* I did , also *ceso* I got' (beside
ces for literary *cefa s*), 2 *ethot, dethot, gunethot, cesot* Similar compound
formations are Co *gals of* I have gone' OM 373, *gals-os* 'thou hast gone
RD 1470 beside 3 sg *gallas*, 3 pl *galsons*, plpf sg 3 *galse* (*galsof pur claf
I have become very sick*' RD 775, lit ' I have gone very sick'', cf the W
idiom, *euthum yn bur glaf*)

Note 3. Later development In MnW the pret 3 sg ending is *-odd*,
with a few instances of *-es*, v note 1 (b), 1 pl *-om* (*-t-*prets) *-asom, -som*,
also dial *-on*, 2 pl *-och* (*-t-* prets), *-asoch, -soch*, dial *och*, 3 pl *ant* (*-t* prets),
-asant, -sant, dial *-son, -on*, for MlW *dugum* etc , n 1 (d) above, MnW has
dyg ais, -aist, dug and *dygodd, dygas-om, -och, -ant* **MnBr** pret sg 1 *-is,
2 jout*, 3 *as*, pl 1 *-jomp*, 2 *-joc'h*, 3 *-jont*, the medial *-j-* (*/ ž-/*) has replaced
an earlier *-z-*, v Ernault, RC 37 123 on the palat *-ž* Plpf (conditional)
-jen, -jes, etc , also *-fen -fes, -j-* being replaced by analogical *f* , v § 453 n 1
and cf Ernault, RC 11 479 ff

Etymological explanation of the preterite paradigms.

§ 461. (1) The -s-preterite comes from a formation going back to the IE -s-aorist (Gk ἔ-δειξα etc) It is found in Ir in derivative verbs in -ā- and -ī-, and in some other verbs (e g , -gabus 'I took', do-uccus 'I have brought', beside the suffixless pret MIW ˉ3 sg duc) In all cases a vowel occurs between the final consonant of the root and the -s-, unless it has disappeared by syncope, this vowel was either short (-car) or long (-rádi) Similarly, a vowel always occurs in Brit and is regularly retained in the pret sg It is particularly clear in W 3 sg , a short -a- in verbs with -ā- (-as, cf MIW cavas 'he got'), a long -i- in verbs with -i- (W erchis 'bade'), beside which a short -i- must have existed (MIW eistedyssant 'they sat'), the other endings are -es and -wys, -ws In the plur and the plpf a short vowel should disappear in Brit , MIW -assam, -yssynt, etc , were probably remodelled by analogy

The -s- pret is a new formation in Celt , as derivative verbs in -ā- -ē-, -ī- had no -s-aorist in prim IE Intervocalic -s- would regularly disappeai in Celt (as in Gk), the -s- was retained in these new forms by analogy with primitive aorist forms in which the -s- immediately followed the final consonant of the root

(2) Personal endings Sing 1. -sō Ir -carus MIW cereis etc Ir simple forms (carsu) may be explained in the same way as the 1 sg pres (tiagu § 449) — 2. -sei Ir -caris The W form is distinguished from that of sg 1 by suffixing the t- of the pers pron , Co -ys and MIBr -ot seem to be forms of the verb 'to be' (cf MIW lawssoedwn, Co qals-of § 460 n 2), Co kersta < kersys + pers pron — 3. -a-st, -i-st etc Ir -car, -rádi, -léic, simplex has similar formation to the pres Ir caris MIW cavas, Ir rádis MIW erchis etc — Pl 1. -smmos Ir -carsam MIW carassam, cf. Gk ἐ-δείξαμεν Lat dīximus The Co and Br forms are remodelled on the pres , Ir simplex (carsimmi) has similar formation to the pres — 2. -sate, with -a- taken over from pl 1 and 3 (as in Gk ἐ-δείξατε), may be assumed for the W form (for -wch v § 449), and possibly tor the Ir (-carsid) The Co form is remodelled on the present, while the MIBr form (quersoch) may be influenced by the verb 'to be' — 3 -snt Ir -carsat, the simplex forms are characterized in the same way as in the pres Ir carsit MIW carassant The Co and MIBr forms are remodelled on the present

§ 462. The pluperfect of the s-pret. is a new formation in Brit on the model of the ipf ind

§ 463. The -*t*-preterite is derived from the 3 sg of consonantal stems of IE asigmatic aorist   Ir -*bert*, -*alt*, -*ét* etc go back to *bher-t, *al-t, *em-t, the simplex (Ir *birt*) has the same enlargement as in the present   The final -*t* was regarded as part of the stem, and the other persons were formed from this stem by means of the personal endings of the -*s*-pret , 1 sg -*t-ō* Ir -*biurt*, MlW *gueint*, *ceint*, Co *yth*, MlBr *yz*, 2 sg -*t-ei* Ir -*birt*   Later in W the endings of the suffixless pret were added to these new 1 and 2 sg -*t*-preterites 1 sg *eith > *eithum* ~ *euthum*, *ceint* > *ceint-um*, 2 sg *ceunt-ost* (for earlier *ceint-ost due to 1 sg *ceunt-um), -*eu*- (from -*ei*- before the -*u*- in -*um*) often occurs in the 2 sg , for the ending in Co *yth-ys* v § 461,2 In Ir the pl assumed the endings of the suffixless pret

Note For a different explanation of the *t*-pret v Alf Sommerfelt, Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Joannis Rozwadowski I (Cracow 1927) p 255 ff

§ 464 (1) The suffixless preterite in a few cases is an IE asigmatic aorist with vowel stem   An -*o*- -*e*-stem Ir *lod* 1 went', *lud* 'he went' *ludho-m, *ludhe-t cf Gk *ἤλυθον*, *ἤλυθε*, an -*a*-stem *do-cer* 'he fell' **k'era-t*, a monosyll long vowel stem Ir -*bí* 'he struck' *bhī-t

(2) In most cases the suffixless pret is an IE perfect, with or without reduplication In non-redupl forms the vowel is usually Celt *ā* Ir -*raith* (*rethim* 'I run') MlW *gwa-raut* (*gwa-redaf* 'I succour) pret IE *ou* beside pres IE *u* in li *ro-huaid* and MlW *duc* brought' < *d-ouqe For Ir *bói* W *bu* Co *bue* Br *boe* and some difficult redupl forms (Ir *ad-gen* etc) v VKG II 379f

(3) The 3 sg MlW -*awd* (MnW -*odd*) is derived from the old perfect, cf MlW *godi-uawd* 'he overtook', 1 sg pres *godi-wedaf* By anal with pret sg 1 *godiwedeis*, 2 *godiwedeist* the 3 sg *godiuaud* became *godiuedaud*, and from some such form the new ending -*aud* was deduced

(4) Personal endings of the suffixless pret. derived from the IE perf **Sing. 1** -*a* Ir -*cechan* *qeqana, MlW *cigleu* **k'uk'lowa*, cf Gk *πέποιθα*, Skr *čakāra* I have done' The origin of W -*um* (MlW *buum* 'I have been , *dug-um*, *qorug-um*) is obscure , Co *buef* has the subj pron suffixed (MlBr *biof*, *biouf* are analogical re-formations) — **2** IE -*tha* Skr *čakartha* 'hast done', Gk *οἶσ-θα* 'knowest', Celt -*as* Ir -*cechan* *qeqanas cf Gk *πέποιθας* (Thurn-

eysen, Handb 400), W -*ost* with suffixed pron (*bu-ost*, with -*o*-
for -*a*-, possibly under the influence of an originally preceding -*w*-,
-*ost* then spread to other verbs)   Co *bues* is formed by anal with
the ipf , MlBr *biout* by anal with *out* 'thou art'. — **3.** -*e* Ir
-*cechuin* *qeqane, Gaul δεδε 'has given'   Cf Gk πέποιθε; Skr
čakāra 'has done'   — **Plur. 1.** -*me* (-*mo* ?), -*mme* MlW *dugam*, cf
Gk πεποίθαμεν The Ir form is modelled on the 3 pl , Co *buen*
on the pres or ipf , MlBr *biomp* on *omp* 'we are' — **2.** -*a-te* may
perhaps be assumed for Ir and W , cf Gk πεποίθατε Co *bugh*,
beugh is modelled on the pres or ipf , MlBr *bioch* on *ouc'h* 'you
are' — **3.** IE probably -*r* Skr *ča-kr-ur* 'they have done' This
became contaminated in Italic and Celt with an -*nt*- ending Lat
uidē-r-unt, Ir -*cechnatar*, *cechnitir* The orig form may have been
-*ont-r* or -*nt-r*, yielding a form ending in -*ntri* This explains the
Ir simple forms, the conjunct forms have been influenced by the
deponent and passive The MlW , Co and MlBr forms are late
and analogical

(5) The **pluperfect** has been modelled on the ipf ind and subj
The plpf of the verb 'to be' Co *byen* MlBr *bihenn, bisenn* is formed
from the stem *bhū- Apparently a subjunctive form with -*h*- fell
together with an indic form without -*h*- in Co , in Br the forms
with -*h*- alone survived (*bihenn*), to be re-formed later after the -*s*-
pret to *bisenn*

Deponent and Passive.

§ 465   Ir. deponent paradigm (*labrur* 'I speak', *midiur* 'I judge')

Present simple			
	Sg	1 *labrur*	*midiur*
		2 *labrither*	*mitter*
		3 *labrithir*	*midithir*
	Pl	1 *labrimmir*	*midimmir*
		2 *labrithe*	*mitte*
		3 *labritir*	*miditir*

Present conjunct.			
	Sg	1 -*labrur*	-*midiur*
		2 -*labrither*	-*mitter*
		3 -*labrathar*	-*midethar*
	Pl	1 -*labrammar*	-*midemmar*
		2 -*labrid*	-*midid*
		3 -*labratar*	-*midetar*

Ipf.

Sg	1 -*labrinn*	-*midinn*
	2 -*labratha*	-*mittea*
	3 -*labrad*	-*mided*
Pl	1 -*labrimmis*	-*midmis*
	2 -*labrithe*	-*mitte*
	3 -*labritis*	-*mittis*

Ipv.

Sg	2 *labrithe*	*mitte*
	3 *labrad*	*mided*
Pl	1 *labram(mar)*	*midem(mar)*
	2 *labrid*	*midid*
	3 *labratar*	*midetar*

Subj. pres. simp.

Sg	1 *labrar*	*messur*
	2 *labrither*	*messer*
	3 *labrithir*	*mestir*
Pl	1 *labrimmir*	*messimmir*
	2 *labrithe*	*meste*
	3 *labritir*	*messitir*

Subj. pres. conj

Sg	1 -*labrar*	-*messur*
	2 -*labrither*	-*messer*
	3 -*labrathar*	-*mestar*
Pl.	1 -*labrammar*	-*messammar*
	2 -*labrid*	-*messid*
	3 -*labratar*	-*messatar*

Subj. ipf.

Sg	1 -*labrinn*	-*messinn*
	2 -*labratha*	-*mesta*
	3 -*labrad*	-*messed*
Pl	1 -*labrimmis*	-*mesmis*
	2 -*labrithe*	-*meste*
	3 -*labritis*	-*mestis*

Fut. simp.

Sg	1 *labrafar*	*messur*
	2 *labrafider*	*messer*
	3 *labrafidir*	*miastir*
Pl	1 *labrafimmir*	*messimmir*
	2 *labrafide*	*meste*
	3 *labrafitir*	*messitir*

Fut. conj.	Sg	1	*-labrafar*	*-messur*
		2	*-labrafider*	*-messer*
		3	*-labrafudar*	*-miastar*
	Pl	1	*-labrafammar*	*-messammar*
		2	*-labrafid*	*-messid*
		3	*-labrafatar*	*-messatar*
Conditional.	Sg	1	*-labrafinn*	*-messinn*
		2	*-labrafada*	etc
		3	*-labrafad*	
	Pl	1	*-labrafimmis*	
		2	*-labrafide*	
		3	*-labrafitis*	
Pret. simp.	Sg	3	*labristir*	*mídair*
Pret. conj	Sg	1	*-labrasur*	*-mídar*
		2	*-labriser*	*-mídur*
		3	*-labrastar*	*-mídair*
	Pl	1	*-labrasammar*	*-mídammar*
		2	*-labrisid*	*-mídid*
		3	*-labrasatar*	*-midatar*

Note 1. The deponent endings The dep is identical with the active in the ipf ind and subj and in the conditional, also in the 2 pl of the other tenses and in the 3 sg ipv Originally the 1 pl ipv had no *-r*-form *na seichem* let us not follow Wb 25 c 6

The dep *-cluinethar* hears' has an act pret (*-cuale*, 1 sg *cuala*)

There is no distinction between act and dep in the plur of the suffixless pret, for the 1 and 3 pl act forms end in *-r* The sg of the suffixless pret of some act verbs has taken over *-r*-endings 3 sg pret *-damair* to *damand* 'suffers, *teccomnocuir* 'has happened' to pres *doecmuing* A few similar instances occur in the *-s*-pret *forderusur* gl lustraui Ml 133b 8 (to *forderet* gl inlustrat 78b 8), *adroneestar* 'he has endured' Wb 4c 35 (to *inneuth* 'I expect) — Dep subj and fut forms are rare with an act verb subj sg 1 *ad-cear*, 3 *-accadar*, fut sg 2 Mlir *at-chichither* (younger act forms, § 456 n 2) to *ad-cii* sees', subj sg 1 *-esur*, 3 *estir*, *-estar* to *ithid* eats'

Simple and conjunct endings are distinguished only in 3 sg, 1 and 3 pl (*-ir -ar*) Archaic forms *du-fuisledor* 'falls' Thes II 24 34, *frisbrúdémor* gl aporiamur [Wb] 15 b 22

Dep forms do not take suffixed obj prons, active forms are used *firianichth-i a hiress* 'his faith justifies him' Wb 2b 28 (*firianigidir*) Forms in *-ir* have corresponding relative forms in *-er*, *-ar cairigedar* 'which he

blames' Wb 25b 9, *ɪ-sɪnd huɪlɪu labramar-nɪ* ɪn all that we say' Ml 31b 23, *a cosnɪlɪgmmer* when we compare' Sg 211a 14

Note 2. Later history of the dep. endings. The dep was falling into disuse early ɪn the historical period, thus ɪn Wb   *oldaas do-n-ɪlɪucham* gl quam petɪmus 21d 9 (to *do-ɪlɪuchur* I pray')   Such forms are more frequent ɪn Ml and ɪncreasɪngly so ɪn Sg   Durɪng the MlIr period the dep died out, gɪvɪng rɪse however to new formatɪons   The endɪng *-ur (-ar, -er)* became the mark of the 1 sg subj of act verbs *cɪ-p e uaɪr fogabur bás* 'whensoever I may dɪe' Atk LBr 617   This endɪng was treated as part of the stem, and from ɪt were formed a 2 sg ɪn *-ra*, a 3 pl ɪn *-rat co fessara* that thou mayest learn' LL 254b 42 (*-fɪtɪr* 'knows'), *náco-clorat* but that they may hear' LL 95a 17 (*-cluɪnethar* 'hears')   For 2 sg pres ɪnd ɪn *-ɪr* v § 444 n 6   In the pret appear forms like *ro-lámratur* 'have dared', *ro-mɪdratar* 'have judged' (Thurneysen, Handb 401) — In the 3 sg *-s-*pret the endɪng *-estar, -astar, -ustar* ɪs very frequent even ɪn orɪg actɪve verbs *ro-gabustar* 'has taken' Atk LBr 3239, ɪt appears as early as Ml   *ro dlɪgestar* 36a 29 (*dlɪgɪm* 'I have a rɪght to')

Note 3 Present stem-formatɪon Besɪdes *-á* stems (*labrur*) and *-i-*stems (*mɪdɪur*), *-o -e-*stems occur, wɪth non-pal root fɪnals ɪn the 1 sg , but agreeɪng wɪth *-i-*stems otherwɪse *do-ɪlɪuchur* 'I bɪd', 3 sg *do-ɪlɪuchethar, -sechetar* 'they follow' (to Lat *sequor*)   The nasal pres *-cluɪnɪur* 'I hear' has been taken ɪnto the *-i-*stem class, 3 sg *-cluɪnethar*

Syncope has had a certaɪn effect on the forms   Thus the *ɪ* ɪn 2 sg *labrɪther*, besɪde *mɪtter* etc , ɪs retaɪned because a vowel ɪs lost between *-b-* and *-r-* (cf W *llafar* etc)   Note also derɪvatɪve verbs ɪn *aɪg-, -ɪg- -foɪlsɪgur* 'I make clear , 2 sg *foɪlsɪgther, -foɪlsɪgther*, 3 sg *foɪlsɪgɪdɪr, -foɪlsɪgedar*, 1 pl *foɪlsɪgmɪr, foɪlsɪgmer*, 2 pl *foɪlsɪgthe*, 3 pl *foɪlsɪgutɪr, foɪlsɪgetar*

Note 4 Subjunctɪve stem-formatɪon The *-á-*subj has the 2 sg endɪng *-thar* followɪng a non-pal consonant after whɪch a vowel ɪs lost *fo-mentar* gl scɪto Wb 30c 2, the *-á-*subj of an *-i-*pres has the endɪngs 1 sg *-er*, 2 sg *-ther foɪlsɪger, -foɪlsɪger, foɪlsɪgther, -foɪlsɪgther*

The stem-formatɪon of the *-á-*subj and the *-s-*subj has the same peculɪarɪtɪes as ɪn the actɪve (§ 452 n 1)   IE vowel alternatɪon ɪnd *gaɪnɪthɪr* 'ɪs born', subj ɪpf 3 sg *-genad*, ɪnd *do moɪnɪur, do muɪnɪur* 'I thɪnk , subj 3 sg *dummenathar* Ml 49a 15, pl 1 *dumenammar* 78b 34, *dumenmar* 15d 5

Hɪatus verbs subj 1 sg *adcear* to *ad-cɪ* sees , *cloor* (MlIr *-clor*, subj ɪpf 1 , 3 pl OIr *clommɪus, -cloɪtɪs*) to *-cluɪnethar* 'hears'

Note 5 Future stem-formatɪon In the *-b-*fut the same dɪfference ɪn qualɪty appears as ɪn the act , after pal *f* the vowel *-e-* appears *-molfar* 'I shall praɪse', *ad-aɪchfer* 'I shall fear

Instances of the *-á-*fut *-gɪgnethar* wɪll be born , cond 3 sg *-gɪgned* (pres *gaɪnɪthɪr*), MlIr fut 1 sg *ata-gegallar*, 3 sg *ata-gegalldathar* to *ad-gladur* 'I speak to', MlIr *at-chɪchɪther* thou wɪlt see' (*ad-cɪ* 'sees'), *ro-cechladar* 'he wɪll hear' (*ro-cluɪnethar* hears')

The stem-formatɪon of the *-s-*fut agrees wɪth the act In *-fessur* 'I shall know , 3 sg *-fɪastar* (pres 3 sg *-fɪnnadar* pret *-fɪtɪr*) the reduplɪcatɪon ɪs

obscured by regular phonological changes, 1 sg *messur*, 3 sg *miastir*, *-miastar* are analogical (Thurneysen, Handb 381)

Note 6. Pret stem-formation The dep has only *-s*-pret and suffixless pret The *-s-* is in some instances added directly to the final cons of the root (cf Thurneysen, KZ 28 151ff). thus with *ad-gládur* 'I speak to' MIr *co n-arlastár* 'she spoke to' LU 8269 (also *ad-gládastar*), redupl pret ˙ 3 sg *siasair* 'sat', *-siassair*, 3 pl rel *siasatár* to *saidid* 'sits' (v Thurneysen, ZCP 13 104). *forderisiur, ad ro-neestar*, v note 1

The *-s*-pret of *-t*-verbs has palatalization 1 , 3 sg *-foilsigsiur, -foilsigestar*, 1 , 3 pl *-foilsigsemmar, -foilsigsetar*

The suffixless pret can be formed without reduplication sg 1 , 2 *-fetar*, 3 *-fitir* 'knows' (pret -pres), pl *fitemmar, -fitid, -fitetar* and *-fetatar*, with IE long grade *-midair* 'he judged' (*ī* = IE *ē*), *-lamair* 'he dared' (pres *-laimethar*), redupl *-génair* 'was born , 3 pl *-génatar* to *gainithir* 'is born', anal *do-ménar* 'I thought', 1 pl *ni to-r-ménmar (do-moinur)*

§ 466. The Ir. passive paradigm (the active verbs in § 444 and the deponent *midiur* 'I judge')

Pres. simp	Sg 3	*berir*	*benir*	*carthir*	*gaibthir*	*léicthir*	
	Pl 3	*bertir*	*bentir*	*cartir*	*gaibtir*	*léictir*	
Pres. conj	Sg 3	*-berar*	*-benar*	*-carthar*	*-gaibther*	*-léicther*	
	Pl 3	*-bertar*	*-bentar*	*-cartar*	*-gaibter*	*-léicter*	
Ipf	Sg 3	*-berthe*	*-bente*	*-carthe*	*-gaibthe*	*-léicthe*	
	Pl 3	*-bertis*	*-bentis*	*-cartis*	*-gaibtis*	*-léictis*	
Ipv.	Sg 3	*berar*	*benar*	*carthar*	*gaibther*	*léicther*	
	Pl 3	*bertar*	*bentar*	*cartar*	*gaibter*	*léicter*	

Subj pres simp	Sg 3	*berthir*	*léicthir*	*messir*	
	Pl 3	*bertir*	*léictir*	*messitir*	
Subj pres conj.	Sg 3	*-berthar*	*-léicther*	*-messar (-mestar)*	
	Pl 3	*-bertar*	*-léicter*	*-messatar*	
Subj. Ipf	Sg 3	*-berthe*	*-léicthe*	*-meste*	
	Pl 3	*-bertis*	*-léictis*	*-mestis*	
Fut simp	Sg 3	*bérthir*	*léicfidir*	*miastir*	
	Pl 3	*bértir*	*léicfitir*	*messitir*	
Fut. conj.	Sg 3	*-bérthar*	*-léicfider*	*-miastar*	
	Pl 3	*-bértar*	*-léicfiter*	*-messatar*	
Conditional	Sg 3	*-bérthe*	*-léicfide*	*-miaste*	
	Pl 3	*-bértis*	*-léicfitis*		

Pret. sp.	Sg 3	*brethe*	*bíthe*	*carthe*	*gabthe*	*léicthe*	*messe*
Pret cj.	Sg 3	*-breth*	*-bíth*	*-carad*	*-gabad*	*-léiced*	*-mess*
	Pl 3	*-bretha*	*-bítha*	*-cartha*	*-gabtha*	*-léicthea*	*-messa*

Note 1 The stem-formation in the pres , subj., and fut passive is the
same as in the act or dep (for exceptions v verb list *ad-ch* and *-cluinethar,*
subj and fut) All tenses end in *-r* except the ipf ind , ipf subj and the cond
— The **endings** *-ir, -ar* occur in the pres ind and ipv of *-o- -e*-stems and
-na-stems, often in *-i* stems (*con-garar* 'is called' to *gair-*), also in the *-s*-subj
(beside *-tar*, especially in long forms with accented preverb *cia du-indnastar*
'that it be given' Ml 56 a 13, to *do-ind-naich*), the endings *-thir, -thar* (after
-s- etc *-tir, -tar*) occur in *-ā-* and *-i*-pres , in *-ā-*subj and fut — The endings
-thir, -thar, pl *-tir, -tar* in the orig third or fifth syll cause **syncope** of the
vowel of second or fourth syll , the pass being thus clearly distinguished
from the dep 3 sg , pl *suidigidir, -suidigedar* places', *suidigitir, -suidigetar,*
pass *suidigthir, -suidigther* 'is placed', *suidigtir, -suidigter* There are ex-
ceptions, especially in the 3 pl , cf VKG II 390 Mostly syncope does not
occur before *-ar* The *-a-* is dropped in *as-berr* 'is said', *do-berr* 'is given',
beside *as-berar, do-berar* — The **quality** of the final cons of the root is
palatal in *i-*verbs, also in the ind pres and ipf of *i-*verbs with the endings
-thir, -ther, and in the ind ipf of *-o- -e-*stems, elsewhere it is non-palatal,
as also is the *-s-* of the *-s-*subj and *-s-*fut The quality of the *-th-* and *-t-* of
the endings is determined by that of the immediately preceding final cons
of the root, if separated from the latter by a retained vowel they tend to
be palatal

    The only forms with amalgamated pronouns are the relative forms in
-ar (-er) pridchabthar, miastar etc
    Note 2 The **preterite** stem is quite distinct from the act (dep) pret
The characteristic of the tense is added directly to the root in the case of
*-o- -e-*presents *-bre-th (-rc- < * IE *r-*), *ad cess* to *ad-ch* 'sees' (*-ss < -s-t*),
-bocht to *boingid* 'breaks, reaps' (§ 446), *-ort* to *orgid* 'slays' (*-rt < -rg-t-*),
-cét to *canid* 'sings', similarly *-bi-th, -mess (-ss < -d-t- * § 63) With *-i-*pres
ents the ending is sometimes added to a stem in *-a- gabad, -grad* in cpds
of *gairid* 'calls (*ar-a-ro-grad* 'which has been forbidden') With *-ā-* and *-i-*
presents the ending is added to the stem ending in *ā-* and *-i-* – The 3 sg.
simple form has a non-pal consonant before *-e* It is also used as relative,
cf RC 28 347
    In the later language various new formations appear The final *-s* (from
-s-t-, -t-t-) spreads *ro bás* for older *ro-both*, perf pass of the vb   to be',
t-ancas, pret impers pass of *do-ic* 'comes' A pl form in *-ait, -it* is formed
corresponding to the 3 sg pret conjunct in *ad ro gabait* have been taken'
LU 4028
    § 467 Deponent and passive in Brit The only form of the dep
remaining in all Brit languages is W *gŵyr* 'he knows' Co *gor* MlBr.
*goar = * Ir *-fitir* A few traces of the dep remain in the earlier W
poetry *bwyr,* in *a-n bwyr gwar* 'mayest thou be gentle to us'
BT 7 5, *awyr,* in *ry-m-awyr dy wedi* '(mayest thou) grant me my
prayer to thee' 3 12, cf *ry-m-awyr ym pa** (l *ry-m-awyr pater*)
'grant me a prayer' 4 2, *edrychuir-de varanres mor* 'look thou upon

the fury of the sea' BBC 106 6, *amwarandawyr* 'hearken thou'
BBCS 2 121 37, *rothwyr*, in *a-m rothwyr dy volawt* "(mayest thou)
give me thy praise", 'let me praise thee' BT 3 25, also perhaps
tauawyr 'touch thou' BT 12 5 (cf Lewis, HGCref 156 f)   These
forms are all 2 sg pres subj used optatively, the ending· being
-wyr (*-/uyr/*), a further ex occurs in *ry-m-afuir culuit kyrreifeint*
'grant me, Lord, forgiveness' BBCS 4 45 (where *afuir* is probably
for an orig reading *awuir*), cf BT 35 22, the 2 sg ipv was *aw*
ry-m-aw-y awen 'grant me muse' BBC 9 1 (*-y* is the auxiliary pron
corresponding to *-m-*, 1 sg)   Cf BBCS 2 127

   Note 1   Other forms given by Rhys, RC 6 40 ff , Loth, RC 31 481 ff ,
can hardly be classed as deponents, *dydeuhawr* BT 77 23, 78, 10 is impersonal
(cf MnW *deuir*), also *ry-glywawr* (*gwlat kadwallawn   pedryuael byt ry*
glywawr the power of C will be heard of in the four corners of the world')
RP 578 15, *clywanawr* is deduced from *kerd glywanawr* BT 55 9, where
the rhyme proves that *-or* should be read (cf Lloyd-Jones, Geirfa 152), it
is probably not a verb, neither is *gundyanhawr* BT 56 8, beside *gundanhor*
56 5, *delawr*, *diangawr* are from a late MS

   Paradigm of the Brit. passive (MlW , Co , MlBr *caraf* 'I love').

	MlW	Co	MlBr
Pres	*cerir*	*keryr*	*carer*
Ipf	*cerit*	*kerys*	*caret*
Subj pres	*car(h)er*	*carer*	*carher*
Subj ipf	*cer(h)it*	**kerys*	*carhet*
Pret	*carwyt* (*caffat* 'was had')	*caras*	*carat*
Plpf	*carassit*	?	*carset*

   Note 2   The doubtful Co *danvan-sys* had been sent MC 93 may be
a plpf , corresponding to MlW and MlBr , *galser* could have been' PC 537
seems to be a plpf subj

   Note 3. Traces of different **verbal stems** appear   The pres ending W *-ir*
(Co *-yr*, *gyllyr* 'one can', with variant spelling *gyller*, *geller*, MlBr *guillir*
'one can', *guilir* 'one sees') derives from *-i-*stems, MlW *-awr* (*agorawr* 'will
be opened', *lladawr* 'will be killed) MlBr *-eur* (*mireur* is watched', subj
guelheur 'will be seen') from *-ā* stems   In the pret the vowel before *-t* in
MlW may be *-a-*, *-e-*, *-i-*, *-wy* or *-w-* (as in the 3 sg pret act § 460 n 1a)
rodet 'was given', *edewit* 'was left' WM 60 26 (vn *adaw*), *byrywyt* 'was
thrown' (vn *bwrw*), *rannwt* was shared' Old forms also occur with *-s* < *-d t*
llas 'was killed', *gwys* 'it is known' cf MlBr *gous*

   Note 4   In archaic MlW present forms occur in *-aur*, *-otor*, *-etor*, *itor*
eiryachator 'is spared' LlH 86 2, *canotor* 'is sung' MA 133 b 44, *kymyscetor*
'is mixed' BT 55 10, OW *cephitor* 'is got' BBCS 3 256 1, *gwelitor* will

                                                              20*

be seen' RP 1174, 16, *kenitor* 'is sung' LIH 86 8, *treithtor* 'is spoken of'
85 14, *telitor* 'is paid' 86 4 An anal *-h-* is found before the ending *gwelhator*
'are seen' LIH 44 28, *canhator* 'is sung' BT 75 9, *guelhitor* 'will be seen'
HGCref 90 n 3 The *-t-* was orig *-d-* (cf *dygedawr* below), but *-d* + anal *-h-*
became *-t-* (wr *tt-*), these forms with *-tt* may also be preceded by *-h-*
traethattor 'is spoken' BT 22 16, *gwelattor*, *gwelhattor* 'will be seen' RP 1054
28, 1388 25, *brithottor* 'are variegated BBC 33 5, *megittor* 'will be bred'
62 5, *telittor* 'is paid' RB 1083 (cf MA 859a 5), *kenhittor* 'will be sounded'
(lit "sung") BBC 52 7 A *-y-* can follow the *-t-* as if it were actually the root
final *llemittyor* 'is leapt (upon)' RP 1055 20 — These forms may orig be
simple forms, as opposed to conjunct forms without *-t-*, by anal with the
active, cf *telittor gwedy halawelw* 'there is retribution after a false oath',
beside *ny thelir gweli tauawt namyn y arglwyd* 'a wound by the tongue is
not paid for but to a lord' There occur a few *-t-* forms modified under the
influence of forms without *-t-* *dygedawr* are brought' BT 75 20, *dygetawr*
'is brought' 10 16, *dygettaur* BBC 25 8, *galwetawr*, *galwettawr* 'is called'
BT 41 1, 2, *lloscetawr* will be burnt' 10 19, *golchettawr* 'are washed' 41 6,
dysqogettawr 'is moved' 79 1, *berwhodawr* is boiled 75 8, a pres subj form
traethatter may be uttered' RP 1051 33

Note 5 Traces of **difference between singular and plural** appear in the
preterite in OW and MlW , a 3 pl ending being added to the usual form
OW *diconetent* have been made up' (*-ent = -eint*, added to the pret form
represented by MlW *digonet*), v BBCS 3 260 for this and similar forms,
MlW *llesseint* 'were killed RP 1046 34, from *llas* was killed', also *lledcsseint*
RP 1038 12, *lledessynt* (apparently subjunctive after *ket* though') BA 9 8,
vn *llad* Cf OW (Juv) *planthonnor* gl fodientur

Note 6 The pret form in MlW is sometimes **compounded with the verb**
'to be' in the form *-pwyt*, which is added to the pret *aeth pwyt* there was
a going , *gwnaeth-pwyt* 'it was done , *deuthpwyt*, *doethpwyt* there was a
coming , or to the pres stem *gwassanaeth-pwyt* was served , *gwan pwyt*
'was pierced , *tal pwyt* was paid', beside *dywet-pu yd* was said , the form
dywes-pwyd, cf *clyws pwyt* 'was heard' (*cly bot* to hear'), *dechreus-pwyt* 'was
begun , *roes-pwyt* was given The forms *aethpwyt*, *daethpwyd* and *gwnaeth-*
pwyd are still in current use, *ducpwyd* 'was brought' is frequently used also,
while *dywespwyd* persists in spoken W (SW *gwespwd*, *fe wespwd*, also
gwnespwd was done) — A plpf in some verbs was formed by adding the
act oed was' to a pret pass form *ganad-oed*, *ganyd-oed* 'had been born'
Hen MSS II 263 5, 142 2, *kaffad-aed* 'had been found' 265 34, correspond-
ing to *gwnath aed* had done there occurs the pass *gwnath-oedit*

Note 7 In MnBr. the subj (fut) ends in or *kanor* it will be sung'
(Trég *kanfer*), pret *kanjod*, or *kanzeur*, *kanjeur*

§ 468. Use of the deponent and the passive in Ir. and Brit. (1) The
deponent is used just as the active The deponent inflection in Ir
occurs in verbs which in IE had the middle inflection, Ir *sechithir*
'follows' Gk *ἕπομαι* 'I follow', Skr 3 sg *saćatē* (cf Lat *sequor*),
Ir *midithir* 'judges' Gk *μήδομαι, μέδομαι* (cf Lat *medeor*)

(2) **In OIr**, **the passive** takes a subject in the 3 pers *berir breth foir* 'judgment is passed upon him' Wb 12d 38, *intain bertar drognimi essib* 'when evil deeds are put away from them' 25c 23 The pass pl form is also current in MIIr When the subject is 1 or 2 pers, an impersonal construction is used with an infixed objective pron *ni-m-tharberar* 'one does not bring me', 'I am not brought' Wb 9c 31, *ni-b-íccfither* 'ye will not be saved' 20a 11, *do-b-ro-grad* 'ye have been called' 24c 4 The impers construction is always used in MnIr, with the acc of all pronouns *an tan bheirthear iad* 'when they are born' Bergin, Keat 2594, *nó gur fágbhadh folamh foghtha é* 'till it was left empty and desolate' 645 — The **Brit.** use from the earliest corresponds with that of MnIr, the pass is regarded as an impersonal The 1 and 2 persons, as in OIr, are expressed by the infixed obj pron *y-m gelwir* '(that) I am called', *y-th elwir* '(that) thou art called' RM 147 16, Co *y-m gylwyr* 'I am called' OM 1, MlBr *ne-m gueler quet* 'I am not seen' Nonne 485 The 3 sg is not expressed in cases like MlW *na rodher* 'that it be not given' RM 258 28, MlBr *me venn ez graher* 'I wish that it be done' Jés 23b, the infixed pron is found in Co, and MlBr Co *ma-n gueller* 'as (it) will be seen' PC 1940, MlBr *e-n astennat* '(that) he was stretched', *e-n gryat* '(that) he was nailed' RC 13 153, it is freely used in MnW Enclitic or affixed prons of all persons (1 sg *fi*, 2 sg *di*) are also used in MnW

Intransitive verbs have passive forms, used impersonally OIr *tiagar* 'let one go' Ml 16c 5, *rigthir* 'one will go' Wb 9a 23, MlIr *docúas* 'one has gone' Wi 130 8, cf W *eir* 'one goes', *aethpwyd* 'one has gone', OIr *cia bethir* 'though one is' Wb 5d 33, *ro-both* 'one has been', W *byddir, buwyd*, Co *may fether* 'that one may be' OM 46, MlBr MnBr *bezer* (combined with a passive part in MlBr *pan vezer aman ganet* 'when one is born here' Nonne 148, cf MnBr *bet e oar* 'on a été', *bet e oad* 'on avait été' Vallée p 157) The passive forms of the verbs 'to be able', 'to do', 'to be obliged to' are freely used with a verb-noun in Brit MlW *y gellir dywedut* 'it can be said' RM 175 23, *y neb y dylyer y kymryt* 'whoever should be taken' 16 20, *yn carcharu a wneit* 'we should be imprisoned', "our imprisonment would be done" WM 66 18, Co *mara keller y wythe* 'if he can be kept' PC 3058, *mar ny wrer y wythe* "if his watching be not done", 'if he be not watched' RD 341, MlBr *maz galler ma blam* 'so that I may be blamed' Nonne 1665, *da lacat a*

rer   en un pechet 'thou art brought to a sin', "thy bringing is done" Barbe 756

Etymological explanation of the deponent and the passive.

§ 469. A system of -*r*-forms with middle or passive meaning is found in Italic, in Phrygian, in Hittite and in Tokharian The -*r*-element is in some cases clearly added to verbal forms identical with the middle forms known from Gk and Skr , and sometimes double forms occur, with or without the -*r*-element Phryg αδδακετοϱ (etymologically a middle form, to Lat *afficit*), but αββιϱετο (cf Lat *affert*), Hitt *ı-ıa-at-ta* and *ı-ıa-at-ta-rı* 'he goes' It should be noted that a distinction between passive and middle forms is a Celtic peculiarity not shared by Latin, Hittite and Tokharian (the -*r*-forms of the Celtic passive are identical with Hittite middle forms, with Ir *-berar*, *-carthar* we may compare Hittite *e-ša-rı* 'he sits', *ı-ıa-at-ta-rı* 'he goes', stem *eš-*, *ı-ıa-*) As to the special endings of the different deponent forms the following remarks may be made

1 sg pres ind goes back to -*ōr* Ir *do-tluchur* Lat *loquor*, cf also Hitt *ı-ıa-aḫ-ḫa-rı* 'I go' With the -*ā*-subj 1 sg Ir *labrar* cf Lat *loquar*

2 sg -*ther*, cf Hitt *ı-ıa-at-ta-rı* 'thou goest' and corresponding Tokharian forms The Lat forms are not comparable

3 sg and 3 pl According to the phonetic laws the Ir forms must go back to -*tr*- and -*ntr*- without any vowel between -*t*- and -*r*- This does not agree with the Italic forms (Lat *sequitur, sequuntur*) nor with the Phrygian and Hittite forms (Hitt *ı-ıa-at-ta-rı*, pl *ı-ıa-an-ta-rı*), no doubt some re-formation has taken place in Celtic (perhaps due to the influence of the active ending *-ntrı* of pret 3 pl , v § 464, 4), the old forms being retained only when functioning as passive (often impersonally) The distinction between simple and conj forms is of course a Celtic development

1 pl The Celt forms recall Lat *sequimur*

2 pl The absence of *r*-endings is a common feature of Celt and Lat (certainly old)

Note Ir *-fitir* W *gŵyr* Co *gor* Br *goar* did not originally belong to the deponent system, it was a 3 pl active (cf Skr *vidur* 'they know') which came to be regarded as a sg ("they know" > "one knows" > 'he knows')

§ 470. **The tenses without an** -*r*-**ending** in the deponent the ıpf ınd

and subj and the conditional are identical with the active   The
ipv sg has old middle endings, the pl has in part -*r*-endings, and in
part old act endings without *r*

The pret pass is a -*to*-participle (Ir *breth* < **bhr̥to-*, pl -*bretha*,
cf fem neut pl of the adjective § 317,1), cf MlW *llas* < **slad-
to*- The explanation of the Ir simple form *brethe* gives rise to
doubts The participle is combined with the verb 'was' in certain
MlW plpf forms § 467 n 5

The origin of the pass ipf (and cond and Brit plpf) is not
clear, but cf VKG II 407f

The nominal forms of the verb and their use.

§ 471. The pret passive **participle** in Ir Co , Br is formed with
the suffix -*tjo*- With primitive verbs (-*o*- -*e*-stems, consonantal
stems, -*na*-presents) the suffix was added directly to the root, this
type is found in Ir only *bi-the* 'struck' (pres *benid*), *im-di-bthe*
'circumcised', *cli-the* (*celid* 'conceals', -*li*- < -*l̥*-, cf W *clyd* 'shel-
tered'), *ad-nach-te* 'buried' (to *aingid* 'protects'), *t-imm-artae* Ml ,
t-imm-orta Sg 'compressed, shortened' (*org-*, -*rt*- < -*rkt*-), *claisse*
'dug' (*claidid*, -*ss*- < -*d-t*-), *céte* 'sung' (*canid*) With -*ā*- and -*ī*-
verbs the suffix was added to a stem in -*a*- and -*ī*-, an -*a*-stem also
in a number of -*i*-presents Thus *croch-the* 'crucified' (-*ā*-stem), *in-
fo-lg-i-the* 'hidden' (from **folgithe*, to *fo-luig-*, -*ī*-stem), *suidigthe*
'placed' (**sodesagītjo-*), *aur-gabtha* 'taken away' (*gaibid*) In Brit
the type -*atjo*- seems to have been generalized Co *keris* 'loved',
beneges, benegas 'blessed', MlBr *hanuet* 'named', *prenet* 'bought'
(the W adj and subst ending -*aid* has this origin also *euraid*
'golden', *dyrnaid* 'handful')

The -*tjo*-participle can have the meaning of a gerundive OIr
neph-fodlide 'indivisible' Sg 189 b 6 (*fo-dáli* 'divides'), *neph-chum-
scaigthe* 'immovable' Ml 40d 23 (*com-od-* + *scuich-*)

Periphrastic verbal forms in MnIr , Co and Br are made with
the help of the -*tjo*-participle MnIr *tá sé déanta agam* 'I have done
it', *nuair bhí sí deargtha aige* 'when he had lit it' (the fire, MnIr
teine fem), Co *ty o gylwys* 'thou wast called' RD 1096, *cryst a
fue lythys garow* 'Christ who was cruelly slain' 903 , MlBr *en deueux
groaet* 'he has done' Barbe 791, *ez oamp blamet* 'that we were blamed'
RC 12 33 5, MnBr *kared oun* 'I am loved' etc

Note. An extension of the -*to*- participle occurs in forms like Ir *car-*

thach 'loving' W *car-e-dig* 'kind', OBr *hanter-to-e-tic* 'half-covered'. These forms are extensively used in W , but only adjectivally

§ 472. The **gerundive** has in Ir the ending *-thi* without raising of the preceding vowel, W *-dwy* Co *-dow* OBr *-toe*, all from *-toujo-* (or *-teujo-*, *-taujo-*), cf Skr *kar-tavya-s* 'faciendus' It is in Ir used predicatively only and is never inflected (except in slavish translation from Lat) It can govern the acc *is oissi menmain* 'it is to be heeded', gl intimanda Ml 115 c 6 With primitive verbs the ending is added directly to the root (this type is found in Ir only): *innahi batar buthi ar thuus* 'the things that should have been first' Ml 23 c 16 (the irreg form *buithi* is influenced by *buith* 'to be'), *bethi* 'to be struck', *clethi* 'to be concealed' (cf the past part *bithe*, *clithe*), *bed cuimrechti* gl adstringendam Ml 137 c 12 (*con-rig* 'binds'), *is gessi* gl adorandus (*guidid* 'prays', *-ss-* < *-dt-*) some forms have *-st-* instead of *-ss-* *imcasti* gl consideranda Ml 18 d 22 (*imb-ad-* + *ci-*, **kᵘes-*), quite irregular *comitesti* 'to be indulged' Wb 1 c 12 (*com-in-* + *tiag-*), *donaib hí beta cheti* 'to the things which are to be sung' Ml 126 c 4 (*canid* 'sings') With *-ā-* and *-ī-*-verbs the ending is added to a stem in *-a-* and *-ī-* *áirmithi* 'to be counted' (*ad-rím-*), *léicthi* 'to be left' In Brit the type *-a-toujo-* became general W. *car-a-dwy* 'lovable' Co *caradow* MIBr *Karadou* FN , OBr *nit-ina-a-toe* gl non ineundum est, W *saf-a-dwy* 'steadfast'

§ 473 In OIr , verbal nouns are used as **infinitives**[1], they are declinable and have substantival construction (the object being genitive) This was common to the other Celt languages, but in Brit the verb-noun like other substantives has lost all case-inflection

§ 474 Form of the infinitive It can be etymologically different from the finite verb OIr *serc* 'love, to love', *carimm* 'I love', *precept* 'to preach', *pridchimm* 'I preach', MIBr *ober* 'to do' (< Lat. *opera*), *groaff* 'I do'; W *myned* Co *mones*, *mos* MIBr *monet*, *mont* 'to go', W Co MIBr *af* 'I go'.

But as a rule the inf has the same root as the fin verb It has (1) a vocalic suffix Ir *rím*, *áram* 'to count' (*rímid*, *ad-rími* 'counts'), *fu-lang* 'to support' (*fo-loing* 'supports'), *slaide* 'kill' (fem) MIW *llad*, Co *cows* 'to·speak', MIBr *comps* — (2) an *-st*-suffix (very rare) *togais* 'to cheat' (pres 1 sg *do-gáithaimm*), — (3) a

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[1] Cf Windisch, BB 2 72ff , Vendryes, MSL 16 249ff , Baudiš, ZCP 9 380 — 417

-*g-l*-suffix Ir *anacol* 'to protect', *gabál* 'to take', W *gafael* 'to take
hold', *caffael* 'to have', *dyrchafael* 'to raise', *gadael* 'to leave', Co
drehevel 'to raise', — (4) a -*d*-suffix Ir *saigid* 'to strive towards'
(cf W *haedd*- in MnW *cyr-haedd-af* 'I reach', vn *cyrraedd* Co
hethy MlBr *di-r-haes* MnBr *direza*, v Loth, RC 30 259f, cf BBCS
3 261), — (5) an -*nd*-suffix (borrowed) OIr *scribend* 'to write' (W
ysgrifen 'a writing', *ysgrifennu* 'to write'), *legend* 'to read', — (6) a
-*k*-suffix MlW *redec* 'to run' Co *resek* MlBr *redec*, MnW *ehedeg*
'to fly', a -*kn*-suffix Ir *dat reicc* 'to sell', *creic* 'to buy' (3 sg pres
renid, *crenid*), — (7) a -*kt*-suffix OIr *rossacht* 'to hesitate' (*roissid*
'hesitates'), *airchissecht* 'to have compassion' (3 sg *ar-cessi*), *éitsecht*
to listen' (*in*- + *tóis*-, ipv 3 pl *éitset*), W *marchogaeth* 'to ride'
Co *marogeth* MlBr *marheguez*, — (8) a -*t*-suffix Ir *buith* 'to be'
W *bod* Co *bos* (*bones* by anal with *mones* 'to go') MlBr *bout*, Ir
mess 'to judge' (*midiur*), Ir *breth* 'to carry' (-*re*- < -*r*-, *berid* 'carries'),
W *cymryd* 'to take' (*cymer-af* 'I take' *k'om*- + *bher*-), with a later
re-formed MnW *cymeryd*, Co *kemeres*, MlBr *quemeret*, W *cdfryd*
'to restore' (1 sg *ad-feraf*, later *adfer*, *adferyd*), MlW *diffryt* 'to
defend' (*differ-af*), MlW *dilit* 'to follow' (1 sg *dilynaf*, whence
MnW vn *dilyn*), *erlit* 'to chase, persecute' (1 sg *erlynaf*, in MnW
erlid has been used as base for a new stem *erlidiaf* 'I chase, per-
secute', and a new vn *erlyn* has been formed for *erlynaf* with the
meaning 'prosecute'), v Lloyd-Jones, BBCS 2 107f for similar
MlW forms, MlW *godiwes* 'to overtake' (1 sg *godiwedaf*, MnW
vn *goddiweddyd*), — a -*t*-suffix is particularly common with a
polysyllabic stem ending in a vowel Ir *comalnad* 'to fulfil', *im-
radud* 'to meditate', W *gweled* Co *gweles* MnBr *guelet* 'to see', W
yfed 'to drink', MlBr *sellet* 'to observe', MlW *dywedwyt* 'to speak,
say', later *dywedut* (*dywedyt* WM 158 26, MnW *dywedyd*, *dweud*),
MlW *catwyt* 'to keep' BA 1 21 (*kedwi* BBC 43 12, MlW MnW
cadw), MlW *kyscwyt* 'to sleep' (/-*uyd*/) BT 27 25, usually *kyscu*,
MnW *cysgu*, — Br -*out* (*gallout* 'to be able', *caffout* 'to obtain') is
analogically deduced from cpds of *bout* 'to be' (MlBr *gouzuout*, *gouz-
out* 'to know', MlW *gwybot*), — (9) a -*t-k*-suffix MlW *eredic* MnW
aredig 'to plough' (1 sg *arddaf*), — (10) a -*t-r*-suffix MlW *guneithur*
'to do' Delw y Byd 57, § 51 2, later and MnW *guneuthur*, Br
Cornouaille *mezur* 'to nourish' (beside *maga*), a -*tr-m*-suffix Ir *al-
tram* 'to rear', — (11) a -*tl*-suffix Ir *for-cital* 'to teach' (*for-cain*
'teaches'), and by anal *intinscital* beside *in-t-inn-scann* 'to begin',

— (12) the suffix *-tʒen- Ir *aigthiu* 'to fear' (*-águr* 'I fear'), *fo-ditiu* 'to endure' (*fo-daim* 'endures'), W *chwerthin* 'to laugh' (*chwarddaf* 'I laugh' with *-rdd-* from *-rʒ-*), — (13) an *-l-*suffix W *sefyll* 'to stand' Co *seuell* MlBr *seuell*, *-el* is very common in Co and Br Co *gelwel* 'to call' MlBr *gueruell*, MlBr *guenell* MnBr *genel* 'to give birth', Ir *oul* (dat , disyll) 'to drink' (*ibid* 'drinks'), — (14) an *-n-*suffix Ir *áin* 'to play' (3 pl pres *agait*), W *dwyn* 'to carry' (pres *dygaf*) Co *doen*, *doyn*, *don* MlBr *doen* (pres *dougaf*, MnBr vn *dougen*), MlW *am-wyn* 'to defend', *adolwyn* 'to pray' (*adolygaf*, cf Ir *do-tluchur*), MlW *olrein* 'to trace' (3 sg pret *olrewys* WM 469 21, MnW *olrhain*, *olrheiniaf*), MlW *arwein* 'to carry' (*arwedaf*, MnW *arwain* 'to lead', *arweiniaf*), Br *eren* 'to bind' (*ereet* 'bound', to Ir *ad- + rig-* 'bind', and by anal MlBr *antre-n* 'to enter' (*antreas* 'he entered'), — (15) an *-m-*suffix Ir *gním*, *dénum* 'to do' (*do-gní* 'does'), Ir *ingreimm* 'to persecute' (with *-sm* § 26,11, pres 3 pl *in-grennat*), Ir *accaldam* 'to address' (1 sg *ad-gládur*), *cretem* 'to believe', OW *erchim* 'to bid', *molim* 'to praise' MlW MnW *erchi*, *moli*, OBr *diprim* 'to eat' MlBr *dibriff* MnBr *dibri*, MlW *gwisgaw* to dress' MnW *gwisgo* Co *guyske* MlBr *guisquaff* MnBr *gwiska*, (W *-im*, *-i* < *-ï-m-*, W *-aw* < *-ä-m-*), W *gallu* 'to be able', *prynu* 'to buy' (Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 25, suggests relating W *-u* with OBr *-om*, possibly from *-umu-* or *-omu-*, OBr *do-uo-hinnom* gl austum W *gwe-hynnu* 'to empty, draw', OBr *hnom* gl lituram MlW *ed-lynu* 'to smear', cf BBCS 1 113, 6 118, OBr *meplaom* gl confutari MlW *meflhau* 'to disgrace'), — (16) *-m-n-* MlIr *len-main* 'to adhere to', W *cwyn-fan* 'to lament', *ehed-fan* 'to fly', with affected vowel, W *wylofain* 'to weep', also with *-mm-* (< *-sm-*) W *germain* 'to shout' (*garm* 'a shout', Ir *gairm*, an *-n-*stem), *llemain* 'to leap' (*llam* a leap', Ir *léimm*), by anal with *germain*, *diasbedain* 'to shout' (*diasbad* 'a shout', 3 sg ipf MlW *diaspadei*, *diaspedei* ChSDR p 99)

§ 475. Use of the infinitive[1]. (1) Subject, object and predicate of the inf The obj of the inf in OIr is in the genitive *comalnad ind huili rechto* 'to fulfil the whole law' Wb 20a 12 The subj is introduced by the prep *do airitiu colno do christ* "taking of flesh by Christ", 'that Christ has taken flesh' Wb 31d 2 With an intrans vb the subj may be in the gen *forcomnacair buith a maicc som hi Róim* 'it happened that his son was in Rome' Sg 148a 6 The

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[1] Cf Lewis, Y Berfenw, BBCS 4 179ff

predicate of 'to be' is in the nom   *buith nochtchenn* 'to be bare-
headed' Wb 11c 12

In Brit the obj , if a pers pron , is in the gen   MlW *y wan*
'to pierce him', "his piercing" RM 219 11 (MnW *ei wanu*), *vyn
dwyn* 'to bear me' 213 25 (*fy nwyn*), Co *y derry* 'to break it' MC 35 ,
MlBr *ma lacat* 'to send me' Barbe 687, case-inflection of the noun
has disappeared, but it can be inferred that a substantival object
of the inf is in the gen   The subj in MlW is introduced by the
prep *o* 'from' following the vn   *rac dy lad ohonaw* 'lest he kill
thee' RM 204 7, by the prep *y* 'to' either following the vn
emystynnu idaw ynteu 'he stretched himself' WM 56 27, or pre-
ceding it   *ny thebygaf i y un o hyn uynet ar dy geuyn di* 'I do not
suppose any one of these will go on thy back' 35 17 In MnW the
last mentioned form is the commonest, the first is still in use, but
the second has disappeared With an intrans vb the subj may be in
the gen   *or mynnur vy nyvot y mywn* 'if it is desired that I come
in' RM 205 17 Cf Co *drefen agen bos vnwoys* 'because we are of
one blood' Beun Mer 235, MlBr *dre he bout parfet* 'because she
was perfect' RC 10 9 13

(2) **The inf. in the sentence** (a) It can be used like any noun as
subj or obj , in the gen , and depending upon a prep In Ir and
W it is very commonly used with a subject expressed (as in 1 above)
as equivalent to a subordinate sentence, Co and Br more usually
use an actual subordinate sentence

(b) A particular type of inf sentence occurs very frequently
in OIr [1], in which the logical subject or object is followed by the
vn governed by the prep *do* 'to' *uisse in boill do áss ó-n chiunn*
§ 316, *is bés leu-som in daim do thuarcuin* 'it is a custom among
them for the oxen to thresh' Wb 10d 6, *denum maith 7 imgabail
uilc do denum* 'to do good and to avoid doing evil' Ml 14c 12 —
Similarly in Co *leuereugh my thy thanfon* 'say that I sent him'
PC 1615, *mur a ioy a-s kemeras y de deank yn della* 'great joy took
them that they escaped thus' MC 251

Note 1 This is an old IE construction Cf Lith *šulinỹs* (nom masc)
kàsti nelengva (neut) 'it is not easy to dig a well' Senn, Lit Sprachl 201,
Lett *man ir atl auts* (nom sing masc = neut) *rieksti* (nom pl) *ēst* 'it is
permitted to me to eat nuts' Endzelin, Lett Gramm 770[1]

(c) Certain combinations of the vn with preps function as

[1] Cf Fraser, A use of the verbal noun in Irish, Misc KM 216 ff

participles OIr *oc oc nertad* 'confirming' Wb 7b 12, *ce ru-d-bói
Iudas occ-a thindnacul som* 'though Judas was delivering him up'
4 b 13, in MnIr *ag* W *yn* (foll by the radical consonant) *yn
myned* 'going', other preps are used in a similar sense MlW *y* 'to',
val y bydynt y kerdet 'as they were walking' WM 58 3 (Richards,
BBCS 7 103), *ar* 'on', MlW *a hwnnw ar gerdet* 'and that moving'
51 1, also *dan, gan* Co *ow*, before vowels *owth*, before the gen
pron *worth*, MlBr *oz*, MnBr *o* (§ 123, § 215, 4) Co *ow kelwel*
'calling' OM 2430, *ow th-ysethe* 'sitting' PC 2342, *worth de welas*
'seeing thee' MC 172, MlBr *ouz gouuernn* 'ruling', *oz ma souten*
'sustaining me' Barbe 357 — W *ar* with the vn can have the
meaning of a fut part *yr wyf ar fyned* 'I am about to go' — MlW
gwedy MnW *wedi* 'after' with the vn are equivalent to a past part
y mae gvedy mynet 'he has gone' WM 408 7 Cf Ir *iarn-a linad*
'filled', *iarn-a fuine* 'baked' Wi 256 23,31

Note 2 In early MlW poetry the vn alone is used as a present part ,
particularly in compound adjectival expressions in which the noun depending
upon the vn precedes it, the initial of the vn being lenited MlW *arglwt
new   gueng[u]lad vad veidroli* 'the Lord of heaven, ruling a good holy land',
gwnngar gvar guironet kedun 'gontlo blossod truth-preserving kinsman' BBC
43 10, 12 (cf references in HGCref 264)

(d) The vn with the prep *yn* forms with the verb 'to be' a
periphrastic conjug in W   *yr wyf yn meddwl* 'I am thinking'
When the vn is put first *yn* may be omitted MlW *medylyaw yd
wyf* 'I am thinking' RM 75 26, but *yn hela yd oedwn* 'I was hunting'
WM 45 29, v BBCS 7 102f

In all Brit languages the vn is very frequently combined
with the vb 'to do', in W this chiefly occurs in sentences of inverted
order MlW *a-th gyrchu a wna* 'and he will attack thee' RM 168 8,
but cf *delw yd oreu duw y dewissaw* 'as God chose him' LIH 143 11,
Co *ny wreugh why tryge* 'you will not remain' OM 317, MlBr *hoz
trugarecat a raf* 'I thank you' Jés 15 a

(e) In W the vn can be used instead of a finite vb either
continuing a finite verb construction or as a historic inf MlW
a llawen uu y uorwyn wrthaw a chyfarch gwell idaw 'and the maiden
welcomed and greeted him' RM 196 6, *kymryt gwrogaeth y gwyr
a dechreu guereskynn y wlat* 'he took the homage of the men and
began to conquer the country' WM 8 27 Similarly in Co *may
d-eth war ben y dewleyn ha pesy* 'so that he went on his knees and

prayed' MC 54 (v Stokes, KB 3 161), and MlBr   *e-n dougenn hac e caret* 'I respected him and loved him' Nonne 1145

For inf = ipv in Ir v Windisch, BB 2 85

(3) The vn is compounded with MlW *ry* to express a perf inf § 425, 1f   A passive inf is expressed in Co and MlBr by the verb 'to be' and a participle   Co *ny yllons bos nyfyrys* 'they cannot be numbered' OM 1544 (for the older construction v § 468, 2), MlBr *a guell bezaf   consideret* 'which can be considered' Jés 235a   For passive and impers use in W v BBCS 4 185ff

(4) The vn is negatived in OIr by the prep *cen* 'without' *cid atob-aich cen dílgud* 'what impels you not to forgive' Wb 9c 20, MlW *heb* 'without'   *heb coffav duv* 'not to remember God' BBC 70 12

XXXII. Full paradigms of the verbs.
The verb 'to be' [1].

§ 476. (1) The paradigm of the verb 'to be' consisted in Italo-Celtic of forms of the roots **es-* and **bheu-*   In Celtic a pres stem **bhwī-*, **bhwije-*, derived from **bheu-*, also appears   This latter present denotes either a praesens consuetudinale or a future, a natural development from an orig meaning 'to become' (Lat *fīō*)   The same root is also used in the subjunctive   The root **es-* stands only in the pres and ipf ind in Celtic, in Ir it is not found in the ipf

(2) In Ir the paradigm is complicated by the distinction between dependent (standing immediately before a predicate) and independent finite forms   The former are used as the copula, the latter as the substantive verb (denoting existence)   The forms derived from the root **es-* are confined to the present of the copula, the corresponding forms of the substantive verb are supplied by synonymous verbs, of which *-tá* (§ 481) belongs entirely to the paradigm in OIr , while *fil* (§ 482) developed into a regular member of the paradigm during MlIr and MnIr , the verbs mentioned in § 483—4 were never entirely absorbed into the paradigm   The

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[1] Stokes, Trans Phil Soc 1885—1887 202ff, KZ 28 55—109, Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1899—1902 1—82, Pokorny, KZ 63 298, Atk Keat App I—XIII, Anderson, ZCP 7 439ff, 8 236ff, Loth, RC 31 318, Ó Máille, Ériu 6 1—102, Myles Dillon, ZCP 17 328—341, Baudiš, RC 50 30ff

other parts of the copula and the substantive verb derive from the
root *bheu-, the copula forms being unstressed and so reduced,
those of the substantive verb stressed

§ 477. The pres. and ipf. of the root *es-

Pres simp		Ir	MIW	Co	MlBr	MnBr
Sg	1	am	wyf	of	ouff, of	ounn
	2	at, it	wyt	os	out	oud
	3	is	yw	yu	eo, eu	eo
Pl	1	ammi, ammin	ym	on	omp	omp
	2	adib, adi, idib	ywch	ough	ouch	oc'h
	3	it	ynt (OW hint)	yns	ynt	int

Pres conj. Ir Sing 1 | -d-a, -t-a, -t-am
            2 | -d-a, -t-a,
            3 | nil, -d
        Pl 1 | -d-em, -d-an, -t-an
            2 | -d-ed, -d-ad
            3 | -d-et, -d-at

Ipf.	MIW	Co	MlBr
Sg 1	oedun	en	oann
2	oedut	es	oas
3	oed (OW oid)	o	oa
Pl 1	oedem	en	oamp
2	oedewch	*eugh	oach
3	oedynt (oedein)	ens	oant

Note Passive (impersonal) forms occur in Br pres MlBr eur (Ernault,
Dict 202), MnBr oar, eur, ipf MlBr oat, MnBr oad, cf § 468, 2 Similarly
Co ed-er (Loth, RC 23 256 n) W ys is used as an impersonal, also ipf
MlW oedit, MnW oeddid

§ 478 Remarks on the paradigm of the root *es-

(1) **Relative
forms** Ir 3 sg cc-so, ce-su, ma-su, 3 pl ce-to, ce-tu, ma-tu (cia
'though', ma 'if'), MlBr 3 sg so MnBr zo, MlW yssyd, v § 394
The usual rel forms in Ir are 3 sg as, 3 pl ata, at

(2) **Forms with dental addition** Exx of the Ir conjunct
forms in-d-a apstal 'am I an apostle ?' Wb 10c 20, an nu-n-d-a
chocuibsid siu 'when thou art conscious' Ml 58b 6, ceni-t-a chum-
gabtha siu 'art thou not exalted ?' 84c 3, — ni anse 'it is not difficult'

Wb 24 b 11, *amal nách annse n-duib* § 409 n 3, *ci-d* 'though it is',
ma-d 'if it is', *ma-ni-d* 'if it is not', — *oire nu-n-d-em membur uili
du dea* 'for we are all members unto God' Thes II 246 5, — *ni-d-ad
forbthi si* 'ye are not perfect' Wb 14 a 8, *ce nu-d-ed issidi* 'though
ye are knowing' Thes I 713 25 — The forms with -e- are archaic

Note 1   The forms *mad*, *cid* have assumed a subjunctive meaning by
anal with the ipf subj in *-ad*   Further a 3 pl ipf subj *matis* was formed
by anal with forms like *com-tis* p 326   — In the 3 sg a verbal form **est* has
disappeared after *-d-* and *-ch-*

In Brit the present forms of **es-* may be compounded with a
(prefixed) particle MlW *yd-* (= /əd/), *ytt-* MnW *yd-* Co *es-*, *eg-*
(*g* = /ʒ/ § 263) MlBr *ed-*   The particle always forms a close cpd
with the vb , and as the latter is a monosyllable the accent falls
on the particle   1 sg MlW *yd-wyf*, *ytt-wyf* MnW *yd-wyf*, 3 sg
OW *hitt-oi* (BBCS 5 243) MlW *yd-iw*, *yt(t)-iw* MnW *yd-yw*, 2 pl
MlW *yd-ywch* MnW *yd-ych*, etc , the foll ipf forms are also
attested 1 sg MlW *ytt-oedwn*, 3 sg MlW *ytt-oed* MnW *yd-oedd*,
3 pl MlW *ytt-oedynt*, — Co pres sg 1 *es-of*, 2 *es-os*, 3 *es-e*, *vs-y*,
vg-y (*v* = /o/, through confusion with 3 sg *vs* 3c below), pl 1 *es-on*,
2 *es-ough*, ipf sg 1 *es-en*, *eg-en*, 2 *es-es*, 3 *es-e*, *eg-e*, pl 1 *es-en*,
2 *es-ough*, — MlBr pres sg 1 *ed-off*, 2 *ed-out*, 3 *ed-y*, pl 1 *ed-
omp*, 2 *ed-ouch*, 3 *ed-ynt*, ipf sg 3 *ed-oa*, *ed-o*, pl 1 *ed-oamp*, 3 *ed-
oent*, *ed-ont* — In W an element *-d* (MlW wr *-d* and *-t*) occurs in the
neg MlW *nyt*, *nat* MnW *nid*, *nad*, the affirmative part MlW *neut*,
the conjunction MlW *ot* MnW *od* 'if', neg MlW *anet* BA 1 20,
onyt MnW *onid* 'if not', and in the interrog part OW (Juv) *anit*
gl num MlW *ponyt* MnW *onid* (*onid wyf* 'am I not ?') — It is
used in Co and MlBr after certain particles Co sg 1 *mar-s-of*
'if I am', 2 *mar-s-os*, 3 *mar-s-ew*, pl 2 *mar-s-ewhy*, 3 *mar-s-ens*,
also *mara* (*mar* + *a* 'if'), *mar-a-s-os* 'if thou art', *mar-a-s-yns* 'if
they are', *a-ss-o-ma squyth* 'I am so tired' OM 684, *a-ss-yw whek*
'it is so sweet' 2074, also ipf sg 3 *a-ss-o mur tyn* 'it was so grievous'
RD 2556, after the neg *ny* and the affirmative particle *na* (MlW
neu) the form *-ns-*, *-ng-* (= /nʒ/) occurs *ny-ng-of* 'I am not', *ny-
ns-ot* 'thou art not', ipf sg 3 *ny-ng-o*, *ny-ni-o*, *na-ns-yw an voren
marow* 'the maiden is dead' OM 2758, ipf sg 3 *na-ns-o* MC 230 1,
mar(-a-) and the neg take this element before forms of the vb
'to go' also *mar-s-eth* 'if thou goest', *mar-a-s-aff* 'if I go', *ny-ns-a*
'goes not', — MlBr *mar-d-ouf* 'if I am', *mar-d-eo* 'if he is', *ne-d-ouf*

'I am not', *ne-d-eu* 'is not' and also the exact counterpart of the OW. interrog part *anit-* in the form *a-ne-d- a-ne-d-eu me* 'is it not I ?' Jés 59 b, more frequently abbreviated to *a-nd-* (cf spoken MnW *on'd yw e'* 'is he not ?') *a-nd-eu* 'is he not ?', *a-nd-oa* 'was it not ?' Jés 112 a, 207 b   These MlBr forms are found confused in *a-ne-nd-*, written *an n-en doa* (= *a-ne-nd-oa*) 'was it not ?' RC 12 33 20   The mixed form *a-ne-nd-* was probably the origin of the MlBr *-nd-* after the neg (*ne-nd-ouf* 'I am not', *ne-nd-eu* 'is not'), cf Co *-ns* — The forms just described stand before verbs with initial vowel   Cf § 491, p 335

MlW *nyt, nat* MnW *nid, nad*, MlW *neut*, the conditional conj OW *hou nit* (BBCS 3 271f) MlW *onyt* MnW *onid* and the interrog part MlW *ponyt* MnW *onid* may stand before forms other than verbs, in which case the verb 'to be' is omitted   MnW *nid ef a ddaw* '(it is) not he who will come'   Cf Co *mar-na-s, mar-ne-s* 'unless, except' ("if not")   *mar-ne-s drethos ny'm byth queres* 'I shall have no help unless it be through thee' (cf W *onid drwot*) RD 2220, also *mars* OM 226

(3) **The 3 sg pres forms in Brit**   (a) Variant forms of W *yw* Co *yu* MlBr *eo* occur   MlW *pi-eu* MnW *pi-au* 'cuius est' Co *p-eu* Br *bi-ou, bi-aou* § 373, 374   MnW *ydyw*, for earlier *ydiw*, is a restored form by anal with *yw* (cf *heddiw* 'today', from *he-ddyw* 'this day' § 21, 3)   The final labial is lost in Co *vs-y, vg-y* MlBr *ed-y*, also MlBr *e, ez e* beside *eo, ez eo*, cf spoken MnW *ydi* (SW *odi* in questions and answers)   The interrog part MlW *ae* 'is it ?', used before forms other than verbs, seems to contain the particle *a* (used before verbs) and a form of the verb 'to be' with the final labial lost, also *ae   ae* 'whether   or', it is written *ai* in MnW

A variant of *yw* etc probably occurs in 3 sg MlW MnW (*y*) *mae* 'there is', 'is', *mae* 'where is ?', MlW (*y)mae* MnW *mai* 'that it is', Co *ym(m)a, ma* 'is', *pe-ma, py-ma* 'where is ?', MlBr *ema* 'is', 3 pl W (*y) maent* Co *mons* MlBr *emahint*   In MnBr a complete tense ("présent d'actualité") has been formed   sg 1 *emaoun, emoun*, 2 *emaout, emout*, 3 *ema(ñ)*, pl 1 *emaomp, emomp*, 2 *emaoc'h, emoc'h*, 3 *emaint, emeint*, a corresponding ipf tense has also arisen sg 1 *edon*, 2 *edos*, 3 *edo*, pl 1 *edomp*, 2 *edoc'h*, 3 *edont* (Vallée 156, Ernault, Gramm 41f)

(b) OW *is, iss* MlW MnW *ys* (= /əs/) is identical with Ir *is*, it is used before a predicate *ys gwir* 'it is true', — it is compounded

with the conjunctions MlW *kan* 'since', *o* 'if', and *canys, os* still
retain sometimes their orig meaning 'since it is', 'if it is', though
usually they mean 'since', 'if' (cf Ifor Williams, PKM 111), — it
is used in temporal expressions like MlW *ys guers* 'for some time
past', *ys blwydyn* 'for a year past' WM 487 8, 10 1 (cf Br V
guerso = guers so 'il y a longtemps' RC 37 53), it is also preceded
by *yr* 'since' *yr ys seith mlyned* 'for seven years past' RM 55 12
(*neut seith mlyned* WM 76 28), MnW *er ys, ers, es*, v Williams,
PKM 114, — in the expression OW *iss-em*, later *sef* 'that is,
namely'

MlW *yd ys* /əd ys/, *yd ydys* /əd ədys/ MnW *yr ys* (= /ȳs/), *yr
ydys* are used with a vb noun in an impersonal or passive sense
yd ys yn lluydaw yn an ol "there is mustering after us" 'a host is
being gathered in pursuit of us' WM 86 21

The form *ys* occurs in MlW *yss-it* 'there is', pl *yss-ydynt* WM
54 31, 487 1, MlW *o-ss-it* 'if there is' WM 122 5, MlW *yss-yd*
etc MlBr *s-o* 'which is' v 1 above It is also found in MlW *yss-
ym, ess-ym* "there is to me" 'I have' LlH 39 15, 159 18, 1 pl *yss-
yn* 217 2, Strachan, Introd 102, explains -*ym* as the infixed pers
pron , cf Ir *iss-um ecen* 'I must' "necessity is to me" Wb 10d 24,
it may however well be the prep *y* 'to' + the pron -*m*, for besides
yss-ym the expression *yssit ym* also occurs *essym arglwyt* 'I have
a lord', *esid ym arglwyt* LlH 159 18, 22 (*ys ym, yssit ym* RP 1394
22, 25 (cf Lloyd-Jones, Geirfa 62)

(c) W *oes*, Co *es, vs, evs, ues, uys* (= /os/), MlBr *euz, eux*
(= /os/) W *oes* immediately follows the interrog part *a* and also
stands in the answer MlW *a oes borthawr?* *oes* 'is there a doorkeeper?
yes' ("there is") RM 103 6, similarly in MnW after the interrog
onid, the negative answer is *nac oes* 'no' ("there is not") Cf MnBr
ha n'eus den en ti ? eus (n'eus ket) 'n'y a-t-il personne dans la maison ?
si (non)' Vallée 186, the form *geus* is also used in answers Co *us
dour omma* 'is there water here?' Beun Mer 655 The Co form
is found in (proper) rel sentences *thu-m seruons lel yn pryson evs*
'to my loyal servants who are in prison' RD 316 — This form is
used in all three languages after the negative MlW *nit oes yndi
nep* 'there is no one in it' WM 5 5, Co *ny-ns-us (-ues, -es), ny-ng-es*
'there is not' PC 2674, 2362, OM 1236, MC 34, *aban nag-es a
wothfe* 'since there is none that would know' MC 158, MlBr *ne
d-euz sy* 'there is no doubt' Jés 23a After the conjunctions W *od*

'if', Co MlBr *mar* 'if'   Co *mar-s-us* 'if there is' PC 2978, *mar-a-s-us*
Beun Mer 635, MlBr *mar-d-eux* Nonne 97, further, W *canys er*
pan oes cof am ddim 'ex omni enim memoria' M Kyffin, Deff
Ffydd [2] 18, Co *a-ss-us lues den* 'how many men there are!', *na-*
ns-us 'there is' Beun Mer 757, 3949, *kyn-th-us* 'though there is'
2364 (with pl , *kyn-th-usons* 2366) — In W the subject is usually
indefinite, but exx of a definite subject occur OW *ni hois ir loc*
guac hinnith 'that empty space is not' BBCS 3 256 6 (cf 14), v
Morris-Jones, WG 350   MlBr *ez eux* MnBr *ez eus* 'is, there is'
occurs very commonly

The form is also used in the Co and Br idiom expressing 'to
have' § 352, 355   Traces of *oes* in a similar construction appear in
MIW   *a-m oes* I have' BBC 97 15   *ny-m oes* 'I have not' RP.
1047 20, *ny-th oes* 'thou hast not' BT 58 6, *ny-s oes* 'he has not'
LlH 12 5, 215 32, v § 349, p 207

§ 479. Etymological explanation of the pres of the root **es-*
1 sg *esmi (cf Skr *ásmi* Gk *εἰμί*) Ir *am* (*a* < *e* in prochsis),
the -*d*- of the conjunct forms has the same origin as W *yd-* etc
§ 478, 2

The Brit forms (W *wyf* etc) are analogical, based on the 2 sg
2 sg *esi (cf Skr *ási* Gk *εἰ*) Ir *a-t* MIW *wy-t* Co *o-s* MlBr
ou-t, *esi > *ei, which is *wy-* in W , but appears in a reduced form
in the other languages To this the 2 sg pron was added, Ir -*t* etc

3 sg *est (cf Lat *est*) this explains the nil-forms Ir *nach, -d.*
*esti or *est is Ir *is* W *ys* **est jo(d)* > MIW *yssyd*, **est (j)o(d)*
> Br *so* W *yw* is from *wy of which the variant form OW -*oi*
is seen in OW *hittoi* 'is' § 478, 2, Co *yu* Br *eo* are similarly met-
athesized forms They are based on the orig 2 sg form, from which
a new 1 sg and 2 sg were fashioned by adding the appropriate
pron , the diphthong *oe-* occurs in MIW *oe-f* 'I am' BBC 50 2
Another variant appears in W *pi-eu* etc § 478, 3 a

The 1 pl goes back to a form *es-mos (by anal with 1 sg)
Ir -*d-em* W *ym*, a suffixed pron appears in Ir *ammi, ammin, -d-an.*
Co *on* MlBr *omp* are probably influenced by the form of the
regular verb

The 2 pl is also based on new formations which are not clear.
Ir *adib* seems to contain the IE 2 pl ending -*te* § 449 + the pron.
*swes (-*b* representing len -*sw*- § 264), the conjunct forms contain
*te only The Brit forms also contain the pers pronoun

3 pl *sent etc , cf Skr s-ánti OW hint may have h- < *s-

§ 480 The Brit. ipf. of the root *es- is built on the 3 sg , except in Co MIW oed Co o Br oa are derived from *esāt, cf Lat erat MIW oed- Br oa- were used as stems for the other persons, the endings of the regular vb being added The other Co forms arose by anal with the regular verb, this analogy went further still in the forms es-e (for *es-o, § 478, 2), a bewe 'which he owned' OM 2393 (pew-e for pew-o MC 207 3, cf MIW pieu-oed)

§ 481 The commonest form used as substantive verb in Ir in the present is -tá sg 1 -táu, -tóo, -tó, 2 -tái, 3 -táa, -tá, pl 1 -taam, 2 -taaid, -táid, 3 -taat It is almost always compounded (1) with a rel preverb i-táu 'in which I am', forsa-taith 'on which you are' Wb 32 a 10, 20 b 6, (2) with the neg ní before an infixed pron ní-t-ta 'thou hast not' 2 b 12, ni-ta cumacc do cháingním "it [the body, corp (masc)] has no ability for well-doing" it is not able to do well' 4 a 6 [with infixed pron 3 sg m], ní-mp-tha fírion 'I am not righteous , ni-m-tha laám 'I am not hand' 8 d 24, 12 a 21, (3) with no before an infixed pron no-m-thá which I have' 13 c 10, (4) otherwise regularly with a preverb at- sg 1 attóo, 2 attái, 3 attá, pl 1 attaam, 2 attaaid, 3 attaat

Further uses (a) -tá is compounded with the conjunction ó 'since, from' which otherwise is never a preverb ó-thá quod si 'from where quod si is Wb 15 a 22, o tú sund since I have been here' LU 2985 (MII1 o tú may be a contraction of *o attú), (b) with ol 'than' (after a comparative), the 3 pers having a suffixed rel pron (sg oldaas, oldoas Thes II 10 10, pl oldáte), which shows that orig a simple form of -tá followed ol, later oldaas was used as a simple conjunction moa   oldaas do-n-tlucham 'more than we ask it' Wb 21 d 9, in Ml indaas 135 a 13, pl indate 92 d 6

The verb is not compounded (a) in the 3 sg with suffixed pron taith-iunn 'we have', etc § 343, (β) in the impersonal passive form (used relatively, with init eclipsis) dathar '(which) ails' is hed dathar dom 'this is why they are (lit "one is") angry with me' Wb 21 c 9 (in perf pass is hed ro-m-both dossom 'this is why they were angry with him' 19 a 9)

Note The form -ta belongs to the IE root *sthā (Lat stāre) Its cognate seems to be W taw 'that it is , still used (as a conjunction) in SW to introduce a dependent sentence for the more usual form mai Examples mi   a dywedwn y taw ti oed bown v p 230, note, tybiwyd taw ti oedd

21 *

Fedrod 'it was thought that thou wert M' IGE ꞏ 233 18, cf Salesbury, New Test Matth XVI [14] *taw*, as v L for *mae*, also OW (Juv) *ussit padiu iau gulat* ("it is to whom is lordship") gl est cui regia, v KB 4 396

The verb *-tá* rarely occurs in proper rel sents and rel sentences with *-n-*, never comes after the neg except with an infixed pron, and is never used with the conjunctions *ma, cia, co n-*

§ 482 Where *-tá* is rarely or never used, *fil* (*feil, fel,* MIIr *fail, fuil*) occurs, this was orig a transitive imperative meaning 'behold!' (Sarauw, RC 17 276) Its rel forms are *file, fil,* with 3 pl objective pron *filus* 'they are' OIr exx *coisnimi file lib-si* 'contentions that are among you' Wb 7 d 13, *amal file óentd eter baullu coirp duini* 'as there is unity among the members of a man's body' 12 b 12, *ma nu-d-fel in spirut nóib indium-sa* 'if there is the Holy Spirit in me' 11c 1, *ni fil linn in bées so* 'we have not this custom' 11c 21

In MIIr *fil* occurs very frequently in answers, this is due to the repetition in the answer of the verb of the question The subjectless and transitive character of the verb gradually became obscure, in MIIr a 3 pl *filet* arose, in MnIr a complete tense, used for *tá* after a syntactic preverb *fuilim, fuilir* etc

§ 483 Another transitive verb used as substantive verb is OIr *dicoisin* which seems to have a nuance of emphatic assertion It occurs four times in OIr *arnab uilib cumactib dichoissin i nim et talam* 'for all powers which exist in heaven and earth' Wb 21a 13, *amal do-n-coisin* 'as we (actually) are' 17b 10, also Ml 108c 14, Sg 209b 29 In MIIr a 3 pl was formed, *dochuisneat*

From *di-coisin* is derived the vb 2 sg *-dixnigther*, 3 sg *-dixnigedar* (also as simple rel *dixnigedar* Wb 4c 24), 3 pl rel *dixnigetar*, which has the same nuance

§ 484 The form *ro-n-gabus* "I have taken it", "I have it", 'I am' is used as a synonym of the verb 'to be', v § 340 n 2, 3 sg *ro-n-gab, ro-n-d-gab,* 3 pl *ro-n-gabsat* It occurs in eclipsing rel sentences, mostly after *amal* 'as'

Finally, the pret of *in-com-* + *icc-* is so used *cindas persine at-tot-chomnicc* 'what sort of person art thou?' "has befallen thee" Wb 6b 13, MIIr *Setanta mac Sualtaim atom-chomnaic-se* 'I am S mac S' LU 4892

§ 485. Paradigm of the forms of the root *bheu-, *bhwi-

Pres.[1]	Ir simp	Ir conj	MIW	Co	MlBr
Sg 1	bíuu	-bíu	bydaf	bethaf	bezaff
2		-bí	bydy	bethyth	bezez
3	bíid	-bí	byd	beth, byth	bez
Pl 1	bímmi	-biam	bydwn	bethyn	
2			bydwch	bytheugh	
3	búit	-biat	bydant	bethons	bezont

Amalgamated forms in Ir 3 sg , 1 pl and 3 pl relative *bûs,* *bímme,* *bíte* Enclitic 3 sg -*ru-b(a)i* As copula -*bi,* -*pi (ni-pi cían a masse in choirp* 'not for long is the beauty of the body' Wb 28 c 25)

Archaic MIW forms with fut meaning 1 sg *bydif* BT 57 12, 3 sg *bydawt, bydhawt, bythawt,* 3 pl *bydawnt,* also *bwyant* BBC 46 2, BT 44 10, 3 sg *bi* RP 577 15, *biawt* 581 14 The 3 sg *bit* often occurs in the sense 'is wont to be', cf RP 1030 Cf Lloyd-Jones, Geirfa 63 f

The **Ipf.** is regular Ir sg 1 -*búnn,* 3 -*búth,* pl 1 -*bímmis,* 3 -*bítis* (there are no copula forms), MlW *bydwn* etc , Co sg 1 *bethen* (Beun Mer 1731), 3 *bethe, betha,* MlBr 3 sg *beze* (Barbe 727), MnBr *bezen* etc (Vallée 156) Archaic MlW forms 3 sg *buci* RP 1045 23, *buiad* BBC 50 17, *bwyat* RP 1048 3, *oydat* 1038 15 (for the termination v § 445 n 3), 3 pl *buyint* BBC 96 2, *bwyn* (disyll) RP 1038 7, v Lloyd-Jones, Geirfa 65

Ipv	Ir	MlW	Co	MlBr
Sg 2	bí	byd	byth, beth	bez
3	bíid, bíth	bit, boet, poet	bethens	bezet
Pl 1		bydwn	bethen	bezomp
2	bíid, bíth	bydwch	bethough	bezet, bezit, bet
3	bíat	bint	bethens	bezent, bent

Copula forms in Ir sg 2 *ba,* 3 *bed, bad,* pl 1 *baán, ban,* 2 *bed, bad,* 3 *bat*

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[1] In Ir W and MlBr praesens consuetudinale, in W and Co fut

Subj. Pres.	Ir simp	Ir conj	MlW	Co	MlBr
Sg 1	beo, beu	-béo	bwyf	byf, beyf	beziff, biziff
2	bee		bych	by, bey	bezy, bizy
3	beid	-bé	bo	bo	bezo
Pl 1	bemmi	-bem	bom	byyn, beyn	bezimp, bizimp
2	bethe	-beid	boch	byugh, beugh	bizhyt, bezot
3	beit	-bet	bont	bons, byns	bezint, bizint

Ir rel forms 3 sg *bess*, 3 pl *bete* Enclitic forms 3 sg *-roi-b*, pl 1 *-ro-bam*, 2 *-ro-bid*, 3 *-ro-bat* Copula forms sg 1 *ba, -ba*, 2 *ba, -ba*, 3 *ba, -b, -p* (*condi-b, indi-b, arndi-p*), *-bo, -bu* (*ro-po, co-r-bu, ni-bo*), rel *bes, bas*, pl 1 *-ban* (*comman* 'that we may be' Wb 31c 11), 2 *bede, -bad*, 3 *-bat*, rel *bete, beta, bata* — Archaic forms in W sg 2 *bwyr* § 467, 3 sg OW *boi* (BBCS 3 256 12, cf 266f, where OW *hau-boi* gl erit is cited and also *piou-boi* 'may possess' BBCS 6 206 8 2, MlW *pieu-fo*), *boit* (BBCS 5 246 27, *hou boit* 'if it be') MlW *boet* ZCP 20 55 21, 3 pl MlW *boent* ZCP 20 76 1, *bwynt* BT 5 15 The pres subj is also formed with the pres stem MlW *bydwyf, bythwyf* MnW *byddwyf* etc , cf the Br forms — MlBr pl 1 *bihomp*, 2 *bihet* (with the plpf stem)

Subj Ipf.	Ir	MlW	Co	MlBr
Sg 1	-beinn	bewn	ben	benn
2	-betha	beut	bes	bes
3	-beth	bei	be	be
Pl 1	-bemmis	beym	ben	bemp
2	-bethe		beugh	bech
3	-betis	beynt	bens	bent

Ir enclitic form 3 sg *-ro-bad* Copula sg 1 *-benn, -bin*, 2 *-ptha*, 3 *bed, bad, bid, -bed, -bad*, pl 1 *bemmis, bimmis, -bimmis*, 3 *betis, bitis, -btis* (*ar-dis* 'that they might be' Wb 4a 10, *com-tis* 'so that they might be' 10d 33) — Forms with the pres stem in W MlW sg 1 *bydwn, bythwn*, 2 *bydut*, 3 *bydei, bythei*, pl 1 *bydem*, 3 *bydent* MnW *bawn, baut* (*bait*), *bai, baem, baech, baent*, also *byddwn, byddit*, etc

Fut. and Condit.	(Ir)	Fut simp	Fut conj	Condit
Sg 1		*bia*		*-beinn*
2		*bie*		
3		*bieid, bied*	*-bia*	*-biad .*
Pl 1		*bemmi*	*-biam*	*-bemmis*
2		*bethe*	*-bieid, -bied*	
3		*bieit, biet*	*-biat*	*-betis*

Rel forms fut 3 sg *bias,* pl *bete* Copula fut sg 1 *be,* 2 *be,*
-ba, 3 *bid, -ba,* rel *bes, bas,* pl 1 *bimmi, bemmi, bami,* 3 *bit, -bat,*
rel *beta, bat,* cond sg 3 *bed, -pad, -bad,* pl 3 *betis, -ptis (ro-m-dis*
'that they would be' Ml 48d 12) For use with *ro-* v § 421

Pret.	Ir		MlW	Co	MlBr
	simp	conj			
Sg 1	*bá*	*-bá*	*buum bum*	*buf, buef, bif*	*biof, biouf*
2	*bá*	*-bá*	*buost*	*bus, bues, bes*	*biout, biot*
3	*bói, bái*	*-bói*	*bu*	*bue, be*	*boe*
Pl 1		*-bámmar*	*buam, buom*	*buen, ben*	*biomp*
2		*-baid*	*buawch*	*bugh, beugh*	*bioch*
3	*bátar*	*-bátar*	*buant, buont*	*bons*	*biont*

Amalgamated forms in Ir rel 3 sg *bóie,* with suffixed pron
Mllr *boithus, boithius* 'they had' § 343 Enclitic forms sg 1 *-ro-ba,*
3 *-ro-be, -ra-be,* pl 1 *-ro-bammar,* 2 *-ro-baid,* 3 *-ro-batar, -ra-batar*
Copula sg 1 *ba-sa, -p-sa* (in eclipsing sentences, *-sa* or nil *du-*
rumenar ro-m-sa dia 7 ro-m bithbéu 'I thought that I was a god and
that I was immortal' Ml 49b 13), 2 *intun ro-p-sa* Wi 127 23,
huare ro-m-sa 'since thou wast' Ml 96d 1 Mllr *ro-p-sa-t, na-r-b-*
sa-t, ni-r-sa-t (Vendryes, RC 33 388) 3 *ba, -bo, -bu, -po, pu,* pl 1
-bommar, -bummar, 3 *-ptar, -btar (a rru-m-tar* when they have been'
Ml 34d 10) — In MnBr a new tense has been modelled on the
3 sg by anal with the ipf *(b)oen, (b)oes* etc — The MlW form
buuf in *pir wuuf* '*'that I have been' BBC 22 12 is obscure

Pluperf.	MlW	Co	MlBr
Sg 1	*buassun*	*byen*	*bihenn*
2	*buassut*	*byes*	*bihes*
3	*buassei, byssei*	*bye*	*bihe, bye, bise*
Pl 1	(MnW *buasem*)	*byen*	*bihemp*
2	(MnW *buasech*)	*byeugh*	*bihech*
3	*buassynt, buessynt*		*bihent, bisent*

Impers. pass.	Ir		MlW	Co	MlBr
Pres Ind	*bíthır*	*-bíther*	(MnW *byddır*)		*bezer*
Ipf Ind			*bydıt*		(MnBr *bezed*)
Subj Pres	*bethır*	*-bether*	*byther*	*bether*	*bezher, bıher*
					(RC 32 75)
Subj Ipf			*bythıt*		
Pret	*botha*	*-both*	*buwyt*		(MnBr *(b)oed*)
Plpf			(MnW *buasıd*)		

Nominal forms. Participle MlBr *bezet, bet* Gerundive Ir *buıthı.* Inf Ir *buıth (both, beıth, bıth)*, MlW *bot*, Co *bos* (re-formed *bones*), MlBr *bout* (re-formed *bezout, bezaff*)

§ 486. Etym. explanation of the forms of the root *bheu-* The endings have already been discussed in the sections dealing with the other verbs The stem MlW *byd-* Co *beth-* MlBr *bez-* goes back to be form *bhuıje-*, MlW and MlBr *bı-* to *bhwī-*

Compounds of the verb 'to be'

§ 487. Preverb-compounds The root *es-* occurs only in Brit in the pres , Ir has in the pres cpds with *-tá*, rarely *-fıl*, and also the two forms *-bí, -ben* related to the root *bheu-* The pres form *-ben* is confused with *ben-* 'strike' and *fen-* 'wind' Provection is common in W subj forms (*-f- > -ff-, -b- > -p-*), this is analogical, cf § 453 n 1

(1) With W *ad-* (= Ir *aıth-*) OW *hatbıd* 'will pass away' (Ifor Williams, BBCS 3 271), MlW *atvyd* 'will be', *aduıt*, ipf *atueı*, subj *atvo* (Henry Lewis, Delw y Byd 129), vn *adfod* The original meaning of the preverb ('again' ?) is very much obscured

(2) With *ar* Ir *aı-ta* gl restat Thes II 44 4, *ar-táa* 'survives' Sg 215 b 4, rel *ar-tha cıúnn* (reete *ar-thá cıunn*) 'which is before' Ml 132 a 3, *ar-thá, ar-a-thá* Wb 30 d 13, 10 b 3, *hóre ar-un-táa* 'because it remains for us', *ar-a-dthaat* gl quae maneant Ml 128 d 16, *ar-a-bí* 'which is left' Sg 58 b 7, ipf 3 pl *ar-a-bıtıs* gl quae instabant Ml 43 d 15, *ar-ro-be* 'it has been ensuing' Wb 27 d 13 — MlW *cyf-ar-fot* 'to meet', pres 3 sg *cyf-er-yw, cyf-er-fyd*, subj *cyf-ar-ffo*, 3 pl *cyf-er-ffynt* etc — MlW *d-ar-fot* 'to happen, to end', pres 3 sg *d-er-yw, d-er-w*, ipf *d-ar-oed*, pres (fut) *d-er-fyd*, subj *d-ar-ffo*, subj ipf *d-ar-ffeı*, pret *d-ar-fu*, Co pret *d-ar-fe, d-ar-fa* Beun Mer 3727, 1868, MnBr *d-ar-vout d-ar-vezout* 'to take place', MlBr

dareu, dare (= MlW *deryw*) has become an adjective 'ready, cooked' (whence the participle *darevet* 'cooked'), MnBr. *dare(v)* 'ready, cooked', vn *darein*

Note 1. The preverb is obscured, probably through confusion with a verbal root (cf Loth, RC 40, 373 f , Henry Lewis, BBCS 4 136 f), in Co *whar-fos* 'to happen', pres 3 sg *whyr-vyth, whyr-feth*, subj pres *whar-fo*, pret *whar-fe*, part *whar-fethys, whyr-fys* (remodelled forms by anal with the regular verb pret 3 sg *whyrys* RD 1190, plpf *wharse* MC 132 4, part *werys* Beun Mer 1412, MlBr *hoar-uout*, pres 3 sg *hoar-vez*, subj *hoar-uezo* subj 1pf *hoar-f(f)e, hoar-f(f)he*, pret *hoar-voe*, part *hoar-vezet*

(3) With Ir *cét-, cita-* Ir *intan cita-m-bí* 'when it feels' Ml 36b 1, 3 pl *cita-biat* 22 d 7, 1pf 1 sg *ceta binn* Wb 12c 8, subj 3 sg *cita-bé* Ml 68d 15, subj 1pf 1 sg *cita-m-bénn* 44c 15, 3 pl *cita-m-betis* 29c 13, pret 1 sg *cita-ro-ba-sa* 44 b 22, vn *cét-buid* 'feeling, sense', MlIr *cétfaid* MlW *can-fot* 'perceive', pres sg 1 *ca(n)nh-wyf*, 3 *cenn(h)-yw*, pl 3 *cennh-ynt* LlH 277 11, 1pf *canh-oed*, pret *can-vu* — MlW *ar-gan-fot*, subj 3 sg *ar-gan-ffo* OBr *er-cent-bidi-te* gl notabis, agnosces — Ir *lase ɔ-ᶦcéit-bani* 'when thou consentest' Wb 1c 9, *co-t-chét-banam* 'we consent to it' 15c 21, vn *com-chét-buid* 'consent'

(4) With Ir *dí di-tá* 'it differs' Ml 120a 6, *ní di-thút* 'they are not apart' 113a 2, *di-taam ni* gl distamus 117b 9, vn *de-buith, de-buid* 'strife'

(5) With Ir *ess-* MlIr *aran-ᶦes-bat* 'in whom (some limbs) are lacking' LU 2554, vn *es-baid* MnIr *easbhaidh* 'want, deficiency' — OIr *do-es-ta* 'is wanting', *t-es-ta*, frequently with infixed *-d-, du d-es-ta*, 3 pl *t-es-banat*, pres perf 3 sg *manid-t-es-ar-bi ní* 'if nothing has been wanting' Wb 28d 31, pret 3 sg *t-es-ar-ba*, vn *tesbuith* MlIr *tesbaid*

(6) With Ir *etar-* MlIr *aní etar-bí fiachu etar-bí comlaidre* Cáin Adamnáin § 47 (paraphrased by K Meyer 'such as the fine was such shall be that of accomplices', lit *etar-bí* with acc may mean 'corresponds to, is equivalent to', v M A O'Brien, Ériu 11 161), condit sg 3 *etar-bíad* LU 4993f

(7) With Ir *for-*, W *gor-* MlIr *fordotá* 'on thee is' (*for-dot-tá*) LU 10007, *for-bí* Ériu 7 166 § 2, Monast Tall 128 7, subj sg 3 *for-bé* 148 19, *con-ad-fuirb* (for *con-id-fuirb*) ZCP 14 391, *for-rai-b* Monast Tall 130 13, *dia for-rai-b* Salt 3919, *for-bíad a ainm Herind* 'his name would be on Ireland' LU 5063 MlW *gor-fot* 'to overcome', pres sg 2 *gor-wytt* LlH 277, 3, pres (fut) sg 1 *gor-uydaf*, 3 *gor-*

vyd, subj sg 3 *gor-ffo, gor-po*, pret *gor-fu*, impers subj pres *gorffer* (by anal with the regular vb)

    With Ir *to-for-* to come on' Pres sg 3 *du-fór-ban* Ml 61a 22, subj pl 1 *du-nd-ór-biam* 'that we may reach' gl peruenire 105b 6, pl 3 *do-fór-biat* 27a 10, pret sg 1 *ní ru-thór-ba-sa* 'I arrived not' 44b 29, sg 3 *an-do-r-ór-pai* gl veniens Sg 196b 8, pl 3 *hí ro-thorbatar* 'at which they arrived' Ml 44b 29, pass subj ipf *du-for-baithe* gl ucnirctur 31c 11 — MlW pres sg 3 *dy-m-gor-yw* 'overcomes me' LlH 24 16, fut *di-gor-bit /də-or-vyd/* BBC 52 14, *dy-wor-pi* RP 585 18, pret *dy-gor-fu* BT 16 19, *dy- + ym- + gor-* pres (fut) 3 sg *di-m-gor-bit /dəmorvyd/* BBC 27 3 — Cf Lat *super-sum*

    (8) With Ir *fris-* Ir *fris-ben* 'heals', subj *fris-m-bia*, fut *fris-bia*, part *nephrepthae* gl inmedicabile Ml 58a 17, vn *frebaid*, gen *freptha* (whence the vb *frephtanaig- a-rru-freptanaigthiisiur*, to be read *-frepthanaigsiur* 'when I had healed' Ml 103a 6)

    (9) With MlW *han* (also *han-d-*) MlW *han-fot* 'to be from, to come', pres sg 1 *han-wyf, han-d-wyf, hen-wyf* (with umlaut from 3 sg and the pl), *and-wyf* BA 15 22 (*anth-uim* 36 4, with OW orthography), 2 *han-wyt, han-d-wyt, hen-wyt*, 3 *hen-yw* (also *han-d-it*), pl 1 *han-d-ym, hen-ym*, 3 *hen-ynt*, ipf sg 2 *han-d-oetud*, 3 *han-oed, han-d-oed*, pl 3 *han-hoedynt*, pres (fut) sg 2 *hen-bydy*, 3 *han-byd, hen-byd*, subj sg 1 *han-bwyf*, 2 OW *an-buc guell* gl aue (MnW *henffych well*) MlW *han-pych, han-bych*, 3 *han-ffo*, pl 3 *han-fu ynt* The vn *hani* occurs in the 13th cent Peniarth MS 44, p 65, *hanu* is still in use MnW ipf 3 sg *hanai, hanoedd* (for which *hanodd* also occurs) — MlBr *am-bout, ham-bout, hanbout* 'condition, state'

    (Cfr Skr *sam-bharati* 'comes from'

    (10) With Ir *oc-* Ir pres *nícon-r-ocmi* 'it cannot touch' Ml 76a 12, fut 3 pl *ocu-biat* 126b 12, pass pres 3 pl *ocu-bendar*, nad *ocmanatar* 54a 12 vn (g) *ocmaide* 39a 10

    (11) With *remi-* *remi-taat* 'they are before' Wb 25c 15, subj sg 3 rel *rem-e-be* Ériu 7 158 § 19,195

    (12) With *ro-* Ir *to-ro-ben-* (perhaps partially taken as *to-forfen-*) 'to profit' pres 3 sg *do-ro-r-ban* 'can profit' Ml 62a 20, *ní tor-ban* Wb 12b 32, pl 3 *du-ro-r-banat* Ml 43b 5, *an-nad-tor-banat* 'when they are not profitable' Thes II 29 35, fut 3 pl *du-nd-ór-biat* gl mortalibus profuturos Ml 120d 14, pret *do-ro-r-bai* 123d 5, vn *torbe* neut 'profit'

Note 2. For *du-fór-ban* 'it comes' v (7) For the simple vb *torb-* 'to perturb, confuse' (= W *tyrfu* 'to make a noise', *cynhyrfu* 'to disturb') v Michael A O'Brien, Ériu 11 91, Plummer, Ériu 9 32 erroneously treats it as a cpd A different word is *taurbaid, turbaid* SM , W₁ 97, 11, pl *tirbithi* Wb 14d 13 'exemption, a circumstance which hinders something' (*to air-ro- + buith*)

Ir *di-ro-* + *ben-* pres *ni de-r-ban* 'hinders not' Thes II 294 1, subj sg 3 *manid-derba* 'if it does not hinder him' Ériu 7 148 § 7, fut sg 1 *do-ro-r-biu sa* ZCP 3 246 18

Cf Lat *prō-sum*

(13) With Ir *to-* Ir *do-fil* 'is at hand' Wb 4d 29 — MIW *dy-fot* 'come', pres (fut) sg 1 *dy-bydaf*, 3 *dy-byd, dy-vyd, dy-bydhawt, dy-bi, dy-vi dy-pi*, pl 3 *dy-bydant*, subj pres sg 1 *dy-bwyf*, 3 *dy-vo, dy-ffo, dy-ppo*, pl 3 *dy-ffont*, ipf sg 3 *dy-bei, dy-fei, dy-ffei*, pret sg 2 *dy-vuost*, 3 *dy-bu, dy-vu*, pl 3 *dy-vuant, dy-buant*, impers pass subj pres *dyffer* WM 483 2 Co subj pres sg 1 *dyffyf*, 2 *dyffy*, 3 *dyffo, deffo*, pl 1 *deffyn*, 2 *dyffough*, 3 *dyffons, deffons*, subj ipf sg 1 *deffen*, 2 *deffes*, 3 *deffe, deffa*, pl 3 *deffens*, pret sg 3 *deve, dufe, dufa*, part *devethys dyvythys*, vn *devos, devones* The other forms of the vb contain the root **ag'-*

§ 488 Compounds of the verb 'to be' with another verbal stem occur only in Brit

(1) MIW (archaic) pres sg 3 *deu-byd, deu-bi, deu-pi* 'will come', subj pres sg 3 *deu-po*, pret sg 3 *deu-bu* The form *deu-* contains the verbal root **ag'-*

(2) The verb 'to know' MIW consuet pres and fut sg 1 *gwy-bydaf* etc (archaic 3 sg *gwy-bi*), ipv sg 2 *gwy-byd*, 3 *gwy-bydet, gwypet*, pl 3 *gwy-bydent, gwypent*, subj pres sg 1 *gwy-pwyf*, 3 *gwy-po, gwy-pwy*, ipf sg 1 *gwy-pwn, gwy-bydwn*, 3 pl *gwy-pynt*, pret sg 1 *gwy-buum*, plpf *gwy-buasswn*, impers pass pres *gwy-bydir*, ipv *gwy-byder* subj pres *gwy-per*, pret *gwy-buwyt*, vb nn *gwy-bot* — Co pres (fut) sg 3 *goth-vyth, a wovyth*, pl 2 *goth-vedough, goth-fetheugh*, ipv sg 2 *goth-feth*, pl 2 *goth-vetheugh*, subj pres sg 2 *goth-fy*, 3 *goth-fo*, pl 2 *goth-fough*, 3 *goth-fons*, ipf sg 1 *goth-fen*, 2 *goth-fes*, 3 *goth-fe, re-woffe*, plpf *a woth-fye*, part *goth-vethys*, vb nn *goth-vos, go-vos* — MIBr consuet pres sg 1 *gouezaff* (Nonne 848), ipv sg 2 *gouz-uez, gou-uez*, pl 2 *gouz-uezet, gou-uezet*, subj pres sg 1 *gouizyff*, 2 *gouz-uezy, gou-fezy*, 3 *gouz-uezo*, pl 1 *gouezhimp*, 2 (with plpf stem) *gouz-uihet, gou-viet*, subj ipf sg 1 *gouffen*, 3 *gouffe, goffe*, pl 1 *goufhemp*, impers

pass subj pres *gouz-uezher*, ipf *gouffet*, part *gouz-uezet, gouezet*;
vb nn *gouz-uout, gouzout*

The other forms pres MlW *gwnn* Co *gon* MlBr *gounn*, ipf
MlW *gwydwn, gwydywn* Co *gothyen* MlBr *gouzyenn*

(3) The verb 'to know, to be acquainted with' The pres.
proper is in MlW 1 sg *adwaen* (ipf *adwaenwn*), Co 3 sg *aswon*
Difficult forms are Co *me annabow dyougel* 'I know certainly'
RD 2120 (Loth, RC 23 286 will read *me an avow* 'I avow it', but
this cutting of the knot is too arbitrary), MlBr pres sg 1 *aznauaff*,
2 *esneuez* (*-eu-* = /ew/) Barbe 448, 3 *ezneu*, ipv sg 2 *ezneou* RC
8 88 7, pl 2 *ezneuet* (*-eu-* = /-ew-/) Barbe 470

Forms compounded with **bheu-* MlW consuet pres and fut
sg 1 *adna-bydaf*, 3 *adne-byd, edne-byd*, ipv sg 2 *adne-byd, edne-
byd*, subj pres sg 1 *adna-pwyf*, 3 *adna-po*, etc , ipf sg 1 *adna-
pwn, adna-bydwn*, 3 pl *etne-pynt* (RC 33 189 2), pret *adna-buum*
etc , plpf *adna-buasswn*, impers pass pres *adna-bydir*, subj pres
adna-per, ipf *adne-pit*, vb nn *adna-bot* — Co pres (fut) sg 3 *ana-
fyth*, vb nn *aswon-vos, aswon-fos* — MlBr subj pres sg 3 *azna-
uezo, anna-uezo*, 2 pl (with plpf stem) *azna-vihet*, subj ipf 3 sg
azna-ffe, pret 3 sg *azna-voe*, part *azna-vezet*, vb nn *azna-uout,
azna-out*

The stem W *ad-na-* etc goes back to **ati-g'na-*, a different
form of the root appears in OW *hep am-gnau-bot* gl sine mente

(4) The vb 'to hear' is compounded with the verb 'to be' in
MlW in the vb nn *cly-bot* (pres *clyw-af* etc), cf also the impers
pass pret *clywysbwyt, clywspwyt* v § 467 n 5 Co pres (fut) sg 3
clew-fyth, cleu-fyth, clewyth, subj sg 1 *clew-fyf*, 3 *clew-fo* The
other forms are not compounded

(5) MlW *ni-m dor-bi* 'it will not interest me' BBC 60 8 (pres
ny-m dawr), MlBr ipf (conditional) *deur-fe*, pret *deur-foe*, vb nn
deur-uout (pres *ne-m deur*)

(6) Co pres (fut) sg 1 *tal-uethaf* 'I shall pay', 3 *tal-vyth*,
subj ipf 3 pl *tal-fens* 'they would be worth' MlBr *tal-uout* 'to
be worth', MnBr *tal-vezo* 'will be worth'

(7) In Co only *pren-vyth* 'will buy' MC 155, *car-uyth* 'will
love', *gwyl-vyth* 'will see'

(8) In Br only MnBr *fal-vezout, fallout* 'falloir', subj 3 sg
fal-vezo, pret 3 sg *fal-vezaz*, part *fal-vezet* See further Ernault,
RC 11 465f

Full paradigms of the other verbs.

§ 489. Most verbs with pres -*ā*- or -*ī*-stems are regular in Ir , they have an -*ā*-subj , a -*b*-fut , an -*s*-preterite All verbs with other pres stems (including some -*ā*- and -*ī*-stems, e g *carid* 'loves', *do-gní* 'does') arc irregular, and no general rule can be given as to the subj , fut , pret corresponding to a given present Verbs whose root ends in a dental or back consonant alone have an -*s*-subj and an -*s*-fut , the -*t*-pret is found only when the root ends in a back cons or a sonant, the -*ā*-fut with compensatory lengthening instead of reduplication [-*béra*] chiefly (not entirely) in OIr when the root ends in -*r*-, -*l*-, -*m*- Certain present-forming elements do not occur outside the pres in the irregular verbs (-*n*- § 446, -*i*- cf § 452 n 1, -*sk*- as in Lat *discō*, pret *didicī*, v under *nasc*- but in other verbs -*sk*- has become fixed throughout the paradigm) Many verbs have a paradigm containing different roots (supplementary verbs, e g *tiagu* 'I go' *regaid* 'will go', *luid* 'went', *docoid* 'has gone') Irregularities have been increased by the preverb system and by enclisis

In Brit irregular inflections have mostly disappeared, the -*ā*-subj (with -*h*- taken from the -*s*-subj) and the -*s*-pret have been taken over by almost all verbs There are no present-forming elements (in *prynu* 'to buy', for example, the -*n*- has become fixed throughout) The vast majority of Brit verbs are therefore regular, the Brit irregular verbs can be conveniently treated in the following list in notes appended to the Ir forms

For the sake of economy references are omitted in this list except in the case of forms not found in VKG , and the forms are classified as follows present tense I, ipf II, ipv III, subj pres IV, subj ipf V, fut VI, cond VII, pret VIII, part IX, inf or vb nn X, singular S, plural P, relative r , passive p (thus I S 3 r denotes "present singular third person relative form") Conjunct forms are preceded by a hyphen (thus -*beir*, -*tabir*) Further, we have omitted many forms and many verbs which did not seem to us to present any practical difficulty or great theoretical importance, especially when we have nothing to add to VKG We have done so reluctantly, and therefore no doubt inconsistently, paying more attention to the flexional forms than to the preverbs

List of verbs.

§ 490. *ador-* 'worship' IS 1 *-adraim*, 3 r *adras*, II P 3 *adordais*, III P 3 *adrat*, IV S p *-adraither*, V S 3 *ad-r-odar* (leg *-orad*), VI S 3 *ad-n-orfa, -adrafa*, VIII S 3 (with obj) *at-r-or*, P 3 *ad-r-orsat*, X *adrad*, gen *adartha*

Lat borr, sometimes treated as Ir compound, W *addoli* Br *azeuli*

§ 491 *ag-* 'drive, lead' I S 3 r *aiges*, p *agair*, p r *agar*, P 3 *agait*, III S 2 *aig*, P 3 *agat*, V S p *ro-hagtha*, VI S 3 *eblaid*, r *eblas*, P 3 *eblait* (v Misc KM 62ff, ZCP 13 107, IF 38 194ff), VIII S 3 *-acht*, X *áin*, gen *ána, áne*, also *aige*

Compounds (1) With *ad-* I S 3 *a-tob-aig (-aich)*, VI S 3 *a-tan-ebla* (Misc KM 63), VIII P 3 *ad-achtatar*

(2) With *di-* VII S 3 *di-eblad* K Meyer, Alteste ir Dichtung II 22

(3) With *imb-* I S 3 *im-d⟨a⟩-aig*, P 3 *im-id-ágat*, IV S 2 *im-aga*, VIII S 3 *imm-act, immo-m-r-acht* (Ériu 2 102 § 11), X MlIr *imm-áin* MnIr *iománaim* 'I drive'

With *to-imb-* VIII P 3 *-t-im-achtatár* LU 5828, X *tim-máin* MnIr *t-iománaim* 'I drive'

(4) With *ind-* III S 2 *ind-aig*, P 2 *in-agid*

(5) With *to-* III S 2 *aigh taig* 'go and come back', P 2 *inagid tagid*, IV S 2 *t-aga*, VIII S 3 *do-acht*, X *t-áin*

Note 1 The corresponding Brit forms are mostly intransitive (a) OW *agit, hegit, egid* (/ *d*/) 'goes' MlW I *af, ey* (MnW *ei*), *a* (archaic *eyt*), *awn, ewch, ant*, II *aum, aut* (MnW *ait*), *aei* (MnW *âi*), *aem*, MnW *aech, eynt* (MnW *aent*), III S 2 *dos*, 3 *aet*, P *awm, ewch, aent*, IV *el(h)wyf, el(h)ych, el, el(h)om* etc (MnW without *-h*, 3 sg *êl, elo*), V *el(h)wn*, etc (MnW without *-h-*), VIII S 1 *eithum, euthum*, 2 *aethost*, 3 *aeth* (arch *eithyt* § 460 n 1c), P *aeth-am, -awch, -ant* or *ont* (perfect S 1 *ath-wyf, ad wyf*, also *eth-, ed*, 2 *ath wyt, ad-wyt*, 3 *eth yw, ed-yw*, P 1 *eth-ym*, 3 *eth-ynt, ed-ynt*); pluperf S 1 *ath-oedum*, 3 *ath oed, ad-oed* P 3 *aeth-oedynt, ath oedynt* (MnW *aethum, aethit*, etc), impers pass I *eir*, II *eit*, IV *el(h)er*, V *el(h)it*, VIII *aeth-pwyt*, X *mynet* The pres subj forms S 3 *aho*, P 3 *ahont, aon* occur with fut meaning (RM 140 16, BT 17 6, BBC 26 2) — Co I *af, eth, a, en, eugh (egh)*, II S 1 *en*, 3 *e, ee*, P 3 *ens*, III S 2 *ke* (a Beun Mer 2022), 3 *ens*, P 2 *eugh* (MnCo *kewgh*), 3 *ens*, IV *yllyf, ylly, ello (ella), yllyn, yllough (ylleugh* OM 1587), V S 1 *ellen*, 3 *elle*, P 1 *ellen*, 3 *ellens*, VIII *yth, ythys, eth*, P 2 *etheugh*, 3 *edons* (perf S 1 *galsof*, 2 *galsos*, 3 *gallas, galles*, P 3 *galsons* v § 460 n 2), plpf S 3 *galse*, IX *gyllys*, X *mones, monas, mos, moys* — MlBr I *aff, ez, a, eomp, et (aet), eont*, II S 1 *aenn*, 3 *ae, yea*, P 1 *aemp*, III S 2 *que, quae* (MnBr *ke kea*), 3 *aet*, P 1 *eomp*, 2 *it, et* (MnBr

kit also), IV *iff, y, ay, a(h)imp, eheut (ehet), ahint* (also S 3 *a y-el, a y-elo*),
V S 1 *ahenn,* 3 *ahe,* P 2 *ahech,* VIII S 1 *yz,* 3 *aez, eaz,* P 1 *ezomp,* 3 *ezont*
(v RC 32 81ª, MnBr 1 *iz,* 2 *eyoud,* 3 *eaz*), plpf S 2 *azes,* P 3 *azyent,*
IX *aet, eat,* X *monet, mont* — In Co and MlBr the same particle appears
before this verb as before 'to bo' § 478, 2 Co *es eth* 'thou wilt go', *mara-s aff*
if I go', *ny ns-a* 'he goes not , *re g-eth, re-s-eth* has gone , MlBr *mar-d-eomp*
'if we go', *ne-d-ahenn* I should not go' Cf also § 150

 (b) MlW I *d-euaf (doaf)* I come', *deuy (doy,* arch *doit* — /*doyf*/ BBC
102 1), *daw, deuum (doum), deuwch (dowch), deuant (doant)*, II S 1 *deuwn,
down,* 2 *deuut, dout,* 3 *deuei, doei,* P 3 *deuynt, doynt,* III S 2 *dyret, dabre*
(now *tyred, tyrd,* dial *dere, tyd*), 3 *deuet, doet,* P 1 *down,* 2 *dowch, dewch,*
3 *deuent, doent,* IV *del(h)wyf,* etc , like *el(h)wyf,* V *del(h)wn* etc (P 2 *del-
ewch* RM 137, 21), VIII *deuthum (doethum), deuthost (doethost), deuth (doeth),
doetham, doethawch (-och), deuthant (doeth-ant, ont),* perf S 1 *doth-wyf, dod-
wyf,* 2 *doth wyt, dod-wyt,* 3 *doeth-yw (doth , dod , ded-),* P 1 *dod ym,* 2 *dod-
ywch (doeth ywch),* 3 *dod ynt, deth ynt,* plpf S 1 *dath-oedwn,* 3 *doeth oed
(doth-, dath-),* P 3 *doeth-oedynt (doth),* MnW *doethun, doethut,* etc , impers
pass II *deuit,* VIII *deuth pwyt (doeth-),* X *dyrot* For *dy-byiaf* etc v
§ 487, 13 Compounds I S 3 *dy daw, dy do,* impers *dy-deuhawr,* etc , OW
gurth do resists gl obsistit, J Morris Jones, WG 364 — Co I S 1 *dof,
duff,* 2 *dueth, duth, deth,* 3 *due, de,* P 1 *duen dun,* 2 *deugh,* 3 *dons,* II S 2
dues, III S 2 *dus, dues, des,* 3 *dens,* P 1 *duen, dun, den,* 2 *duegh, dugh,
deugh,* 3 *dens,* IV *dyffyf* etc , V *deffen* etc § 487, 13, VIII S 1 *duth, duyth,
dueyth,* 2 *duthys,* 3 *duth, dueth deth* (perf *do ve, du fe, du fa*), P 1
duthen, 2 *dutheugh,* 3 *dethons,* plpf S 3 *dethye dothye, dothe,* P 3 *dody-
ans dedens,* impers I *deer,* IX *devethys, dyvythys* X *devones, deros,
dones, dos, doys* - MlBr I S 1 *deuaff* 2 *duez,* 3 *deu,* P 2 *duet,* 3 *deuont,
II S 1 *duenn, deuenn,* 3 *due, deue,* III S 2 *deur, deuz,* 3 *deuet deut, duet,
P 1 *dcomp, demp,* 2 *deuet, duet,* 3 *deuent,* IV S 1 *duiff,* 2 *duy,* 3 *duy,
deuy,* P 1 *deuhymp,* 3 *duhynt (duynd* Barbe 665), V S 3 *deuhe,* P 2
deuhech, 3 *duehent,* VIII *duiz, deuzout deuz,* P 2 *deuzorh,* 3 *deuzont,* plpf
S 1 *deuzien,* 3 *deuzye,* P 2 *deuzerh* 3 *deuzyent,* IX *deuet duet* X *donet,
dont, don* RC 31 226ᵇ

 MlW -*aw*- corresponds to Co Br /*o*/- (wr Co *o* , *u-, -ue-, -eu , -e-,*
Br mostly -*eu*-, before front vowel also -*u*-)

 (c) MlW I 3 *ym-d-a* 'goes about', VIII S 1 *im t-euth, ym d-euth* (v
§ 460 n 1c), 3 *ym d-aeth,* (X *ym-deith* to Ir *tiagu* 'I go'), with **upor- *mbhi
gor-ym-d a* goes about' RP 1045 42

 (d) OBr *nit maatoe* gl non incundum est (*in-a atoe*)

 This verb is cognate with Lat *agō* etc § 35, 1 The Brit
subjunctive (W *el*- etc) and the Ir redupl fut (*ebl*-) are from
*el-, *ela- (Gk ἐλαύνω) § 453 n 2 (not from **pel-,* for Gk ἄγω ἐλῶ
ἤλασα, cf Specht, KZ 63 224f , 270) The Brit ipv sg 2 is probably
derived from some adverbial word ('away!', 'hither!'), the oldest
substitute for 'go' probably underlies W *dos,* the init *d-* probably

led to its being transferred to the verb 'to come' in Co and Br.,
with anal assumption of the vowel /o/ (an instance of MlBr *deus*
meaning 'go' is found RC 47 108 23)   The W forms for 'come'
are compounds of **ret-* (W *rhedeg* 'run', cf Ir *rethid* 'runs') and
probably **reg-* 'rise' (*dab-re*, MnW *dy-re*, *de-re*, v § 604 n)   The
oldest forms of the vb nn are represented by W *myned* and *dy-
fod*, Co *devones*, beside the earlier form *de-vos*, is by anal with 'to
go', *dos* and *dones* being contractions of *devos* and *devones* respect-
ively, in a similar way the Br forms are to be explained, variants
of W *dy-fod* are *dywod*, *dywad*, the latter still used colloquially as
dŵad   The form W *dod* (cf Co *dos*) is not attested in literature
before the 18th cent   W *myned* (*mynd*, cf MlBr *mont*) belongs
to a pres **mi-na-mi* 'I go (past)', cf OSl *mi-nq-ti* 'to pass', Lat
meāre 'wander, go', the vowel -*o-* in the Co and Br forms is due
to the verb 'to come', the old vowel is retained in W *tremynu*
Co *tremene* MlBr *tremen* 'to pass' (the vowel of the prefix, cf W
tra, being affected by the old -*i-*)   But cf RC 35 223

Note 2 The verb 'to make, do' in Brit imitates in some of its forms
the root **ag-*, though it is not (or at least only partially) a cpd of **ag-*,
the archaic MlW *guereit* BA 37 11 stands for *gwreith* 'deed', and belongs
to Gk ἔργον, ῥέζω, OE *weorc* 'work', *wyrcan* 'to work', v Morris-Jones,
WG 367, *guragun* 'let us make' in the Early W memorandum in the Book
of St Chad may have -*a-* for -*e-* in the same way as W *ia* 'ice', Ir *aig*, g *ega*
The later W *gwnawn* may have -*n-* instead of -*r-* through some analogical
influence (probably through the influence of a vb corresp to Ir *gni-* § 563)
The subj stem *gwnel-* imitates the vb 'to go', the pret *gor-uc* agrees with
d-uc § 506 n , for VIII S 3 *goreu* a real etymological connection with the
root **ag-* is not unlikely (**-āge*, this would be the transitive preterite of the
root, whereas *aeth* would be the intransitive or passive form, *gor-uc* in the
transitive paradigm of **ag-* might be compared with Ir *ro-uic* in the
paradigm of **ber-*, for Lat *ferō* and *agō* are synonyms)   The forms are

MlW I S 1 *gwnaf*, arch *gwneif*, 2 *gwney*, 3 *guna*, *gwnahawt* BT 31 9,
arch (rel) *gwneyd* (/-*d*/), P 1 *gwnawn*, 2 *gwnewch*, 3 *gwnant*, II *gwnawn*,
gwnaut, etc , III S 2 *guna*, 3 *gwnaet*, P 1 OW *guragun*, MlW *gwnawn*, etc ,
IV *gwnel(h)wyf* etc ∤ 453 n 2, also S 3 *gwnech* § 453 n 1, V *gwnel(h)um*, etc ,
VIII S 1 *gwneithum*, *gwneuthum*, 2 *gwnaethost*, *gwneuthost* RP 1321 23,
3 *gwnaeth*, P 1 *gwnaeth-am* (-*om*), etc , also S 1 *gorugum* etc , v p 297, also
S 3 *guoreu*, *goreu*, plpf *gwmathoedwn*, etc § 460 n 1c (MnW *gwnaethwn*
etc), impers forms I *gwneir*, II *gwneit*, III *gwnel(h)er*, IV *gwnel(h)er*, V
gwnel(h)it, VIII *gwnaethpwyt*, *gorucpwyt*, plpf *gwnathoedit*, X *gwneithur*,
gwneuthur, *gwneuthud* IGE¹ 191 7 (MnW *gwneuthur*, *gwneuthyd*, *gwneud*)
– The forms *gwnelit* RP 1034 4, 12, *gwnelyt* 16 are indicative in meaning,
'is wont to be', similarly *el(h)it* 'is wont to go' BBCS 4 15

Co I S 1 *guraf, (g)wrehaf* OM 521, 2 *gureth*, 3 *gura, grua*, P 1 *guren*, 2 *gureugh, guregh*, 3 *gurons*, II S 1 *guren*, 2 *gures*, 3 *gure*, P 1 *guren*, 3 *gurens*, III S 2 *gura, grua*, 3 *gurens*, P 1 *gruen*, 2 *gruegh, grugh, greugh, gregh*, IV S 1 *guryllyf*, 2 *gurylly*, 3 *gurello*, P 1 *guryllyn*, 2 *gurellough*, 3 *gurellons* (*gurons* OM 2034), V S 1 *gurellen*, 2 *gurelles*, 3 *gurella*, P 1 *gurellen*, 3 *gurellens*, VIII S 1 *gruk*, 2 *grussys* 3 *gruk, (g)ros*, (*oberys* OM 291), P 1 *grussyn*, 2 *grussough* 3 *grussons*, plpf S 1 *grussen*, 2 *grusses*, 3 *grusse, gresse*, P 2 *grussyugh*, 3 *grussens*, IX *gurys gureys* (*oberys* OM 15), X *gruthyl, guthyl(l), gwethyll, guthel(l), gul(l), gwyll, (g)wyth* RD 2250, imper I *gurer*

MIBr I S 1 *groaff, graf*, 2 *gr(u)ez*, 3 *gr(o)a*, P 1 *gr(u)eomp, graeomp*, 2 *gruyt, gr(u)et*, 3 *gr(u)eont*, II S 1 *gren*, 3 *grae grea*, P 3 *grent*, III S 2 *gr(o)a*, 3 *groaet, gret*, P 1 *gr(u)romp, graeomp gruemp*, 2 *gr(u)et, graet, gr(u)yt*, IV S 1 *gr(u)yf*, 2 *gr(u)y*, 3 *gr(o)ay, greay (g)rayo* Mir Mort 1809 P 1 *groahymp, grahymp*, 2 *gr(u)ehet, greheut* 3 *groaint, grahint*, V S 1 *grahenn*, 3 *gr(o)ahe*, P 1 *gr(o)ahemp* 2 *grahech, (g)rech*, VIII S 1 *gris* 3 *guerue, geure guere*, P 1 *gresomp*, 2 *gruesoch* 3 *gr(u)esont*, plpf S 1 *gr(o)asenn, graesen*, 2 *grases*, 3 *gr(o)ase*, P 1 *(g)rasemp*, 3 *groasent* impers I *graer, (g)rer* II *graet*, IV *graher*, V *gr(o)ahet* IX *graet, great*, X *ober*

§ **492.** *ág-* 'to fear', deponent, in the ind and subj it takes the prefix *ad-* if not preceded by a neg or a rel preverb (Thurneysen, Handb 328) I S 1 *ad-n-agur, ni ágor*, 3 *ad-agadar, ni-sn-agathar*, p *ad-n-aigther*, P 3 *ní agetar* p *na áigder*, II S 1 *ad-again*, III P 3 *agatar*, IV S 2 *ni aigther*, 3 *-ru-agathar*, VI S 1 *ad-aichfer*, 3 *ad-aichfedar*, P 3 *ni aichfetar*, VIII P 3 *ad-r-aigsetar*, IX gerund *aigthi, aichthi*, X *áigthiu*, gen *aichthen*, later *aigsin* (acc) — Cf Goth *ōg* I fear

§ **493.** *air-* 'to plough' I S 3 *-air* IV S 3 *-ara* SM 4 124 11 p *-artharr* (leg *-arrthar*) SM Gloss 71 VI P 3 *-ebrad* Misc KM 64, X *ar* SM

§ **494.** *al-* 'to nourish, to rear' I S 3 *-ail*, p *alar* Anecd III 28 9, *ailtir* Fél 50 7, V P 1 *-almais*, VI S 3 MIIr *-eblai* (for *-ebla*, anal re-formation *-ebela*), VIII S 3 *alt* Wi 138 6, *-alt* (MIIr *-ebail*), r *altæ* Wi 139 6, p *alte* ZCP 8 311 17, *-alt* (MIIr *-eblad*), IX (nom pl) *altai*, X *altram* g *altramno* — Cf Lat *alō*

§ **495** *am-* with *ind-* to wash hands and feet' I S 3 *indaim* Mon Tall 143 30, *adhaim* LU 10962, 10965, 10967 (i e *ad-haim* v Bergin, Ériu 10 112), *ad-n-aim* Corm 597, P p *-indmatar* Ml 126c 17, X *indmat* Ml 126c 16, Corm 943 A later form of X is *indlat* Corm 597, 943, Atk LBr , it may be due to assimilation (and dissimilation) in the group *indmat lám* (Mon Tall 143 27), from X *-l-* penetrated into the finite forms, v Atk LBr p 767

Note. Perhaps even *indmat* is analogical instead of **ind-at* (from **am-to-*) under the influence of the other forms of the paradigm If used originally of the washing of the hands the Ir vb could be compared with Skr *yam-* with *ni-* 'to put (e g the hands) together'

§ 496. *an-* 'to remain, rest' I S 3 MIIr *anaid*, r *anas*, II S 3 *-anad*, P 3 *-andais*, III S 2 *an*, P 1 *anam*, IV S 1 *-an*, P 3 *-anat*, VI S 1 *ainfa, -ainib* (for *-ainiub*), *-anub*, VII S 2 *-ainfeda*, 3 *-ainfed*, VIII S 1 *-anus*, 2 *-anis*, 3 *anis, -an*, P 1 *-ansam*, X (nom acc dat) *anad*

With *od-ess- osnad* 'sigh' With *com-od-ess-* 'to end, cease' I S 3 *o-osna*, P 3 *conosnat*, IV S 2 *conosnaissiu* (**conosne siu*), 3 *conosna*, V P 3 *oosnaitis*, VI S 3 *-cumsanfa*, VIII S 1 *-chumsanus*, 3 *-chumsan*, *co-r-osan* (for *con-*), X *cumsanad*, g *cumsanto*

With *fo-od-ess-* 'to rage, to disturb' (*fo-* is reduplicated in the absence of a syntactic preverb) I S 3 *fufuasna*, p *fufuasnither*, IX gen *fuasnaidi*, X *fuasnad*

Note W *uchenaid, ochenaid* sigh MlBr *huanat* Cf Skr *ani ti* breathes , Goth *us anan* to expire

§ 497. *aneg-* 'to protect' I S 3 *aingid, -anich*, III S 2 *no-main* 'spare me' (cf § 452 n 3), p *ná hanagar*, IV S 3 *ains-ium* 'may he protect me', *-ain*, P 3 *-anset*, VI S 3 *-ain*, p *-anister* RC 14 191 30, VII P 3 *-ansitis* TBC (Str -O'K) 3557, VIII S 3 *-anacht*, r *anacht*, p *anachta* TBC (Str -O'K) 2775, X *anacul*, g *anacuil* (the *-c-* spread into the finite verb in MlIr)

With *ad-* 'to bury, to escort' IV S 1 *-adhnas* RC 10 82 22, 2 *-adnaiss*, V S p *a-tom-anaste -adnasta* TripL 252 23, P p *adanastais*, VI S p *-adnastar* TripL 252 28, VIII S p *ad-r-anact*, IX *adnachte*, X *adnacul* neut

With *ad- ind-* 'to escort, to lead' IV S p *at-dom-ind-nastar* gl *deducar*, VI S 3 *ad-ind-ain* LU 5077

With *to-ind-* (*to-in-*) to bestow' I S 3 *doindnaich, duindnaig*, *do-n-indnig*, p *doindnagar*, P 3 *-tinnagat*, p r *-tindnagtar*, IV S p *doindnastar*, P p *doindnasatar*, V S 1 *do-ndn-indinsin*, 3 *duind-ainsed, -tindnised*, P 2 *do-dn-indnasti se* (leg *-ste si*), VI S 3 *do-n-indin*, p *doindnastar*, P p *doinnasatar*, VIII (with perf *-com-*) S 2 *duécomnacht*, 3 *doecomnacht*, r *tecomnacht*, p (with *-ro-*) *do-rr-indnacht*, (with *-com-*) *doécomnacht*, *-técomnacht*, IX *tinnachtae*, X *tindnacol, tindnacul*

§ 498. *and-* 'to kindle' IX *andithe*, X *andud, andod* 'beginning', *annudh*

With *ad-* 'to kindle, to begin' I S p *adainter*, P 3 *adandad* (= -*at*) RC 36 256f , VIII S p *ad-r-andad*, IX *adanta*, X *adandad*, *adnad*

With *for-od-(e)ss-* 'to enlighten' I S 3 *forosnai, forosna, forossndi* Anecd V 28 12 *for-don-osdá* LL 123 a 7, P p *forosnaiter*, III S 2 *fursain*, VIII P 3 *foruasnaisiut* Wi III 238 110, X *fursundud, fursunnud*

§ 499. *arco, arcu* 'I beseech'

With *com-* 1 S 1 *comaircim* 'I inquire' (a remodelled form), IV S 2 *comairser*

With *aith-com-* I S 3 *adcomairci* Rawl B 502 126 b 33, p *adcomarcar* SM IV 154 21, X *co n-aidchomarcaib* 'with questions', *gen cenn adchomairc* chief counsellor' Cymmr 14 116 14 *athchomarc* 'asking leave SM

With *frith-com-* I S 3 -*freemairc* Mon Tall 135 16 IV S 2 *friscomarser*, VIII S 3 *friscomarcair* asked', X (acc) *freemorc* ZCP 12 363 34, (g) *freemaircc* 'consulting

With *imb-com-* to ask' I S 3 *imm-e-chomairc* p *imm-e-chomaircm*, P p *imm-e-chomarcatar* III S 3 *na imchomarcad*, P1 *imchomarcam*, V S 3 *imm-e-chomairsed*, VIII S 3 *imchomarcair*, X neut *imchomarc* question

With *to-com-* I S 3 *tochomairc* Ériu 3 138 92, X *tochmarc* wooing, courting , dat *tochmurc*

Note. Brit OW X *erchim*, MlW I S 1 *archaf* I request , 3 *eirch*, III S 2 *arch* VIII S 3 *erchis*, X *erchi*, Co I S 1 *arghaf*, 3 *ergh*, II S 3 *arghy* III S 2 *argh* VIII S 1 *yrhys*, 2 *yrghsys*, 3 *erghys, yrghys, yrhys*, IX *yihys*, MlBr VIII S 3 *archas*, with **k'om-* W *cyfarchaf* 'I greet , X *cyfarch*, with **ndhi-* W *annerch* to greet, greeting , with **to ndhi* MlW I S 3 *donneirch* greets LlH 20 9 Co VIII S 3 *dynyrghys* 'greeted , X *dynnargh* — Etym § 7, 2

§ 500 *ba-* 'to die' I S 3 -*ba* Wi III 53 15, III S 3 *baad* SM I 12 12, V S 3 -*baad, -báad*, P 3 -*batis*, VI S 3 *beba* ZCP 13 101 (properly the conjunct form) P 2 *bebthi* Anecd III 59 2, 3 i *bebté*, VIII S 3 -*bebe -beba* (later *bebais*), X *bás* Cf *bath* 'death' (*baath* RC 20 170 § 31, disyll), *bathach* gl moribundus

With *di-* 'to become extinct' IV S 3 *dobá*, VI S 3 *dobeba* LL 294 b 8, VIII P 3 -*dibatur* (= -*tar*) SM IV 292 5, X *dibad* SM , Wi , ClrL

§ 501. *báid-* ('*bād'*-) 'to immerse, to drown   Regular -*i*-stem (I S 3 *ni báid* is a new formation), V P p -*badaitis*, IX *báte*, X *bádud*.

With *di-* 'to extinguish, to destroy' I S 3 *dobádi* LL 37b 34, *-dibdai* Cáin Ad § 39 (intrans), P 3 *dobadet* Rawl B 502 103a 29, VIII S p *-de-r-badad*, X *dibdud*

With *ar-di-* I S 3 *ardibdai*, VIII S 3 *ar-ro-dibaid*

With *imb-di-* I S 3 *imm-án-díbdai* LU 1748, IX nom pl *im-di-batai*

With *fo-* 'to immerse' I S p *fobáidithir*, *fo-m-baiter*, X *fobdod*

Note. Cf W *boddi* to drown (I S 3 *bawdd*) Co *buthy*, Br *beuzi*, also MlW *diffaud* goes out Delw y Byd 129 Co *du fyth* extinguish! OM 2637, cf BBCS 1 4f To Skr *gāha-tē* 'dives' *gūdha m* ford

§ 502. *ess-* + *ball-* with infixed obj ('it') 'to die' I S 3 *at-bail*, r *ad-baill* (*as-ind-bail*), *-epil* (*-apail*), p *-abbalar* Cáin Ad § 45, P 3 *at-ballat*, III P 3 *aipleat*, *-eiplet*, IV S 1 *as-ind-bel*, 3 *at-bela*, *as-in-bela*, *-eple* (*-e* for *-ea*), perf *at-roi-ble* Cáin Ad § 41, *-é-r-bala*, P 1 perf *-é-r-balam*, 3 *-eplet*, V S 1 *at-belain*, *as-ind-belain*, 3 *as-ind-belad*, *-aipled*, P 1 *at-belmais*, 3 *at-beltais*, *-epéltais* (*-epíltis*), VI S 1 *at-bél*, P 2 *at-belaid*, 3 *at-bélat*, VII S 3 *at-bela⟨d⟩*, P 1 *at-bélmis*, VIII S 1 *at-ru-balt*, 3 *át-ru-balt*, *-ebailt* LL 25b 20, P 3 *att-ru-baltar*, *-e-r-baltatar*, *-eblatar* Rawl B 502 75a 6, X *epeltu, apaltu*

The pres *-ll-* is from *-ln-* with present-forming *-n-* Lit "to eject it (life)", cf Gk *ἐχ-βάλλω*, cognate Skr *gala-ti* 'drops, disappears', OHG *quellan* 'to flow', for meaning cf OE *cwelan* 'to die', *cwellan* 'to kill', Lat *iallesit* 'perierit' Festus

§ 503 *ad-bath-* to die' VIII (narrat and perf) S 3 *at-bath*, *-abbad* (*-apad, -appad*), P 3 *at-batha, -aptha*, also *at-bathatar, ad-batar as-ind-bathatar, -apthatar*, X *aptu*, acc *apthin, apthain*

§ 504. *beg-, bo-n-g-*　(1) With *to-aith-* I S 1 *doaithbiuch* gl abrogo, p *taidbegar* TripL 160 19, *tathbongar* 'is broken' O'Dav 980, *do-n-athmongar* SM V 506 12, P 3 *-tathbongat*, IV S 2 *-taithmes* (leg *-mis*) Thurneysen, Burgschaft 59[6], 3 *toaithib* Ériu 7 162 § 5, *-taithim*, VIII S p *to-n-aidbecht* LU 8015, IX *taidbecti*, X *taidbech, taithmech*, dat *taithbiuch*

(2) With *to-* 'to levy (tribute etc)' (with perf *-com-*, also irreg *-ro-*) I S 3 *doboing, -tobuing*, p *dobongar, !tobgar*, P 3 *-toibget*, IV S 2 *-tu-r-bais*, 3 *tobo* Cáin Ad § 48 *dobo, -tob*, p *dobosar, dobostar*, perf *!tochmastar*, P 3 *dobosat*, VI S 1 *dobibus*, VIII S 3 *to-chombaig*, X *tobach*, d *tobuch*, g *tobaig*

Note　*bo-n-g* is identical with *bo n-g* § 510 cf Marstrander NTS. 2 298[2] With *beg-* cf Arm *bekanem* I break , for another theory v ZCP 13 102

§ 505. *ben-* 'to strike' I S 1 *benim*, 3 *benaid, benith*, p r *benar*,
P p *-bentar, -fe⟨n⟩dar*, III S p *benar*, IV S 2 *-ru-bœ*, 3 *-bia* SM
IV 124 10, p *bethir*, P p *betir*, V S p *-bethe*, VI S 1 *biu* TBC (Str -
O'K) 3592, 3 *bied* (= *-eid*) Anecd V 28 18, *bith-us* 'he will strike
them', r *bias* Wi Tain 3453, P 3 *biet* (= *-eit*) Anecd V 29 22,
VII S 3, *-biad*, VIII S 1 *beo* Ériu 11 149, 2 *-ru-ba*, 3 *bí, -bi, -ru-
bai, -ru-ba* Ériu 5 32 24, p *ro-bith*, P 3 *ro-béotar*, p *ro-bitha*, IX
bithe, ger *bethi*, X *beim*

(1) With *ad-* VI S 1 *a-ta-biu* 'I will slay her' ZCP 3 216 5,
cf LL 119b 40, 3 *a-tm-bia* RC 22 178 5 — With *to-ad-* *tairpe*
'epitome'

(2) With *com-* I S 3 *comben* 'cuts off' (for *con-*), VIII P 3 *co-
tm-beotur* (= *-tar*) Corm § 698, X *cuimbae* — With *aith-com-*
I S 3 *a-dom-chumben* 'tears me', P 3 *adcumnet* 'wound' Ml 77a 1,
IX *aidchuimthe*, X *aithchumbe, adcumbe* — With *fo-com-* V S p
-fochmaide 'had been diminished' Ériu 12 72 § 53

(3) With *air-di-* I S 3 *-airdben* 'destroys', p *ná hardbenar* SM
V 486 11, IX *airdbide*, ger *airdbidi*, X *airdbe, artbe* — With *etar-
di-* I S 3 *etirdiben* destroys', P 3 *etirdibnet*, II P 3 *etirdibnitis*,
IV S p *itirdibither*, P 3 *etirdibet*, V S 3 *itir-n-da-dibed* 'that he should
destroy them', P 3 *itar-dam-dibitis*, VIII S 3 *etir-ru-dib*, X *etardibe*
— With *imb-di-* 'to cut off, to circumcise' I S p *imdibenar*, III P 1
imdibnem, V S p *-imdibthe*, VIII S p *imm-um-rui-dbed, -ro-imdibed*,
IX *imdibthe*, X *imdibe* (neut), dat *imdibu*, — With *to-imb-di-* (? *di-
imb-di-*) I S 1 *doimdibnim* 'I abridge', 3 *timdibhen* O'Dav 1538,
V (latinism for II) S p *du-n-indbithe* (leg *-imd-*) — With *to-di-*
IV S 3 *do-ro-dba* 'may she destroy'

(4) With *ess-* X *eipe* act of cutting (wood etc)' SM Gloss 284
— With *to-ess-* I S p *duepenar* BB 319b 38, 39, consuetud
(without *-n-*) *doepethar* 'is usually cut off' Corm § 674, VIII S 3 perf
doárbai gl eoncidit, IX *tebede* BB 319b 42, X *tepi* (= *-e*) Wi
II 2 83 969

(5) With *fo-* 'to overthrow, destroy, frustrate' I P 3 *fobenat*,
IV S 3 *fo-m-bia*, *fuba* Ériu 7 148 § 11, V P 3 *-fuibitis* Ériu 3 140
181, VIII P 2 *fo-ru-bid*, IX *fubide*, X *fubae*, Mlr *fuba* 'hewing' —
With *air-fo-* 'to cut, break down' IV S 3 *-orba* SM IV 124 11,
X *aurba, orba* SM — With *to-fo-* I S 1 *dofuibnimm* 'I cut off',
P p *dufuibniter*, IV S p *dufobither*, V S 3 *dufubath*, P 3 *dufubaitis*,

VI S 3 *dufóbι*, VIII S p *du-fo-r-bad*, P p *-torbatha*, IX P nom
tóbaιdι, X *tobae* (neut), *tóbe*

(6) With *to-ιnd-* I S 3 *tιndben* Wι 217 6 (*tιnben* 328) 'strιkes'
(as pres consuet *tιnbι* Wι II ᴵ 185 289 'whιch ιs wont to strιke',
Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 33)

(7) With *aιr-od-* I P 1 *co arubbnem* gl ut euιsceremus — With
ιnd-aιr-od- 'to expel' I S 1 *ιnarbenιm*, *ιnarbenιm*, 3 *ιnarben* ZCP
3 452 21, *lasse a-ta-árban* 'when he drιves them', p *ιnárbana⟨r⟩*, P
p *ιnnárbantar*, III S 2 *ιnd-a-árben* 'hanιsh them', 3 *a-tat-áιrbιned*
'let ιt ιmpel thee', p *-ιndarbanar*, IV S 3 *-ιndurbe* (leg *-ιndarbe*),
p *-ιndarpιther* V P p *ιnárpιtιs*, VIII S 1 *ιn-r-a⟨r⟩ba*, 3 *at-r-arpι*
Trans Phιl Soc 1891—2—3 156 12 (*atrorbe* Anccd IV 64 17)
'he banιshed that', *-ιndarpaι*, P 3 *ιn-r-arpataι*, X *ιndarpe*, *ιndarbae*
(ncut) — With *fo-ιnd-aιr-od-* VII S p *ní foιndarpaιde* 'would not
bc put under — With *dι-od-* 'to cut off' VIII S p *dorιupad* Wι
III 38 23, X *dιupι* dιggιng'

(8) With *to* VIII S p *do-n-rubad* 'we have been slaιn' LL
193b 60, X *tιιba* 'breakιng up, attack'

Note Cog wιth MIBr *benaff* to cut VIII S 3 *quemonas*, *quemeuer*
MnBι *kimeuer* taıloı W *cιmιnaur* hewcı (wιth *k'om*) OW *dubeneticιon*
gl ιxsectιs OBι *ethιnam* gl lanιo (the pres formιng *n* ιs absent ın the
denv OBι *bιtat* gl ιι secaıet W *bul* quιcksıt hedgı *bιdιo* to sıt a hedge ,
bιdoι bayonet cf Ir *bιth* a wound v RC 35 363), to Lat *perfιnes*
perstrιngas

§ 506 *ber-* 'to bear carry' (*ro-ucc-* ın perf forms) v §§ 444,
452, 456, 459, 466 — Perf forms I S p *ruucthar* can be applıed',
P 3 *-ιucat*, *-ruqat*, III S 2 *uιc* Tec Corm § 18, IV S 3 *-rucca*,
V S p *-ructhae* P p *-ructaιs*, VIII S 1 *roιucceιus* 3 *roιuc*, *ruuc*,
ro-da-ucaι, *-ιuc*, p *rucad*, *rohucad*, *ru(t)ced* ACL 1 253 § 402, 256
§ 456, P 3 *r-a-ucsaι* *-ιucsat* p *rouctha* *ructha*

(1) With *aιr-* (wιth dat *bιuth* = partakes of', wιth toll prep
a, *ass-* = brιngs out, expresses') I S 3 *arbeιr*, *ar-a-ber*, p *arbeιar*,
arberι, *-aιrberar*, P 1 *ar-ιd-beram*, 3 *arbeιat*, p *arbertar*, II P 1
-erbιrmιs, 3 *ar-m-bertιs*, III S 2 *aιrbι* IV S 2 *ar-a-m-bere* 3 *arbeιa*,
ar-a-roι-brea, p *ar-m-berthar*, P 1 *ar-a-m-beram*, *-arbaram*, 2 *-aιrbιrιd*,
3 *-arbarat*, p *arbertar*, V S 3 *ar-a-m-berad*, P 3 *-aιrbertιs*, VI S 1 *nι*
aιrbéer frιtt 'I wιll not reproach thee wιth ιt', 3 *-erbœra*, *-erbera*,
VII S 3 *-erberad*, VIII S 1 *ar-a-ru-burt* 3 *ar-ru-bart*, *-ar-bart*,
P 3 *ar-ru-bartatar*, *aι-a-ru-bartat*, *-ar-r-bartatar*, IX nom pl *aιr-*
bιrthι, ger *erbιrthι*, X *aιrbert* (fem), *erbert*

With *to-air-* 'to bring, reduce, to bend' I S p *du-n-erbarar, -tar-berar*, P p *doairbertar*, III P p *tairbertar*, IV S p *du-mm-erberthar*, VIII S 3 *doarbart* ZCP 3 208 17, P p *duarbartha*, IX *tairberthae*, X dat *do therbirt* —With *ad-to-air-(aith-to-air- ?)* 'redigere' I S 3 *atairbir*, X *atairbert* — With *ind-to-air-* 'bow down' III S 2 *intairbir*

(2) With *com-* 'to conceive, to become pregnant' V S p *conbertha* Ériu 8 160, VII S 3 *ɔ-m-berad* Thes I 488 25, VIII S 3 *cotom-bert*, X *in chombart*, MIr usually *compert*

(3) With *ess-* 'to say' I S 1 *asbiur, -ep(i)ur*, 2 *asbir, -apir*, 3 *asbeir, as-ro-ba(i)r, -epir, -eper*, p *asberar, asberr, -eperr*, P 1 *asberam, -eprem*, 2 *asberid*, 3 *as-n-don-berat* p *asbertar, -epertar*, II S 1 *asberin(n)*, 3 *asbered*, p *asberthe*, P 1 *a t-beirmis*, 3 *asbe(i)rtis* III S 3 *na epred*, IV S 1 *asber, -eper*, 2 *asbere, asbera, -á-r-bara*, 3 *asbera*, p *asberthar, as-ro-barthar, -epert(h)ar, -é-r-barthar*, P 1 *asm-beram*, 2 *asberaid, -é-r-barid*, 3 *asberat, -epret, -é-r-barat*, V S 1 *asberin(n)*, 2 *asbertha*, 3 *asberad, -epred* perf *as-ind-ro-brad*, p , *asberth(a)e, -eperth(a)e*, P 1 *asbermis*, 3 *as-n-da-ro-bartis, -epertais*, VI S 1 *asbér, asbéer, -épéer*, 3 *asbéra*, perf *-e-r-bárra*, P 1 *asbéram*, 3 *asbérat*, p *asbertar*, VII S p *-eperther*, VIII S 1 *as-id-ru-burt, -á-r-burt*, 2 *a-t-birt* TBC (Str -O'K) 1755, 3 *asbert, as-ru-bart, -epert, -é-r-bart*, p *as-ro-brad, -e-r-brad -é-r-brath, -æ-r-barad*, P 1 *as-ru-bartmar*, 3 *as-ind-bertatar, as-ru-bartatar, as-in-ru-bartat -ær-b(art)atar*, IX ger *eperthi*, X *epert*

(4) With *for-* to increase to grow 1 S 1 *forbiur*, 3 *forbeir*, P 3 *for-m-berat, -foirpret*, II S 1 *for-m-berinn*, 3 *forberad*, IV S p *-forberther*, P 3 *-foirbret*, VI S 3 *forbéra*, VIII S 3 *for-ru-bart*, P 1 *for-ru-bartmar* 3 *forbertatar for-ru-bartatar, for-ru-bartat* X *forbart, forbbart*

(5) With *frith-* I S 1 *frisbiur* 'oppose', 3 *nand rithbeir*, P 3 *fris-m-berat*, IV S 1 *fris-a-ber* (leg *fris-m-ber*), 3 *fris-bera*, VI S 1 *frisbér*, X *frithbert* SM

(6) With *imb-* 'to ply, to play to practise I S 2 *imbir* 'puttest', p *imber(r), -imber(r)*, P 3 *imm-a-m-berat*, perf *im-ro-bhrad* (= *-at*) RC 36 257, III S 2 *imbir* 'put', IV S 3 *imm-a-bera* 'employs it', perf *imb-e-roi-bra* 'commits' Ériu 7 148 § 8, VI S 1 *-immér*, VIII S 3 *im-da-ru-bart, -imbert*, X acc pl *imberta* — With *mi-imb-* IV P 3 *mi-tn-imret* 'that they deceive him', X *muimbert*

(7) With *aith-od-* 'to offer' I S 3 *adopuir, ad-idn-opair*, p *adobarar, adoparar, adopar, -idparar*, P 3 *-idbarat*, p *adopartar*,

adobartar, II S p *adoparthe*, VIII S 3 *a-t-r-ópert, adopart, ad-r-obart,*
p. *a-tam-r-oipred*, P 3 *ad-r-obartat*, p *atdopartha*, IX *edberthe*,
X *idbart* (also *ed-*) — With *to-aith-od-* 'to offer, to bring' I S p *du-
n-edbarar*, P p *-dedbardar*, IV P 2 *-tidbarid*, V S 3 *do-n-edbarad*,
IX *tedbarthe, taudbartha*, ger *tedbarthi, tedparthi* — With *di-od-* 'to
deprive, to defraud' I S 3 *doopir*, p *-diubarar*, P 2 *dioiprid*, 3 *-diu-
prat* ZCP 13 22 11, III S 3 *na tiubrad*, IX *diuparth(a)e*, X *diupart,*
oc *diupirt (diubeirt)* 'a-waning' — With *imb-di-od-* 'to defraud
mutually' IV S 3 perf *cona m-an-derbara, -derbra* SM II 340 2,
O'Dav 709 — With *fo-od-* 'to attack, set about' I S 3 *fuabair,
fo-sn-opair*, III P 1 *foipremm* ZCP 4 39 12, *fúaiprem* TBF (Byrne-
Dillon) 189, VIII S 3 *fo-rr-ópart*, X *fóbart*

(8) With *tarm-* I S p *tarmiberar* 'is transferred', X *tarmbreth*
Fél² Jul 3, acc *tarmbreith* Jun 4

(9) With *to-* 'to bring, to give' (Zimmer, Kelt St II 112f,
45—47, perf *to-rat-* 'to give', *to-ucc-* 'to bring', for *to-ucc-* 'to under-
stand' cf §422,6) I S 1 *dobiur, -tabur*, 2 *dobir, -tabair*, 3 *dobe(i)r,
-tab(a)ir*, p *dober(r), doberar, -tabar(r)*, P 1 *doberam, -tairbrem,*
2 *d-a-berid*, 3 *doberat, -tairbret*, p *dobertar, -tabartar*, II S 3 *-tairb-
⟨red⟩*, p *doberthe*, P 3 *dobertis, do-m-beirtis*, p *dobertis*, III S 2
tabair, taber, 3 *tairbred*, p *tabarr*, P 1 *tairbrem*, 2 *tairbrid*, IV S 2.
doberae, -tairbre, -toirbre, 3 *du-m-bera, -tairbrea, -tobrea*, p *doberthar,*
P 2 *do-n-beraid, -tairbrid*, 3 *duberat*, p *do-m-bertar*, V S 2 *dubertha,*
3 *doberad, -tairbred*, p *-tabarth(a)e*, P 2 *doberthe*, p *dubertis, dobertais*,
VI S 1 *dobéer, -tibér*, 2 *doberae, -tibéræ, -tibre* RC 20 12 20, 3 *do-
sm-béra*, MlIr *-tibrea*, p *dobérthar, -tibérthar*, P 3 *dobérat*, p *du-m-
bǽrtar*, VII S 3 *do-m-berad, -tiberad* (MlIr *-tibred*), P 2 *do-sm-
bérthe*, 3 *-tibertais*, p *-tibertais*, VIII S 1 *do-m-biurt*, 2 *dobirt*,
3 *dobert, -tubart*, r. *dubert*, P 3 *do-s-bertar*, IX g *tabarthi*, ger
tabarthi, X *tabart*

Perf forms 'to give' I S 3 *-tarti*, P 3 *-tartat*, II P 3 *-tardatis*,
IV S 1 *-tart*, 3 *durata, -tarta*, p *-tartar*, P 1 *-tarddam*, 2 *dorattid,
-tartaid*, 3 *-tardat*, p *con-dartaiter* ACL 3 22 10, V S 1 *con-dartin,*
3 *o-dardad*, VIII S 1 *doratus*, 2 *dorat(a)is*, 3 *dorat, -tarat*, p *doratad,
doradad, -tartad, -tardad*, P 1 *doratsam*, 2 *d-a-ratsid*, 3 *doratsat,
-tartsat, -tartisset*, p *dorata, -tarta*

Perf forms 'to bring' I S p *-tuethar*, III S 2 *tuic*, P 2 *tucaid*,
IV S p *con-ducthar*, P p *in duccatar*, V S 3 *-tucad*, VIII S 1 *do-n-
uccus*, 2 *tuicais*, 3 *do-n-uic, douic, du(u)ic, tuic(c), duuc, tuc, du-d-*

uccai, ni tuic, -tuc, p *tuc(c)ad, ducad, -tuiced,* P 1 *-tucsam,* 3 *du-nn-ucsal*

to-ucc- 'to understand' I S 1 *-tucu,* 3 *do-sn-ucci (-uccai), tuicci, thuccai, -tucci, -tucai,* p *dohucthar, duucthar, tuucthar, -tucthar,* P 3 *do-nd-ucet, -tucat,* p *-tucator, -tuctar,* II P 3 *-tuctais,* IV S I (*ce*) *thuc,* 2 *-tu(i)cce, -tucca,* p *du-n-ucthar,* P 1 *do-n-d-uccam,* 2 *-tucid,* V S 1 *-tuccin,* p *con-ducthe,* P 1 *-tucmis,* VI S 3 *-tucfa,* p *-tuccfither,* P 2 *d-a-ucbaid,* VIII S 1 *-tucus,* P 2 *-tucsid,* 3 *-tucsat, -tuicset,* X *tabart (tabairt),* MIIr. *tuicsiu*

(11) With *trem-* 'transfer' I S p *tremiberur,* VIII perf S p *trimirucad*

Note   Brit (a) The root *ber-* has no simple forms (for W *bryd* mind' etc v § 7, 1) Compounds OW *anit arber* bit gl num uesetur, MnW *arfer, arferyd* 'to use, to be accustomed , Co *ervyre* to decide', cf (1) above — With **k'om-* W *cymryd* (also MnW *cymeryd*) to take' 1 *cymeraf,* VIII S 3 *cymerth* (also MnW *cymerodd*), Co *kemeres,* VIII S 3 *komer(h),* MIBr *quemeret, quempret, compret* MnBr *kemeret*   With *ati-ud OW *aperth,* MlW MnW *aberth* sacrifice , X *aberthu,* with **dē ud-* (*dē-ad) MlW *diebryt* 'withholding, depriving', *dieberedu   diebrid e* frustrated' AL I 398 1, 7 *dieberur* withholder' WM 126 7 (*diaberur* p 289 29) v RC 37 299, (no finite forms), cf (7) above — With *di eks MlW *diffryt* to defend , VIII S 3 *differth, diffyrth (differwys* LIH 205 1), Co *dyffres,* — with **dē-u(p)o* W *diofryd* vow, renunciation , MlW *dioferaf* I forswai BT 65 20, *diofredaf* RP 583 27, MIBr *diouerat* to be deprived of , v RC 37 300

(b) The root in Ir *do-rat* (and without *to* Ir *rodet* Marstrander RC 40 399, without *to-* and *ro-* Ir *con da* i *cotuca* Bérla na Filed 13 Marstrander, Présents à nasale infixée 25, (i *didi*) forms a close cpd with **(p)ro* in Brit in the verb to give , this verb is compounded with **to-* in W without change of meaning but in Co the cpd means to bring The perf meaning of **(p)ro-* is lost The /-d-/ from the d- in **(p)ro-d-* disappears sometimes in W always in Co and Br The conjugation is mostly regular

MlW I S 1 *rodaf* (MnW *rhoddaf, rhof),* 2 *rody, roy (rhoddi rhoi),* 3 *rud (rhydd, rhy, dyry)* etc , II S 1 *rodwn (rhoddun, rhown),* 2 *rodut (rhoddit, rhoit),* etc , III S 2 *ro, dyro (rho, dyro),* IV S 3 *rodo, rotho, roho, ro (rhoddo),* cf § 453 n 3 , VIII S 1 *rodris (rhoddais, rhois),* 1 *rodes (rhoddes, rhoes, rhoddodd),* etc , plpf *rodasswn (rhoddqswn rhoesun)* etc , X *rodi, roy (rhoddi, rhoi),* also with inflection of suffixless pret   VIII S 1 *roessum,* 2 *roessost,* plpf S 3 *roesser, roessoed* Also used as ipv , S 2 *moes,* P 2 *moeswch*

Co S 1 *rof,* 2 *reyth reth,* 3 *re (rea* OM 2770), P 1 *ren,* II S 1 *ren,* 3 *rey,* III S 2 *ro roy,* P 1 *ren,* 2 *regh,* IV S 3 *roy, rollo* v § 453 n 2 , V S 1 *rollen,* 3 *rolle, rolla,* VIII S 1 *ryr res,* 2 *rysys, ressys,* 3 *ro(y)s reys,* plpf S 1 *rosen* 3 *rose,* IX *reys, roys,* X *ry rey* — With **to-* I S 1 *droff* 3 *doro* III S 2 *doro, dro, drou, dorc,* 3 *drens,* P 2 *dre(u)gh drewhy* (with augens), VIII S 3 *dros, droys* plpf S 3 *drossa,* P 1 *drosen,* IX *dreys,* X *dry, drey*

MlBr I S 1 *roaff, rof,* 2 *rez,* 3 *ro, re,* P 2 *reit,* III S 2 *ro,* P 1 *reomp,* 2 *reit, roit,* 3 *roent,* IV S 1 *reif,* 3 *roy,* P 1 *rehomp,* 2 *rehet,* 3 *rohint,* V S 1 *rohen,* 3 *rohe,* P 2 *rohech,* 3 *rohent,* X *reiff, rei* — MnBr I S 1 *roann,* II *roenn,* III S 2 *ro,* IV S 1 *roinn,* V *rofenn,* VIII *roiz,* IX *roet,* X *rei*

(c) Corresponding to Ir *to ucc-* there is in Brit a verb (with IE ablaut in the root syll) meaning 'to carry, to bring'

MlW I S 1 *dygaf,* 3 *dwc* (MnW *dwg*), etc , II *dygun* etc , III S 2 *dwc* (*dwg*), etc , IV S 3 *dycko* (*dyco, dygo*), aich *duch* § 153 n 1, VIII S 1 *dugum* (*dygais*), 2 *dugost* (*dygaist*), 3 *duc* (*dug, dygodd*), P 1 *dugam* (*dygasom*) etc , plpf S 3 *ducsei* (*dygasai*), X *dwyn*

Co I S 3 *dog deL* (with umlaut) P 1 *degen,* III S 2 *doh,* 3 *degens degyns,* P 2 *degeugh, degogh,* IV S 3 *re thokho, dogo, doga,* V S 3 *degy,* VIII S 3 *duk,* plpf P 2 *deesyugh,* IX *deqys,* X *doen, doyn don*

MlBr I S 1 *dougaf,* 2 *doguez,* 3 *douc,* III S 2 *douc* P 1 *douguomp,* 2 *douguit, douget* IV S 1 *douguiff,* 3 *dougo,* V S 3 *dou(c)que* VIII S 3 *dougas,* IX *douguet,* X *doen* (MnBr *dougen*) Cf OBr *dodocetic* gl inlatam

Similar formations MlW *go r uc* did' Co *g i uk,* MlW *am ygaf* I defend, I contend', VIII S 3 *amuc,* X *amwyn* cf MlBr *amouc* delay

The root *ber-* is related to Lat *ferō* Gk φέρω 'I bear', Skr *bharāmi* — *ro-d-* to Lat *dō* Gk δίδωμι Skr *dádāmi* — W *dygaf* etc to Lat *dūcō* 'I lead', Goth *tiuhan* to draw' Ir *-ucc-* < **u-n-q-* (a present formation) See further VKG II 475, Vendryes RC 43 211f

§ 507 *bert-* with *air-* to prepare, determine' I S 3 *ar-a-berta,* II S 3 *ar-a-m-bertad,* VIII S 1 *ar-ro-mertus,* 3 *ar-ro-bert,* X *erbert,* *airmert* (neutr), dat *airmiurt, airmbiurt* (and *airimbert,* as if comp with *air-imb-,* (IrL 59) — With *to-air-* VIII S 3 *tarmairt* was within a little of' Trans Phil Soc 1895—98 74, p *tarmartad,* P 3 *tarmart⟨atar⟩* 'they were about to' Mon Tall 153 14

Note. Cf W *armerth d armerth* preparation Br *armerhein* ménager' (cf BBCS 2 106 Ernault Gloss 309 RC 32 65³)

§ 508 *bidg-* 'to startle, to leap' VIII S 3 *bidcais, bidgais,* X *bidgud* (an -i-verb), regular loss of palat) Cf *bedg* 'a start, leap' — With *di-* 'to throw' (replaced by *di-bairg-* in close cpds , -*bidg-* remains after accented *ro*) I P 3 *dubidcet,* II S 3 *du-m-bidced,* V P 3 *dubidchis* VIII S 3 *d-am-bidc, do-ro-bidc* Forms of *di-bairg-* I S 1 *!dibairgim,* III S 2 *dibairg,* V S 3 *-dibairged, -diburged,* VIII S 3 *ro-dibairg,* X *dibirciud, dibiercud,* MlIr *diburgud, dibru-gud,* also *diburgun* (influenced by inf of *org-*) — Cf § 27, W *bwrw* § 37, 2

§ 509 *bo-n-d-* (1) with *ad-* 'to proclaim, declare', (2) with *od-* 'to refuse' (these cpds appear to be confused)

(1) I S 3 *isboind*, *a-ta-baind*, *a-t-boind*, III S p *adbonnar*, IV S 2 *a-t-bois*, 3 *adbo*, X *apad*, *abad*, gen *apuid*

(2) IV S 2 *-obbais* ZCP 3 454 10, 3 *(a)sbo* ZCP 14 381 3 *-op* *-oip* (anal palat), VI S 1 *-opus*, VIII S 3 *a-t-bobuid* (with *ad-*), perf *atroebaid* Salt 3997 X *obbad*, *opad*

To Gk πυ-ν-ϑ άνομαι 'I ask', Goth *biudan* 'to bid', Ski *bōdhati* 'is awake is aware of' —A further cpd is Ir *ro-bud* 'warning', gen *robaird*, W *rhybudd*

§ 510 *bo-n-g-* 'to break, reap' I S 1 *m-bung* 3 *-boing* VI S 1 *bibhsa*, P 3 *-bibsad* (= *-at*) RC 12 106 160 VIII S 3 *-bobig*, p *-bocht* X *buain*, gen *buana*

With *com-* 'to break' I S 3 *sboing* p *conbongar* V S 3 *cho-ta-bosad* VI S p *s-bibustar*, VIII S 3 *-chombaig* X *combach* — With *imb-com-* 'to break mutually' IV S 3 *arna mm-a-conbba dóib* SM IV 334 5

With *to-* 'to break' I S 3 *doboing* ZCP 13 20 12 *dobuing* Hib Min 72 18, III S 2 *tobuing* 72 17 VIII S 3 *-t-o-pacht* (pass form used as act) *tóe-r-baig*

§ 511 *both-* with *to-* 'to frighten' I S 1 *fobotham*, 2 *-búpthai* V S 3 *fo-ta-bothad* VIII S 1 *mo-s-rubthus* (leg *fo-*) Michael A O'Brien, Ériu 11 88 X *fubthad* *bupthad*

§ 512 *brenn-* 'to spring forth to bubble' VIII P 3 *bebarnatar*, X *breisiu* (with *-i-r*) Corm 180

With *to-ess-* I S 3 *do-n-eprinn* P 3 *doeprannat* gl affluant, *do-n-eprennet* gl liquefiunt, VIII P 3 *do-r-eprendset* 'flowed' (Mlir re-form), X *tepresiu*, gen *terpersen*, nom pl *tepairsnea*, *toparsnea*, gen pl *tepairsen* — With *to-od-* I P 3 *toiprinnit* gl influunt

Note Celt *broud na-* from a simpler form *bo-* found with *to* *od-* in OIr *topur* well with *to iss-* in Mlir *tipra* well, dat *tiprait* Ultimately cog with Lat *feruēo* etc § 46 Gk φρέαρ well OHG *bruonо* Lat *frctum*

§ 513 *bronn-* 'injure damage spoil' I S 3 *brondaid ni bronna* 'it wears not away', p *bronnar* IV S 3 *ro-bria* p *ro-briathar* Mostly reg *-ā-* verb forms, as also *bronn-* to bestow, present spend, consume, which is identical etymologically ('spoil → spend' → 'bestow', cf § 514) Cf § 13, 2 RC 28 195

With *di-* IV S 3 *do-bre do-bria*, X *diburndud* O'Dav 620 (Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 33)

§ 514 *caith-* (MnIr 'throw, hurl, fling, cast, waste, wear, spend, eat drink, consume, use) I S 3 *-chaithi* 'eats', X *caithem*

— With *to-* I S 3 *dochaithi* 'spends', *dicathi*, p *ducha(i)ter*, III
S 3 *nachi-tochthad* 'let it not wear thee out', VIII P 3 *du-ro-chthaisset*, X *tochaithem*

§ **515.** *can-* 'to sing' (in pres sometimes -*ā*-st , sometimes -*e*-
-*o*-st) I S 2 *cani*, 3 *canaid*, r *canas*, p *cana(i)r*, -*canar*, p r *canar*,
P 3 *canait*, p -*cantar*, II S 3 -*chanad*, p -*cainte*, P 3 -*chantais*,
III S 2 *can* (*cain*), P 2 *canaid*, VIII S 3 *cachain*, p -*cét*, P 3.
cachnaitir, *cechnatar*, p -*ceta*, IX *cete*, ger *ceti*, X *ceul*, *céol*, dat *ciul*,
also *cétal* (later dat *cantain*)

(1) With *ad* 'to recite, sound' I S p *adcanar* K Meyer, Betha
Colmáin 78, 13 , X *aicetal* SM , O'Dav — With *fo-ad-* I S 1 *foacanim*
gl succino

(2) With *air-* I S 3 *arcain* '(the law) says', *ar-a-cain* gl
incinere, p *arcanar* gl cantatur, P p *arcantar*, II S p *arcanta*, VIII
S 3 *arcáchain*, X *airchetal* 'song'

(3) With *com-* 'to sing together, agree I S p *con-chanair* (leg.
-*ar*), P 3 *xcanat*, X *cocetal*

(4) With *di-* 'to sing spells' I S 3 *dichan*, *dicain* Corm nescoit,
RC 25 348 7, VIII S 3 *dicachain* Ériu 3 137 66, X *dichetal* Wi ,
CIrL

(5) With *fo-* I S 3 *fo-m-chain* 'sings to me', II S 3 *fo-m-chanad*
Liad and Cur 24 14

(6) With *for-* 'to teach' I S 1 *for-chanim*, *for-chun*, 3 *for-chain*,
-*forcain*, p *forcanar*, P 3 *forcanat*, p *forcantar*, III S 3 *forcanad*,
P 2 *forcanid*, IV S 1 *cu farcan*, 2 *forcane*, -*forcane*, 3 *for-chana*,
P 2 *forcanit⟨h⟩*, 3 -*farcanat*, V S 1 *forcanainn*, VI S 1 *for-(d)ab-
cechan*, 2 *forcechnae*, 3 *for-dub-cechna*, VIII perf S 1 *forroichan*,
2 *for-tan-roichan*, 3 *forrochain*, P 3 *for-tan-roichechnatar*, IX
foircthe (-*th-* for older -*t-*), ger *foircthi*, *forcanti* (new form), X *forcital*
neut

(7) With *to-ind-* IV P 3 *du-n-inchanat* gl incantare, X pl
tinchitla

(8) With *to-air-ro* (or *to-air-fo-* ?) 'prophesy' I S 1 *doaurcha-
naimm*, 3 *doerchain*, *di-n-aurchain*, p *duerchanar* P 3 *do-n-erchanat*,
II S 3 *do-n-erchanad*, P 3 *doaircaintis* ACL 3 12 16, VIII S 3 *du-
nd-archechainn*, *du-n-aircechainn*, -*tairchechuin*, p (perf) *doairchet*,
doar(r)chet, -*tair(r)chet*, -*tar(r)chet*, P 3 *d-an-áircechnatar*, -*tairchech-
natar*, p *taircheta*, IX dat *terchantu* (new form), X *tairchital*,
terchital

Note Brit. W *canu* 'to sing (MIW VIII S 1 *keint*, etc § 460 n 1c),
Co *cane*, MlBr *canaff*, MnBr *kana* Cpds (5) W *goganu* 'to satirize,
lampoon' (MIW VIII S 3 *gogant* 'praised' LIH 268 31, cf *gochanant* (sic
leg) they praise' 277 17) MIW *dyoganu* 'to prophesy' MlBr *diougan*
diogan promise, prediction , MIW *dysgogan* 'predicts BT 13 2, LIH 132 14
oftener *disgogan*, (6) MIW *gwarchan* later *gorchan* 'song (with lr *forcital*
of MIW *gorcheithl-eit* singers' BBCS 4 561 OCo *enchiniat* gl incantator
Br V *diourgan* prediction Loth RC 41 378 (8) W *darogan* to prophesy
prophecy , OBr *darcenneti* gl hariolis – Cf Lat *canō*

§ **516.** *car-* 'to love' I (mostly -*ā*-st) S 1 *caraim, -caraim,*
-cairim, -caru, 2 *-cari,* 3 *caraid, carid, -cara,* r *caras, caris* (arch),
p r *carthar,* P 3 *carait, -carat,* p r *cartar,* II S 3 *-carad,* III S 3
carad, IV S 2 *care,* 3 *con-ro-chia,* P 3 *-carat* V S 3 *-carad* VI
S 3 *-cechra* ZCP 12 364 30, P 3 *-chechrat,* VIII S 3 *ro-t-car, -cair,*
P 1 *ro-n-dob-carsam,* IX ger *carthi* X *serce*

Cf W *caru* Co *care* Br *karet*

§ **517** *cel-* 'to conceal' I S 1 *-ciul* Ériu 11 137, 3 *-ceil* p
-celar, P 3 *-chelat,* II P 3 *-chéiltis,* VI S 1 *-cél,* P 1 *-celam,* VIII
S 3 *-chelt,* p *ro-chleth* Rawl B 502 84a 14, IX *clithe,* ger *clethi,*
X *in chleth, cleith,* acc *clid,* dat *clith* pl acc *cletha*

Cpds of *cel-* are almost inextricably mixed up with a root *ciall-*
(deponent, from *ciall* 'sense') and a root *cell-* 'to go round'

(1) With *air-* 'to steal, rob' I S 1 *arcelim,* 3 *ar-a-chela,*
ar-a-ciallathar, p *-ercheltar* P 2 *arcelith* 3 *ar-a-chelat,* II P 3 *ar-as-*
celatais, IV S 3 *ar-a-cela,* VI S 3 *ar-a-chelfea,* VIII S 3 *ar-id-ro-*
chell, p *ar-roi-chled* Corm § 1301, X *airchellad erchellad* — With
to-air- I S 3 *do-don-archéil* which conceals us' or which removes us'

Note 1 *ara-tairchela* that he may restrict Wb "d 1 in spite of the
single -*l* seems to belong to *cell* The cpds of *cel* are regular ā-stem
With *to-air-* to go round, encircle constrain I S 3 *taircella* X *tairchell*
– With *imb* to surround I S 3 *imm-e-chella* with *to-imb* I S 3 *duimchella*
X *timchell* d *timchull,* with *imb-to-imb* I S 3 *imtimchella* X *imthimchell*
d *imthimchaill,* with *to-au-imb* VIII S 3 *do-sn-armchell* he constrained
them Salt 6552 X *tarmchell* a circuit

(2) With *com-* 'to hide' I S 3 *conceil* ZCP 3 454 11, IV S 2
chon-chelae roncela, 3 *cho-t-chela,* V S 3 r *o-chelad* VIII S 3 *con-*
celt, perf *con-ai-celt*

(3) With *di-* 'to conceal, hide I S 2 *-dichil* p *duceltar,* P p
-dichliter, VIII S 3 *-de-r-chelt* ZCP 3 5¹⁰, IX (? ger) MlIr *dichelta,*
X *dichleth,* acc *díc(h)lith* (also *dicelt, dichelt*)

(4) With *fo-* 'to care for, take heed of, expect, revere I S 3
fuciallathar, -foichlidar, p *focialtar,* P 1 *fochellamar,* 3 *nach-a-ro-*

chlat 'who cannot take care of themselves', III S 2 *fo-m-cialta* 'beware of me' RC 25 346 15, P 1 *fochleamar* (*-ea-* = *-e-*), 2 *foichlid* IV S p *-fochlither*, VI S 3 *fucheillfea*, P 3 *fochelfatar*, VIII S 3. *fochiallastar*, p *fo-n-ro-chled*, *fo-ro-chlad*, *i-rr-ochloth* 'where it had been predestined', P 1 *ni ro-bar-fachlisem* Wi 99 10 (*ni farcelsam* Anecd V 10 14), 3 *-ro-foichlitar*, X *fochell*, g *faichle* Cymmr 14, 106 8 All these forms derive from *ciall-*, *fochelfatar* seems to be influenced by *cel-* Cf ZCP 5 516f

With *air-fo-* 'to heed, take care of, consider, expect' I S 1. *arfochlim*, 3 *ar-a-focladar*, p *urfoichlither*, III P 2 *iraichlid, erachlid*, IV S 2 *-airichlea* (MIIr *-ea* for *-e*), P 1 *¹fairechlem* VIII S 2 *ar-n-dam-r-oichlis* 'that Thou hast guarded me', P p *ar-fo-r-chelta*; IX *ercheltae* 'delivered', X *erfoichill*, dat *crochill, airichill* (MnIr *oirchill*) Contains *ciall-* A derivative *nat-eroichligend* 'who can not guard against', VIII S 3 *airichligis*

Note 2 Ir *cel-* corresponds to W *celu* to conceal (OW *imm it ocl* 'hides itself' Thurneysen, ZCP 16 301, Ifor Williams, BBCS 5 240) with cpds *ar-gelu* to conceal , go *chlyd*, go-*chel* later go *chelyd* (I S 1 go *chelaf*), MIW *go-glyt* (st *go-gel-*) 'to avoid, beware MnW *diogelu* to protect , *ymweglyd* 'to beware (I S 1 *ymogelaf*), Henry Lewis, Dam o'i Ffestifal 81 (these forms show that with Ir *fo ciall-* is mixed a *fo-cel-*) Cf further Lat *cēlō, occulō*, OHG *helan*

Corresponding to Ir *ciall-* the foll forms occur in But W *puyllo* to pause, consider', cpds *cymwyll, cymhuyllo* 'to mention', *darbuyllo* to convince', MIW *goburyllit* may he have regard to' BT 67 19, Br *arboella* 'to save take care of'

Ir *cell-* is from an old *-na* pres **kʷel-na-mi* and is related to Lat *colō*

§ 518 *céss-* 'to suffer, endure' (*-ā-st*) I S 1 *-céssim*, 3 r *cessas*, IV S 3 *rucesa*, P 2 *cia cheste*, VI P 3 with obj *cesfarit*, VIII S 1 *ro-chéssus*, 3 *ro-cées*, X *cesad*

With *com-* IV S 3 *aurc-coicsa* 'that he suffer with ', X *coicsath* 'fellow-suffering', *coicsed* 'pity'

Perhaps **kent-sā-*, to Lith *kenčiù* 'I suffer'

§ 519 *cess-* with *air-* 'to spare, have compassion' (*-ī-st*) I S 3 *arcessi, -airchissi*, III S 2 *airchis*, IV S 3 *arcessea, -airchissa*, *-erchissea, ar-don-roi-gse* 'may he have compassion on us (MIIr *-c* for *-ea*), V S 3 *-erchissed*, VIII S 3 *ar-ro-cheis*, X *di-a airchissecht* 'to spare him'

Perhaps **kʷet-sī-*, to W *ar-bed* 'to spare', OCo *henbidiat* gl parcus

§ 520 *ci-* 'to weep, lament' I S 2 *ciù* RC 12 60 § 18, 3 *cid*,

r *cıas,* P 3 *-chıat,* III S 2 *ná cú,* IV S 3 *-cıa,* V S 3 *-chıad,* P 3
-cetıs, VI P 3 *cıchıt* Anecd V 29 22, VIII S 3 *cuch* RC 12 60
§ 18, *cích,* X MlIr *cón, cáı, cúı*

§ 521. *cı-* (1) With *ad-* 'to see' (cf § 404, § 421, 3) I S 1 *a-t-
chíu, -accıu,* 2 *a-t-chí, -acı -accaı,* 3 *adcí, adcú, -a(ı)ccı,* p *adcıther,
-aıc(c)ıther* H 3 18 20a, b, *-ac(c)astar,* perf *ad-ro-darcar* 'can be
seen', P 1 *adcıam, as-ıd-cıam, -accam,* 3 *adcıat, -acat,* II S 3 *ass-
ıd-chúd* Anecd IV ıx 13, IV S 1 *adcear,* 2 *-aıc(c)ther* LU 6023,
-aıccıther Anecd III 57 19, 3 *-accadar, -acathar,* p *-accastar,* P 2
adced, 3 *adceter,* V S 3 *adcheth, -acced, -aıced,* p *adcethe, -aıcıste*
Érıu 2 106 § 16, P 2 *adcethe,* 3 *-accuıtıs,* VI S 2 *atchıchıther,*
p *a-tat-chıgestar, atchıchestár,* P 3 *atchıchset* Érıu 3 30 § 10, VII
S 3 *-accıged,* P 3 *adcıchıtıs,* VIII S 1 *a-t-chondarc, adcondarc, -acca,*
3 *adıdaırc* (also MlIr *adconnaıc*), p *ad-chess, -aıccess,* P 3 *atcondar-
catar* (also *atconncatar*), *-accataı,* p *-accassa* TBC (Str -O'K)1413,
X *aıcsıu, aıcsın*

With *aır-ad-* 'to observe, witness, look on inactively' I S 1
-aırcıu LU 6213 (but cf Thurneysen ZCP 12 286), 3 *ar-do-aıce*
(-do- = -da-) Plummer, Érıu 9 112f, *ar-dos-faıcce* Rawl B 502
132a 51, *ar-ıd-accaı* Cáın Ad § 35, IV S p *ıarcastar* O'Dav 109,
VI S 2 *-aırcecha* LU 6098, X *aırcsıu* SM An aberrating form ıs
IV S 3 *ar-dos-ıé* Salt 4165 — With *to-aır-ad-* 'to surpass, excell'
(for **to-for-ad-*) I S 3 *-tarcaı* Fél June 29, X *taırgsın* SM V
436 13

With *ad-cıta-ad-* VIII S 3 *adcıtaacar* — With *for-ad-* 'to see,
look on' (a corruption of *aır-ad-* ?) I S 3 *foraccaı,* P 3 *foraccıat*
ZCP 18 313, III S p *foırcıther* O'Dav 881, IX *foırcsın, farcsı* SM ,
Wı Táın — With *to-for-ad-* 'to overlook' I S 3 *do-m-farcaı* Thes
II 290 6, P 3 *dofarcat* 'who excell, surpass' Fél July 15, II S 3 *do-
s-faırced* ZCP 11 158 § 148, IV S 3 *do-don-farcadar* Rawl B 502
125 b 10

With *frıth-ad-* 'to expect' I S 1 *frısaıccım,* 2 *frıs-n-aıccaı,*
3 *frısaccaı, -frescaı,* P 1 *frısaccam,* 3 *frıssaccat, -frescat,* II S 1
frısaccınn, P 3 *frıs-n-aıccıtıs,* IV S 1 *frıssaccar,* P 2 *frısaıccıd,*
3 *frıs-n-accatar, frısaccat,* V S 3 *-fresced,* VIII S 1 *frıs-r-acacha,*
3 *frıs-r-a(ca)chae, fres-n-accache, -ru-frescachae,* P 3 *frı-t-r-acatar,
-ru-frescachtar, -ru-frescechtar, -ru-frescısset, -ru-rescesset,* IX *fresca-
stae,* dat neut (neg) *neph-frescestu,* X *frescsıu, frescısıu*

With *ımb-ad-* I S 3 *ımm-a-n-accaı* 'which he watches over',

ım-aıccı 'ınspects' Anecd III 57 17, *-ımcaı*, VI P 3 *ımm-us-aıccıchet*, VIII P 1 *nı́-m-un-accammar* 'we have not seen one another', IX ger *ımcastı* gl consıderanda, X *ımmcaısın*

With *to-ın-ad-* 'to look towards, to attend to' IV S p *-tıncestar*, *-tıncıstar*, *-tıncustar* SM , VIII S p *do-r-enca[na]s*, X *tıncısın* SM In MlIr *tınc-* ıs treated as a regular sımple veıb

With *rem-ad-* IX ınd *remcastaıd* 'provıdentıally', X *rem-caıssıu* 'providence', *remcısıu*

(2) Wıth *dı-ın-* 'to see' I S 1 *-déccu*, 3 *do-nn-éıccı*, *doécaı*, *-déci*, III S 2 *dé(ı)cce*, 3 *decad*, P 2 *décıth*, *décaıd*, IV S 2 *de-n-ecaıther*, *-de-r-caıther*, p *duécastar*, *doécastar*, P 1 *-decamar*, VI S 3 *duécı[cı]gı*, VIII S 1 *do-r-eccacha*, 3 *do-sn-écacha*, P 3 *do-r-ecatar*, *do-r-ecachtar*, X *déıcsıu*, acc *deícsın*

With *aıth-dı-ın-* IV S 2 *addéıcıder* gl respıcıes — With *etar-dı-ın* I S 3 *etırdécaı* gl ıntrospıcıt — With *ıarm-dı-ın-* I S 3 *ıarmodécaı* 'who looks back' — With *rem-dı-ın-* I S 2 *remıdeci* gl consulıs, 3 *remıdeci*, *remıdéccaı*, VIII P 1 *-remde-r-cachmar*, X *remdeıcsıu* 'provıdence'

Note *aır ad-* and *for ad-* seem to have been confused No doubt *au-* was the orıgınal preverb ın the cpd meanıng to look on ınactıvely', cf Gk περι-οραω, and *for-* gave the meanıng 'to overlook overhang, surpass excel' *no-m-dercœdar* that sees me They II 358 1 ıs hardly a cpd of *cı-* (with *dı ro-m-* or *dı-ro-ad-*) but a sımple verb correspondıng to Gk δερχομαι, but X g *dercaısen* Trip L 216 3 ıs modelled on the cpds of *cı*

In MlIr an ınorganıc *f-* frequently appeaıs before the ınıt vowel of the accented preverbs *ad* and *ın- ın-do-m facıa* where thou hast seen me' LL 113a 17, *dof caı* LU 1706 MnIr I *do-chım* I see after a syntactıc preverb *-feıcım*, VIII *do-chonnac* I saw , *-facea* X *feıcsınt*

The root *cı* to see ıs from IE *k*w*es* (cf the redupl Skr *ca-kṣ até* sees) or *k*w*cıs-* (to Ir *ciall* sense' W *pwyll* Br *poell*, where *ll* < *sl* , v Thurneysen, Handb 130)

§ 522 *cıng-* 'to go, step' I S 3 *cıngıd*, p *cengaır*, P 3 *cengaıt*, r *cengta*, II S 3 *-cınged*, III S 2 *cıng*, 3 *ceıngeth*, IV S p *cıasaır*, P 3 ı *cıasto*, V S 3 *-chess(ed)*, VI S 3 *cıchıs*, P 1 *cıchsımıu* (for *-mı*), VII S 3 *cıchsed*, VIII S 3 *cechaıng*, X *ceımm* 'a step'

With *to-* 'to come' I S 3 *docıng, tocıng*, II S 3 *docınged*, P 3 *docıngtıs*, VI S 3 *do-da-cıch*, P 3 *adcıchset*, X *tochım* Etymology § 8, 2 c

§ 523. *clad-* 'to dıg' I S 3 r *claıdes*, p *cladar* (for *-aır*), P 3 *cladaıt*, II S 3 *no-chlaıded*, V S 1 *-claʂaınd*, p *co-r clasta*, VIII

S p *clasa* Ériu 6 133 7, -*class*, P 3 *co cechlatár, ro-cechladatar*; IX *claissi*, X *claide*, dat *claidi*

With *ad-* 'to pursue, hunt, fish' I S 3 *ad-claidh, -aclaid*, P 3 *adcladat, -accladat*, VI S 1 *adcichlus*, X *aclaide, aclaid*

With *com-* 'to dig, excavate' I S 3 *conclaid*, IV P 3 *conclasat*, VIII S 3 *ɔcechlaid*, perf *con-ac-claid*

With *fo-* I S 3 r *fochlaid* Ériu 7 156 1, VIII S 3 *fo-roichlaid* gl effodit, X *fochlaid* Cáin Ad

With *to-* I S 3 *du-s-claid* 'roots it up', X *tochailt*

Note. Ir *clad-* is cognate with W *claddu* 'to bury', Br *klaza*, cf Co *clath-va* 'burial-place', with long vowel, W *clawdd* 'hedge (of earth), dyke', MnCo *kledh* 'ditch', *cleath*, Br *kleuz* To Lat *clādēs*

§ 524. *clech-, clich-* (meaning uncertain) III P 2 *clichit* (leg -*id*), VIII S 3 *clichis* (-*s*-pret a new formation), *ro-chichlaig* 'shook'

With *air-* 'to ward off' I S 3 *arclich*, p *arclechar*, II S 3 *ar-a-cliched*, IV P 2 *ar-a-clessid*, VIII S 3 *ar-a-clich* (the -*s*-pret a MIIr new formation), X *irchlige* (MIIr *ersclaige, airsclaige, ursclaige* by contamination with *slaide* and *slige* 'to strike')

With *com-* 'to dash, toss' I S 3 *ɔclich*, p *ɔclechar*, VI S 3 *concivchail* Anecd II 8 11, VII S p *concivchlaisti*, X *cucl(a)ige* 'a shaking, trembling, swerving, tossing'

Note Ir *cluche* neut game , *cless* g *clessa* feat , *clechtaim* (-ā-st) 'I am wont, practise are related

§ 525. *cluin-* 'to hear I S 1 *ro-cluiniur*, 3 -*cluinethar*, P 1 -*chluinemmar*, 3 -*chlúinetar*, III S 2 *cluinte*, P 1 *cluinem*, IV S 1 -*cloor, -clór*, 2 -*cloither*, 3 -*chloathar*, P 1 -*cloammar*, 3 -*cloatar*, V S 3 -*cload*, P 1 -*cloimmis*, 2 -*chlóithe*, 3 -*cloitis*, VI S 3 -*cechladar*, p -*cechlastar*, P p *cechlaiter* (irreg non-comp form), VII S p -*cechlastai*, VIII S 2 -*cuala*, 3 -*cual(a)e, -cuala*, p -*chlos, -cloth* KZ 28 549, P 1 -*chualammar*, 2 -*cual(a)id*, 3 -*chualatar*, p *cloisi* Anecd I 54 3, -*clotha* Fél 24 Aug , IX g *in chlothi*, X dat *do chluas*, acc *cluais* For *ro-* in ind and subj v § 421 2

With *imb-* VIII P 1 *imm-un-cualammar*

With *fo-ro-* 'to hear unexpectedly' I S p -*forchluinter*, V P 3 -*forchlótis*, VIII S 2 -*forcuala*, 3 -*forchuala*, P 3 -*forchúalatár*

Note MlW *clywaf* I hear' (VIII S 1 , 3 *cigleu*, 2 *clyweist*, P 3 *clywsont*, plpf S 3 *clywssei*, P 3 *clywyssynt*, v § 460 n 1d, § 467 n 6), Co X *clewas* v § 488, 4, MlBr X *clevet*, I S 1 *clevaf* Cf Lat *cluēre*, OHG *hlū t* 'loud', Skr *śr nō-ti* 'he hears — A W cpd is MlW *ar-o gleu* MnW *aroglau* 'smell', vn *arogleuo* (MlW II S 3 *aroglywyei*), v Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein

p 95, Loth, RC 40 359 — In W *clywed* denotes 'to perceive (with all the senses but sight)', cf the cognate Russ *slýšat'* 'to hear, smell'

§ 526. *cna-* 'to gnaw, consume' II P 3 *-chnaetis* Wi II 2 65. 742, IV S 3 *-chná* Salt 6975, VIII S 3 *-cnái* 5787, X *cnám* CIrL 397 — With *com-* 'to gnaw, eat' I S 3 *ocná* Corm 756, IX *coganti* CIrL 464, X *cocnam* Ml 75 b 7

Note Cf W *cnoi* 'to gnaw, chew, bite' (with *yn cnoi eu cil* 'chewing their cud' cf Ir *ac cognam a círe* 'chewing their cud' Corm 603, cf Loth, RC 42 83) For MlW *go-gnaw* v Ifor Williams, C Llywarch Hen 236

§ 527. *cren-* 'to buy' I S 3 r *crenas*, p r *crenar*, P 3 *-chrenat*, III S p *crenar*, IV S 2 *-crie* ZCP 13 21 33, *-criae* Ériu 1 199 2, Thurneysen, Burgschaft 31 § 82, 3 *-cria* p *-chreder* ZCP 8 319 32 (*-crither* Rawl B 502 141a 15), V S 3 *-criad*, VIII S 3 *-ciuir*, X acc *cen chreic*, g *creice* (*crith* O'Dav 425, 570)

With *to-aith-* 'to ransom' III P 2 *(ta)idchrenid*, IV S 2 *-tathcria* O'Dav 1520, V P p *doaithchretis*, VIII S 1 (with perf *-ro-*) *duai-r-chér*, 3 *do-r-adchiúir*, *do-rr-aidchiúir*, *dua-r-chiuir*, P p *do-r-athchratha*, X nom *taidchrec*, nom dat *taidchricc*, *taithchricc*, g *taidchrecce*

With *fo-* 'to buy, hire' IV S p *focrethther*, X *fochricc* (fem), g *fochricce* 'reward', *fochraic* 'payment, rent, hire' — With *to-air-fo-* (a legal term, 'to make a bargain of giving so much stock in return for so much food-rent' SM Gloss 742, cf Thurneysen, ZCP 14 363) IV S 3 *-taurcria*, X *taurchreic* ZCP 13 46 Cf OSe *turhochret* RC 47 168 The same preverbs are contained in OIr *ter(f)ochraic* 'reward'

With *to-* VI S 3 *do-s-cicher* 'will purchase' RC 20 282, X *tochra* 'bride-price' K Meyer, Betha Colmáin 92 1, 2, Wi

Note Brit forms § 55 OW *prinit* buys' § 445 n 3, MlW *go brit, go-brynu* to merit (W *gobr, gwobr, gobrwy* reward', Co *gober*, Br *gobr*)

§ 528 *crin-* with *air-* and fixed obj pron (KZ 35 406f) 'to perish' I S 1 *ar-a-chrinim*, 3 *ar-a-chrin, ar-in-d-chrin*, P 3 *ar-a-crinat, ar-in-chrinat*, V P 3 *ar-ind-ro-chrietis*, VI P 3 *ar-a-chiurat*, VIII S 3 *ar-a-rui-chiuir, -archiuir*, P 3 *-ar-r-c-⟨h⟩eoratar*, X *irchre, erchrae* — With *fo-ess-* I S 3 *fo-feiscren* 'fails', X *feiscre*

Cf § 446 Cognate Ir *crín* 'withered' (*crínaim* 'I wither' I S 3 r *crinas*), W *crin* (*crino* 'to wither')

§ 529 *cuir-* (deponent), subj and pret *cora-*, 'to put, place, throw', in ind and subj supplemented by *fo-cerd-* when not preceded

by a preverb, *fo-cerd-* is also used with an infixed pron in the ipv ,
the fut is formed from *fo-cerd-*, the perf forms from *ro-la-*

I S 3 r *cuirethar*, P 3 *-cuiretar*, p *-cuirter*, III S 2 *cuirthe*,
cuire (§ 444 n 5), *cure*, P 2 *currid*, IV S 2 *-coirther*, 3 *-corathar*,
VIII S 3 *-corastar*, IX ger *coirthi*, X *cor*, acc pl *curu*

fo-cerd- I S 3 *fo-cheirt*, *f-a-cheird*, p *fucertar*, *focerddar*, P 1
focertam, 3 *focerdat*, *fu-chertat*, p *focerdatar*, III P 1 *fo-n-cerddam*
LL 283 a 19, *fu-s-cerdam* (v Bergin, Ériu 11 137), IV S 2 *foceirr*,
V S 3 *f-a-cherred*, VI S 1 *fochichur*, *-foichur*, 3 *focicher(r)*, (remod-
elled *fochiuchra*), p *focichertar*, P p *fochichritar* VII S 3 *fochichred*,
VIII S 3 *focairt*, *focaird*, p *focress*, P 3 *f-a-chartar*, *fochartatár*

ro-la- I S 1 *ro-láo*, *-ro-láim*, IV S 1 *-ra-l*, *-ro-l* ZCP 4 43 22,
2 *ro-lá* ZCP 6 257, 3 *-ra-la*, P 1 *ro-lam*, VIII S 2 *ro-llais*, 3 *ro-
laa*, *r-a-la*, *-ra-lae*, p *ro-l(l)aad*, *-ro-lád*, P 2 *ro-lasid*, *-ra-lsid*, 3 *-ro-
lsat*, p *ru-latha*

Cpds (1) With *to-ad-* X *tacur* 'act of coming towards' —
With *frith-to-ad-* I S p *fristacuirther* gl obicitur, V P 3 *co fristacor-
⟨tais⟩* gl ut obucerent

(2) With *air-* I S 1 *ar-in-d-churiur*(?) 3 *arcuirethar* 'lengthens
(life)', P 3 *-erchuiretar* 'increase (the number)' Cf *erchor*, *irchor*,
(a)urchor 'a throw', dat pl *erchuraib*, *erchoraib* gl telis, iaculis,
airchur arathir gl temo — With *imb-air-* X *do immarchor chóre*
'to offer peace' (finite forms Wi 621)

(3) With *aith-* I S 3 *adcuirethar*, P 3 *adcuireddar* 'they return',
V P 3 *-aidchuirtis* gl obucerent, X *athchor* 'sending back', gen
aithchuir gl recursus Supplem IV perf S 2 *forsna-hath-ro-la* —
With *to-aith-* I S 3 *an do-n-aithchuiredar* gl redeunte, *du-ad-
churidar* 'that returns', IX *taidchoirthe*, X *taidchur*, *taidchor*, gen
taidchuir Supplem VI S 3 *do-n-aithfoicherr* 'shall return', P 3 *du-
n-athfoichret*, VIII perf S 3 (§ 435, 3) *tath-ar-la*

(4) With *com-* V S 3 *cia concorad* 'though he contract (cov-
enants)', VIII P 3 *concoirsetar* RC 17 175 19, X *do chocur
chóre* (also 'whisper, secret talk, council')

(5) With *to-etar-* I S 3 *do-etar-cuirethar* 'intercedes', X
tetarcor 'interpose' — With *etar-to-etar-* X dat *etartetarcur* 'inter-
cession, interval'

(6) With *for-* 'to violate' VIII S 3 *forcorastar* Rawl B 502
143 b 9, p *forcorad* ZCP 15 350, P 3 *for-da-corsatar* (?) Thes II 343,
X *forcor*

(7) With *frith-* I S 1 *friscuriur* 'I except', *friscuiriur cel* gl.
colo ZCP 15 298, 3 *fri-t-curethar cheill* 'who worships him', III
S 2 *frecuirthe ceill*, IV P p *friscoirter ceill*, V S p *friscoirthe*,
X *freccor céill* 'adoration'   Supplem VI S 1 *frisfoichiurr ceill*

(8) With *imb-* I P 3 *imm-e-churetar* 'who bring', X MnIr.
iomchar 'to carry' Supplem IV P 3 *co-mm-os-ralat* 'let them flee'.

(9) With *in-* I S 3 *incuirither* 'puts in, brings in' ZCP 14 379
§ 43 (cf 373 § 35), IV S p *-acraither* (*-a-* for *-ea-*, *-e*) l c , X *ecor*
l. c (*ecor* MnIr *eagar* also means 'arrangement') Suppl VIII
S p *in-ro-lad* By-form with *ē*, MnIr *téagar* 'shelter', denom OIr
imm-e-thecrathar 'what covers', also *t-in-chor* 'furniture'

(10) With *to-* meaning 'to put, throw' I S 3 *ducuiredar, du-nd-*
churethar, p *-tochuirther, -tochar*, III S 2 *tochre*, V S 3 r *to-⸗chorad*,
VIII S 3 *ducorastar, -tochrastar*, X dat *do thochur* Supplem
VI P 3 *con-dichret*, VII S 3 *dofóichred* Perf forms IV S 3 *to-⸗rala*,
-tarla, VIII S 3 *du-s-rale*, p *doralad*

Note 1 Different in flexion and probably even in origin is the regular
*-i-*stem *to cuir-* to invite' I S 1 *docuiriur* 3 *docuirethar do choirethar*, p
dofocuirther, VI S 1 *docuirifar*, VII S p *-tochuiribthe*, VIII S 3 *do ro-*
churestar, do ro-chunistar, ni ru-thochunestar, P 1 *do ro-chuirsemmar*, X
tochuiriudh

Note 2 The Brit cognate form of Ir *cuir-* occurs in numerous cpds
with **to ate* , Br *daskon* to restore', with **k'om-*, W *cynqor* 'council,
advice (Ir *cocur*), OBr *hep-corim* gl cassum W *hepgor* dispense with',
cf BBCS 1 1f

§ 530   *dál-* (*-ī-*st) 'to divide, dispense' III S 2 *dale*, VIII
S 3 *dális*, X *dáil*

(1) With *com-* 'to divide' I S p *-condlaither*, X *condáil* —
With *air-com-* I S 3 *ní erchondla* 'does not participate' (for *-ai*),
X *ernail* 'participation, division, kind'

(2) With *fo-* 'to distribute, divide' I S 2 *fodali*, 3 *fodáli*,
p *fodailter*, P 3 *fodalet,-fodlat*, p *-fodlaiter,-fodlatar*, III S 3 *fodlad*,
VI S 1 *fudalib*, 3 *fodailfea*, VIII S 3 *fo-n-d-ro-dil*, p *fo-ro-dlad*
LU 4793, P p *fo-ro-dalta*, IX *fodlaide, fodlide*, X *fodail, fodil* —
With *com-fo-* 'to participate, share' I P 2 *confodh⟨d⟩*, 3 *confodlat*
SM IV 168 27, X *cobdail, cobfodail* SM , *coibdil* ZCP 9 143 3
Deriv *cobodlus, cobadlus, cobfodlus* 'fellowship'

(3) With *to-* 'to pour' I S 1 *dodálim*, p *dudailter*, IV P p *du-*
n-daleter, VIII S 1. *do-ro-dalius*, X *todáil*

Note Cf W *gwa-ddol* 'portion, dowry' (v RC 38 170) This has no

connection with another Ir *dal-* (*dalaɪm* 'I arrange a meeting', from *dál* W *dadl* § 62)

§ 531. *dam-* 'to suffer, allow' (orɪg *-ɪ-*pres and *-ā-*subj) I S 3 *-daɪm* (also *-dam*), p *-damar*, P 3 *-daɪmet*, IV S 3 *-dama*, p *-damthar*, P 3 *-damat*, V P 3 *-daɪmtɪs*, VI S 1 *-dɪdaṃ*, 2 *-dɪdma* (later forms S 1 *-dɪdém*, P 1 *-dɪdemam*, 3 *démaɪt*), VIII S 1 *-ro-damar*, 3 *ro-dámaɪr*, *-ro-dámaɪr* (often without sign of length), p *ro-det*, P 3 *ro-damatar*, *-ro-dmatár*, *ro-damdatar*, *damdatar*, *-dam-thatar*, *ro-damnatar*, X *deɪtɪu*, acc *détɪn*

With *ad-* 'to admit, confess, acknowledge' I S 1 *a-ta-domu* (for *ad-dat-*) RC 26 52 289, *atmu* (§ 402, 5), 2 *-atmaɪ*, 3 *at⟨a⟩ɪm*, P 3 *ataɪmet*, *a-ta-daɪmet*, III P 2 *atmaɪd*, IV P 3 perf co *n-á-r-damat*, VI S 2 *a-tum-dɪdmae*, 3 *ad-n-dɪdma*, VIII S 1 *ad-ro-damar*, 2 *ad-ro⟨da⟩mar*, *-atamar*, 3 *ad-ro-damaɪr*, p *ad-ro-dat* ZⲤP 8 314 1, P 3 *atdamnatar* 3 243 28, X *atɪtɪu*

With *fo-* 'to endure' I S 1 *fodaɪmɪm*, 2 *fodaɪmɪ*, *-fodmaɪ*, 3 *fodaɪm*, *-fodaɪm*, P 1 *fodaɪmem*, 2 *fodaɪmɪd*, 3 *fodaɪmet*, *-fodmat*, IV S 1 *f-a-dam*, 3 *fudama*, P p *fo-n-damtar*, V S 1 *-fodmaɪn*, *nad fo-r-damaɪnn*, P 3 *fo-n-damtɪs*, VI S 2 *fo-n-dɪdmae*, 3 *-fuɪdema*, P 3 *fo-s-dɪdmat* (new form *fodémat*), VII S 3 *f-a-dɪdmed*, VIII S 1 *fo-rro-damar*, *-fo-r-daɪmar*, 3 *fo-ro-damaɪr*, *-fo-r-dámaɪr*, P 3 *fo-ro-dmotar*, *fu-ro-damnatar*, X *fod(a)ɪtɪu* — With *com-fo-* I S 3 *ɔfodɪm* 'co-endures', IV P 1 *má confodma⟨m⟩* 'if we suffer together'

Note W *add(ɪf* Br *añsaʋ* to admɪt, W *cyfadd(ɪf* 'to admɪt' OW *nɪ ccɪn guodemɪsauch* gl non bene passa, MnW *qo dd(ɪf* to suffɪɪ, Co *gothaf*, Br *gouzañʋ*, W *dɪ o-dd(ɪf* to suffɪɪ

§ 532. *dar-* 'to bull (a cow)' II S 3 *-daɪred*, VIII S 3 *-ro-dart*, X *daɪr*, g *dara*

§ 533. *ded-* 'to waste away melt' I perf S 3 *ru-deda*, II P 1. *-tedmaɪs*, 3 *-dedaɪs*, IV S 3 r *dedas*, P 3 *dedaɪt* (fut ?), V P 3 *-dedaɪs*, VI P 3 *dedaɪt*, VIII S 1 *ro-dedus*, 3 *ro-ded*, *ro-tetha* Fél Prol 193, P 3 *ru-dedsat*

With *com-* VIII S 3 *ɔ-ro-deda* gl contabuɪt

§ 534 *de-n-* 'to suck' I P 3 *denaɪt*, II P 3 *-déndaɪs*, VIII S 3 *dɪth*, r *dɪde*, X *deol* The *-n-*became fixed ɪn Mllr VIII S 3 *ro-dɪnestar* — Etym § 42

§ 535. *dɪ-n-g-* 'to repress' VIII S 3 *dedaɪg*, X Mllr *dɪnge*. **(1)** With *for-* 'to suppress' I S p *fordengar*, P 3 *fordengat*, II S 1 *for-n-dɪngɪnn*, IV P p *for-n-dɪassatar*, VI P p *ardɪdsɪter*;

VIII S 2 *for-ru-dedach*, P 3 *for-ru-dedgatar*, IX pl *fortechtai*,
X *fortige*, *di-a fordinge*

(2) With *air-od-* 'to refresh' I S 3 *arutaing*, p *ar-ún-utangar*,
VI S 2 *arutais*, VIII S 3 *arutacht*, *ar-do-utacht*, IX ger *erdachtaib*,
X *ertach* neut, *irtach*, *aurtach* — With *com-od-* 'build, upbuild'
I S 1 *conutgim*, 3 *conutuinc*, *co-tof-utainc*, *conutunig* (leg *-tuing*),
co-ta-utaing 'supports them', p *chonutangar*, III S 3 *comtangad*,
V S 1 *outsin*, VI S p *conutastar*, P 3 *conutsat*, VIII S 3 *ɔ-id-r-otig*,
ɔ-r-otaig, *con-r-otonch*, *-cumtaig* Salt 1103, p *con-r-otacht*, P 3 *con-
r-ótgatar*, p *ɔ-r-otachtá*, IX *cumtachtae*, *cumtuchta*, ger *cumtachtaib*
gl figendis, X *cumtach*, *cumdach* (MnIr *cumhdach*) — With *ad-
com-od-* 'to build up' I S 3 *-adchumtig*, VIII S 3 *adɔ-r-otaig* (with
irregular accent)

Note The very different meanings of the cpds seem to point to two
different roots one meaning 'to build' (with *air-od-* and *com-od-*) and another
meaning 'to press' To the latter root may belong a cpd with *fo od-* to
carry off by force' I S 3 *ni s-fuatnge* SM II 122 28, IV S 2 *ni fuadis*
SM I 264 9, cf O'Dav 1167, X *fuatach* SM, MnIr *fuadach* (most of
the other forms occurring are late re-formations)

§ 536 *dleg-*, *dlig-* 'to be entitled to, deserve' I S 1 *dligim*,
2 *-dligi*, 3 *-dlig*, p *dlegair*, *-dlegar*, P 3 *dlegait*, *-dlegat*, p *dlegt(a)n*,
IV S 3 *dlé* (conj form used as simplex), *-dle*, p r *dlestar*, V S 1
-dlessaind, 3 *-dlessad*, p *-dlest(e)a*, P 3 *-dlesdais*, VI S 3 r *dligfes*,
VII S p *dligfithi*, VIII S 3 *ro-dlig*, *ro-dligestar*, p *ro-dlecht*, P 3 *-ro-
dlechtatar*, X *dliged* neut — With *air-* I S 3 *nad airdlig* 'deserves
not'

Note Cf MIW *dlyu*, *dylyu* to have a right to, be obliged to Co *dylly*
'to deserve', MIBr *dellit* cf § 7,1 § 35,5

§ 537 *dlo-n-g-* 'to split' I S p *dlongar*, VI S 3 *-dedlai* (the
old fut form is mistakenly used in MIr as pret *-dedail*), VII P 3
-didlastáis, VIII S 3 *ro-s-dedlaig*, X *dluige* — With *in-* or *ind-*
(also *as-* in loose comp) I S 1 *indlung*, 3 *as-dloing*, II P p *in-
dloingtis*, VI S 3 *-indail*, IX dat masc *neph-indlachtu*, X *indlach*
neut

A regular *-i*-st *dluig-* also occurs

§ 538. *don-* 'to comfort' X *donad*, *danad* — With *di-* I S 1
dodonaimm, 3 *-didna*, II S p *du-m-dontae*, III P 2 *d-an-donid*,
IV P 3 *dodonat*, V S 3 *du-dam-donad*, VIII S p *do-ro-n-donad*,
X *dídnad*, *díthnad* — With *com-di-* X *comdidnad* 'consolation',
comdíthnad — With *imb-di-* (cf Sarauw, ZCP 5 513) I S 3 *imm-*

us-dıdnathar ZCP 11 83 27, VI S p *nı ımdıdnıbt⟨h⟩er* 'no person will be released, or exempted', X *du-mm ımdídnaad* 'that I may be released'

Cf W *dıddanu* 'to comfort, amuse', *ym-ddıddan* 'to converse', Co *dythane* 'to gladden', OBr *dıdanuud* gl uoco, elıcıo (cf BBCS 5 3f)

§ 539   *drıng-* 'to step, advance' I S 3 *drıngıd*, P 3 *drengaıt*, p *drengaıtır* 'are clımbed', VIII S 3 *drebraıng*, *dreblaıng*, X *dréımm* 'to clımb' — With *for-* 'to clımb upon' II P 3 *fordrıngtís* LU 6566 — With *frıth-* v SMGloss 419

Cf W *drıngo* 'to clımb'

§ 540   *ell-*, *la-* 'to go, set ın motıon' They occur only ın cpds , *la-* wıth *od-* and *com-*, *ınd-* (v also *cuır-* § 529), *ell-* ın the other cpds

(1) Wıth *ad-* 'to vısıt' I S 3 *a-ta-ella*, P 3 *ad-n-ellat*, VI S 1 *ad-n-ellıub*, *adeıllıub*, *-adlıub*, VIII S 3 *adella*, *adell*, X *adall*, g *adíll*, *adaıll* — With *to-ad-* to vısıt, approach' I S 3 *do-da-aıdlea*, II S 3 r *taıdled*, III S 2 *tadall*, IV perf S 2 *-tá-r-le*, VI S 3 *do-sn-aıdlıbea*, P 1 *doaıdlıbem*, VIII perf S 2 *do-m-aı-r-lıss*, 3 *ta-r-aıll*, *do-n-a-r-aıll*, X *tadal(l)*, gen *tadıll*

(2) Wıth *com-* 'to fulfıl' I S 3 *con-la* ZCP 12 362 1, X *comall* (MnIr *comhall*) 'fulfılment, covenant', *comol*, *comul* 'unıon, assembly' — With *ud-com-* 'to joın I S 3 *adcomla*, p *adcomaltar*, *-accomaltar*, P 3 *ad-ınd-chomlat*, p *adcomlatar*, *-accomlatar*, IV S p *adcomaltar*, *-acomoltar*, P p *ad-chomlatar*, V S p *ad-ro-chomolta*, *-ro-accomalta*, VIII S 3 *ad-ro-chomul*, IX *accomallte* gl socıus, *acomoltae* gl conjunx, *accomolta* 'connected', X (neut) *accomol*, *accumıl* — Wıth *fo-ad-com-* I S 3 *foaccomla* 'he subjoıns', X *foac(c)omol* — Wıth *to-ın-com-* 'to gather' I S 3 *doecmalla*, P 3 perf *-ta-r-comlat* RC 36 260f , III P 2 *tecmallıd*, VIII P 3 *túercómlássát*, IX dat fem *tecmaltaı*, X *tecmallad* (In MIı *-cmall-* often becomes *-clam-* VIII S 3 *ta-ı-glaım*, p *ta-r-clamad*, X *hı teclom*, acc *teclaım*) — Wıth *ımb-to-ın-com-* IV S 3 *co mm-a-te-r-chomla* so that he may collect them'

(3) Wıth *dı-* 'to turn asıde, declıne' I S 3 *doella* |*dılla* O'Mulc 479, p *do-n-elltar*, P p *doellatar*, II S 3 *-dılled*, P 3 *d-a-eltaıs*, IV S 3 |*dılla* SM V 418 14, P 1 *-dıllem*, 3 *-de-r-lat* Érıu 12 58, p *duellatar*, V S 3 *du-n-ellad*, P 3 *du-n-eltıs*, p *duelltıs*, VIII S 3 *du--ı-eıll*, P 3 *do-r-ellsat*, *du-r-elsat*, *dı-r-ellsat*, IX ger *dıllıthı*, X *dıall* 'declensıon' (neut) — Wıth *fo-dı-* 'to leave, deduct' (or 'to be left,

deducted'?) I S 3 *fodıla* (-*l*- for -*ll*-), X *fuıdell* 'remnant'; v
Thurneysen, ZCP 14 392 — With *to-dı-* VIII S 3 *dodıhel* gl
deerrauerat, *todıel*

(4) With *ınd-* 'to arrange, yoke' I S 3 *ın-la* Fıanaıg 38 8,
ZCP 12. 364 10, 11, *ınláa* 9 138 29, p *ınlathar* O'Dav 1113, ZCP
13 25 1, cf 14, 373 § 36, VIII S p *ın-ro-lad* 13 21 3, X *ındell*

(5) With *to-ın-od-* 'to collect' I S 3 *do-ın-ola*, IV S 3 -*tınola*,
p *do-n-ınoltar*, P p -*tınolatar*, VI S p *tınolfıt(h)er*, VIII S 3 *do-r-*
ınól, IX *tınolta*, X *tın(ól)*, dat *do thınóol* — With *com-to-ın-od-*
'to collect' VIII S 3 *ɔ-ro-thınoll*, X *comthınól* 'gathering', g
comthınól

(6) With *sechm-* 'to pass by, dispense with' I S 3 *sechmı-n-ella*,
sechmoella, -*sechmalla*, II S 3 -*sechmallad*, VI S p -*sechmalfaıder*,
P 1 -*sechmalfam*, VIII S 1 *asa-r-sechmaıllıus*, X dat *sechmall*,
gen *sechmaıll*

(7) With *to-* (a) 'to take away, steal' (only perf , otherwise
supplemented by *gat-*), (β) 'to give room, admit', (otherwise Thurn-
eysen, Handb 49) I S 3 (β) *du-nd-alla*, -*talla*, -*tella*, IV S 1 (a) -*tall*,
VI S 3 (β)-*telfea*, VIII S 3 (a)*du-d-éll*, P 3 (a) *tallsad*, X (β) *tellad*

§ 541 *em-* (1) With *com-* 'to guard' VIII S 1 (with perf -*ro-*)
conróetar Érıu 11 86 (LL 119 a 33), 3 *con-ıd-roıter*, *conroıter* ZCP
16 175 § 1, 185, P 3 *ɔroıtatar*, X *comét*, g *cometa* Cf *com-* + *o-*
(from which the deponent flexion of the preterite seems to have
been taken over)

Note -*cóıma* gıven ın VKG as IV S 3 of thıs cpd ıs explaıned by
Thurneysen, ZCP 11 165 as a sımple verb, and ıt ıs ındeed treated as a
sımple verb, cf I S 3 *coemt(h)-und* protects us' (together wıth *saerth-uınd*)
K Meyer, Bruchst d alt Lyrık 48 26 (cf 48²) and IV S 3 *caoms um*,
caemhs am may he protect me' (together wıth *saors um, aıns-ım*, -*s*- due to
ımıtatıon of the latter verb) ZCP 10 347 16, Érıu 11 149 For reasons of
meanıng *coım-* cannot well be derıved from *coım* dear , no doubt the older
explanatıon from *com-em-* ıs the correct one, the forms wıth suffıxed pron
have no provıng force whatever, for they are due to the mechanıcal methods
of the later poets who wıshıng to cumulate as many synonyms as possıble
(protect, guard, delıver' etc) ın order to ıncrease the magıc power of the
prayers, have ımıtated ın theır addıtıons the verbs of the older and sımpler
formulas (*snaıdsıum, caoınsum* aıe modelled on *aınsıum*) But *coım-* may
have been assocıated wıth *coım* dear , cf Metr Dınds I 28 *ıs caem ın*
gaırm no-s-cdema

(2) With *dı-* 'to protect' I S 2 *do-n-eım*, 3 *du-n-em*, p *duemar*,
P 3 *do-n-emat*, p -*dımter*, II P 3 *duemtıs*, III S 2 *du-m-em*, IV

S 2 *du-m-emae*, 3. *duema, -dimea*, (with perf *-ro-*) *-deroima*, p *do-n-emthar*, V S 3 *do-n-emad*, (with *-ro-*) *-deroimed*, p *do-n-emthœ, -dimithe, -dimthe*, P 1 *du-n-emmais*, VI S 1 *duem*, 3 *duema, doemfea*, p *do-emthar*, P 3 *do-t-emfet*, VIII S 1 *do-rr-et*, 3 *do-r-et*, IX (neg) *neph-dite*, X *ditiu* — With *imb-di-* I S 3 *imm-us-dím* ZCP 11 83 27, X g *imdíten* — With *huad-di-* VIII S 3 *huade-r-et* 'uncovered' (artificial form)

(3) With *air-fo-* 'to assume, receive' I S 2 *ar-a-foimi*, 3 *ar-a-foim, -eróim*, p *-eroimer*, P 3 *ar-a-fóimat, arfoemat*, p *ar-a-fóimtar*, III S 2 *eróim*, 3 *íroimed*, IV S 2 *arfema* (*-a* from *-e*), 3 *ar-a-foima, -airema, -eróima*, p *arfemthar*, P 1 *arfoimam*, 3 *arfemat, -eroimet, arroímat*, p *ar-a-fóimtar*, V S 2 *arfemtha*, P 3 *ar-a-foimtis, -eróimtis*, VI S 3 *arfema*, VIII perf S 1 *ar-roi-éit*, 3 *ar-ro-é(i)t, arróit, ar-a-roiat, -arroit, -arroet*, P 1 *ar-a-róitmar*, 2 *aróithid*, 3 *-arróimsat*, IX dat pl *eritib*, ger *eriti, airiti*, X *airitiu, eritiu*

§ 542 *er-* 'to grant' I S 3 r *ernes* SM V 358, 7, p *ernnair* ZCP 16 272, IV S 3 *r-a-éra*, p *ro-erthar*, V S p *ro-erthe*, VI S 3 (with obj) *ebarth -i*, p *ebarthir*, VIII S 3 *ro-ír*, p *ro-rath* SM II 316 21, 338 30, cf ZCP 6 257 § 6, P p *ro-ratha*, X *rath* Wi 98 2, cf *rath* 'tenure' SM

§ 543 *eth-* 'to go, find, take' (cf KZ 30 71—78) I S 3 *ethaid*, VIII S 3 *ethais* Imr Brain § 46, p *etha, etta*, P 3 *ra-ethsat*, X acc *ri hethamain*

(1) With *ad-* I S 3 *adetha* 'attacks', *atetha* 'seizes, takes', P 2 *atethaid*, 3 *atethát*, p *atethatar*, III S 2 *atetha*, IV S 2 *atetha*, VIII S 3 *ad-r-eth*, P 3 *ad-r-ethsat*, ? X *aided* 'violent death'

(2) With *aith-* 'to escape' I P 3 *aithet*, X *aithed*

(3) With *air-fo-* 'to go, depart' (only in close cpds , treated as simple forms) III S 2 *urtha, ortha*, V P 3 *-urthaitis*, VIII S 3 *urtha*, P 3 *urthatar* — With *to-air-fo-*, III S 2 *tortha* LL 166 a 23

(4) With *to-* 'to come' VIII S p *doeth* TBC (Str -O'K) 112b, 1131

(5) With *trem-* 'to penetrate' I S 3 *trema-etha* SM IV 348 18 (*tremiethait* Ml 43 c 14 ?), IX ger *tremedti*

§ 544 *fed-* 'to bear' I S 3 *fedid*, p *fedir*, p r *fedar*, P 1 r *fedme*, II P p *-feidtis*, VIII P 3 *ro-fadatar*, X *fedan* 'yoke', g *inna fednae* gl *iniectionis*

Note 1 *ro-fadatar* Wb 29 c 13 seems to be intransitive 'they went' or 'they rushed' For Mllr forms with *-th-* (influenced by *eth-* § 543) and

meaning 'to go (I S 3 *fethid*, VIII S 3 *ro-faith, ro-faid*, P 3 *ro-fathatar*
LL 119b 27),\ Stokes BB 23 55, Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 36 Note that *-th-*
is more constant in I (where the influence of *eth-* was direct) than in VIII

(1) With *air-com-* 'to hinder, injure' I S 3 *ar-a-choat*, II
S 3 *ar-a-choided*, IV S 3 *arcói*, V S 3 *-aurchoissed*, VI S 3 *-irchói*,
VIII S p *-airchós*, IX (nom pl masc) *erchoissi*, X *ercho(a)t*,
airchoid, erchoit, irchoit —With *air-di-com-* IX *airdíxa* 'productus,
long' VKG § 684 — With *to-di-com-* 'to lead' I S 1 *dodichthim*
gl educo ZCP 15 298, P 3 *d-an-dichdet*, VI S p *dudichestar*,
IX *tuidchisse* —With *fo-to-di-com-* IV S p *fuduidchestar* gl subduci

(2) With *air-di-* X *airdiden* 'productio lengthening' — With
to-di- 'to lead' I S 1 *dodiut*, 3 *d-an-diat*, IV S 3 *dudí*, V S 3 *du-m-
dísed*, p *du-n-diastae*, VIII S 3 *du-sn-de-r-aid*, X dat *tuididen*,
acc dat *tudidin*, g *tui(di)dne*

(3) With *to-* 'to lead' II S 3 *du-da-feded*, P 3 *do-d-fetis*, III
S 2 *to-n-feid* Hib Min 39, *ná tuid* TBC (Str -O'K) 234, IV S 3 *do-
n-fe*, V S 3 *du-d-fessed*, VI S 1 *-tuidis* (for *-ius*) TBC (Str -O'K) 238,
VIII S 3 *du-da-ru-id*, P 3 *du-t-fidedar*, X acc *tuidhin* O'Dav 820

Note 2 Cf W *qwedd* 'yoke', *cy-wain* to carry (MIW stem *ky wed-*),
MIW *ar-wein* to carry (*ar-wed af*), MIW *ar gy wedu* to harm OBr *ar-co-
qued* — Two roots appear in these verbs IE **wedh* to bind' (Ir *fedan*
voke , *air com- +fed-*), IE **wedh* 'to conduct, carry' (the remaining cpds)

§ 545 *fe-n-* IX *fithe* 'made of wickers' SM , Ériu 11 44 27,
TBC (Str -O'K) 2342, X dat *fenamain* 'wattle-work of a house'
Wi , Ériu 11 157

(1) With *air-* 'to exclude' I S 3 *ar-a-fen*, P 3 *arfenat* K Meyer,
Sitzungsber 1918 630, Thurneysen, ZCP 14, 387, X *aire* 'a hedge,
a dam, fishing-weir' ClrL

(2) With *aith-* 'to repay' I S p *adfenar*, IV S 3 *-aithea*, V P 3
-athidis, VI S p *adfether, adfither* Ériu 1 68 § 4, X *aithe*, acc *aithi*

(3) With *for-* 'to complete' (VKG § 647 11) I 1 *forfiun*, 3
forfen, P 3 *-forbait* 'can fulfil' RC 36 256f , IV S 3 *farfia*, P 3
forfiat, VIII perf S 3 v VKG , p *for-cu-ad, far-ro-chu-ad* ZCP
7 479, IX *forbaide* (adj *foirbthe*), X *forbe*, dat *forbu*

(4) With *imb-* 'to fence' I S 3 *imfen*, IV S 3 (with perf *-com-*)
-imcua, P 3 *-imcuaad* (*-ad* for older *-at*), V S p *imm-a-feithe*, IX *im-
bithe, imbide*, X *imbe* (neut), MIIr *ime*

§ 546 *fén-* with *ess-* (also *ad-spén-*) 'to explain, swear' (*-ā-st*)
I S 1 *asfenimm*, 3 *aspena*, VIII S 3 *ad-ru-spen* X dat *aspenud*,

aspenad, aispenud — With *to-ess-* 'to show' I S 3 *doaisbena*, II P 3 *-taisfentais*, IV S 3 *-taisfena*, perf *doairfena*, VI S 3 *doasfénpha*, VIII perf S 1 *doairfenus*, 3 *do-s-airfen, -tarfen* (newer form *rotaisfeóin*), X *taisbenad, tasfénad*

§ 547. *fer-* 'to grant' (perf 'to suffice') I S 3 *ferid, ro-fera*, P 3 *ro-m-ferat*, III S 2 *fer*, IV perf S 3 *-roirea*, P 3 *-róiret*, VIII S 3 *ferais, ro-fer*, p *-roerad* Wı III 237 62, X MlIr *ferthain* — With *air-* 'to provide' 1 P 1 *ar-a-feram* ACL 3 296 42, X *airer* 'feasting, food' CIrL — With *fo-* 'to cause' 1 S 1 *fufirim*, 2 *foferai*, 3 *fofera, fo-d-era*, P 1 *f-a-eram*, 3 *-fóiret*, III S 3 *foired*, V S 1 *-fóirin*, 3 *fu-erad, -foired*, VI S 3 r *foirfea*, p *fo-m-firfider*, VIII S 3 *fo-ru-ar*, IX *foiride*, X *fuar* neut — With *com-fo-* 'provide, prepare' I S 2 *confoir(i)*, P 1 *confoirrem*, VIII perf P 3 *conforoirisset*, IX ger *comfoiride* (leg *-di*) — With *rem-fo-* VIII perf S p *remeroired*, IX *remfoiride*, X *remfuar remuar* — With *to-* I S p *duferthar* gl conditur, X *tuar* 'procuring' K Meyer, Sitzungsber 1918 628, 'manure' SM , MnIr 'causing, presaging'

§ 548. *fiad-* (1) With *ad-* 'to relate' (only in loose cpds , where *ad-* may be for *in-* § 431 n 1) 1 S 3 *adfeit, adfét* p *adfiadar* p r *adiadar*, P 1 *adfiadam*, 3 *adfiadat*, p *adfiadatar*, IV perf S 1 *atchous* VI S 1 *atdius* ZCP 7 299 13, 3 *adfii*, p *adfiastar* Wı 214 18, P 1 *adféssam* LL 131b 37, VIII (with perf -*com-*) S 3 *adcuaid*, *adcuid*, P 1 *at-chuadamar, adcóidemmar*, 3 *adfiadatar* RC 11 442 5 6, *atfiadhatar* ACL 3 6 1, perf *atcuadatar* RC 3 346 1 — With *to-ad-* to show' I S 2 *doadbit*, 3 *doadbat -tadbat*, p *doadbadar*, *-tadbadar*, P 1 *do-n-aidbdem*, 3 *du-n-aidbdet*, p *duaidbdetar*, II P 3 *du-n-aidbdiis* (ʹ p), III P 2 *taidbdid*, IV perf S 2 *con-dá-r-bais*, p *con-dá-r-bastar*, V S 3 *do-n-aidbsed, -taibsed*, p *do-n-adbastae*, VIII perf S 3 *d-a-á-r-buid, du-a-r-buid*, p *do-á-r-bas*, *do-n-a-r-fas, -tarbas*, X *taidbsiu* — By confusion with *do-ais-bena* § 546, forms like I S p *-tadbanar* etc

(2) With *in-, ind-* 'to relate' I S 3 *infét*, II S 3 *infeded* III S 1 *indiad*, 2 *indid* YBL 413b 12, IV S 1 perf *-écius*, 3 *infé*, p perf *-ecestar*, V P 1 *infesmais*, VII S 3 *infessed*, VIII S 3 *infíd* LL 292b 6, 7, perf *incuaid*, P 2 *-eícdid*, X MlIr *innisin* — With *ess-ind-* 'to relate, describe' I S 3 *assindet, -aisndet, -asndét*, p *asindedar, assindethar, -aisndedar*, P 2 *as-n-indid* 3 *as-n-indedat*, *-aisndedat, -aisndethat*, p *asindetar*, II S 3 *atindided*, III S 2 *aisndid*, IV P 3 *asindiset*, V S 3 *as-n-indised*, VI S 1 *-aisndius*,

3 *assinde*, P 1 *asindisem*, 3 *asindisset*, VIII S 3 *as-r-indid*, p *as-r-indes*, IX *-aisndisse*, ger *aisndissi*, X *aisndís*, gen *aisndísen* — With *rem-ess-ind-* I S p *remiaisndider* gl praefatur

§ **549** *fich-, fech-* 'to fight' I S p *-fechar*, P 3 *-fechad* (= *-at*); III P 2 *fichith*, VI S 1 *fessa*, P p *fessai(tir)*, VIII S 3 *fich, -fich, -fich* LU 7997, p r *fechta*, X *fich, fích*

(1) With *air-* 'to fight, conquer' I S 1 *arfiuch*, 3 *arfich*; X *irgal*, acc *irgail*, P nom acc *irgala*

(2) With *di-* 'to punish, avenge' I S 1 *-dichim*, 2 *dufichi*, 3 *dofeich, dofich, -díg*, p *diagar*, III S 2 *deich*, IV S 2 *dufess, -dé-r-ais*, p *dufessar*, perf *-derustar* Anecd III 29 2, V P p *dofestais*; VI S 3 *dufí*, p *dufiastar, -diastar* BB 109b 11, P 3 *dofessat* Ériu 6 149 72, p *dufesatar*, VIII S 3 *d-a-ru-ich*, p *du-ru-acht*, IX neg *neph-diachtae*, ger *diachti*, X *dígal* fem , dat *digail*, g *dígle* — With *imb-di-* 'to protect' J S 3 *im-ús-dích* Wi 262, 5, *imm-an-dig* LU 4723, *-imdich* SM , P 3 *im-an-dichet* O'Dav 714, II S 3 *imdíched* LL 100a 47, *imthiged* Hib Min 51 5, IV S 3 *-imde* SM I 236 19, VI S 1 *imdíus* LU 5028, X dat *imdegail*

(3) With *fo-* 'to inflict (injury, damage)' I S 3 *fofich, -fuich*, p *fofechar*, P 3 *fofechat*, IV S 3 perf *fo-rro-i, forae* Ériu 10 127, p *fofeisear* 126, *-fuasdar*, perf *fo-rru-astar*, VIII S p *-foruacht* ZCP 15 348 17, IX *foachta*, X *fogal* (later *fuachtain*) — With *imb-fo-* 'to impugn' I S 3 *imfuich*, IV S 3 *imfo*, perf *imorae* Ériu 10 127

(4) With *to-* 'to attack, destroy' V S 3 *dufesed, -toissed*, P 3. perf *-toirsitis*, VI S 1 *do-n-da-fius*, IX neg *neph-thoachtae*, X *togal*

§ **550.** *fig-* 'to weave' I S p *-figther*, P 3 r *fichte*, VIII S 3 *ro-d-fáig*, Gwynn, Todd Lect 7 83, *ro-fháidh* (for *-gh*) Dinds III 101[17], p *ro-fecht* LL 181a 12, X *fige* fem — With *com-* VIII S 3 *conru-aig* gl contexuit, X *coibge* 'context' — Etym § 35, 4 Cf W. *cynwe* 'web', also Ir *indech* 'woof' O'Mulc 717, *indech, innech* Fianaig , *innech* Corm 761, g *indich* SMGloss 502, W *anwe*

§ **551.** *finn-* 'to know' (for *ro-* in the ind and subj in the absence of a syntactic preverb v § 421, 2) I S 3 *-finnadar*, p *-fintar*, P 3 *-finnatar*, p *-finnatar*, II S 3 *-finnad*, III S 2 *fin(n)ta*, 3 *finnad*, P 1 *finnamár*, 2 *finnaid*, 3 *finnatar*, IV S 1 *-fessur*, 2 *-feiser, -fes(s)er, -fesar*, 3 *-fesiar, -fiastar*, p *-fessar*, MIIr *-festar*, P 1. *-fessammar, -fiasmar* YBL 28a 49, 2 *-fessid*, 3 *-fesatar*, V S 1.

-fessinn, 2 *-festa*, 3 *-fesed*, *-fessad*, p *-festa*, P 1 *-fesmáis*, 2 *-feste*,
3 *-festais* (the root vowel in the subj is sometimes long *ē*, sometimes
short *ĕ*, v IFAnz 33 34), VI S 1 *-fessur*, 3 *-fiastar*, *-festar*, P 1
-fessammar, 2 *-fessid*, 3 *-fessatar*, VIII (with pres meaning) S 1
-fetar, 2 *-fetar*, 3 *-fitir*, p *-fess*, P 1 *-fitemmar*, *-fetam(m)ar*, 2 *-fitid*,
3 *-fitetar*, *-fetatar*, p *-fessa*, IX ger *fissi*, X *fius(s)*ˉ

With *air*- I S 3 *ar-a-finnathar* ZCP 13 22 31, X *airius*
'knowledge (containing a warning)'

With *fo-ro*- 'to know (something which is expected not to be
known)' VIII (with pres meaning) S 1 *forfetar*, 3 *foritir*, P 1
foretammar, 3 *foretatar*, X *foris* neut Ml 63c 6

Note Brit forms MlW I S 1 *gwnn*, 2 *gw(y)dost*, 3 *gwyr*, P 1 *gwdam*,
gudom, 2 *gwdawch*, *gwydawch*, *gwdoch*, 3 *gw(y)dant*, II S 1 *gwyd(y)wn*,
2 *gwyd(y)ut*, 3 *guydyei*, *ywyd(y)at*, P 1 *gwyd(y)em*, 2 *gwydewch* 3
gwydynt, impers II *gwydit* VIII (with pres meaning) *gwys* The other
forms are cpds with to be § 488 2

Co I S 1 *gon*, 2 *gothes*, 3 *gor*, P 1 *gothen* 2 *gothough*, 3 *gothous*, II
S 1 *gothyen* *gothyan*, 3 *godye*, *godya*, P 1 *nywythen* 'we know not', 3 *godyens*,
godyans Cf § 488 2

MlBr I S 1 *goun gonn*, 2 *gousot* 3 *gour*, P 1 *gousomp*, 2 *gousoch*,
3 *gousont*, II S 1 *gouzyenn* 3 *gouzye* P 2 *gouzyech* 3 *gouzyent*, impers
VIII (with pres meaning) *gous* Cf § 488, 2

§ 552. *fo*- 'to sleep, pass the night' I S 3 *foaid*, r *foas(s)*,
P 3 *foait*, *-foat* Rawl B 502 118b16, II S 3 *-foied*, *-foad*, III S 2 *fói*,
3 *foad*, *foiedh*, IV S 3 *-fia* SM IV 318 2, V S 3 *-fiad* Liad and
Cur 20, VI S 1 *fiba* Ériu 2 3 6, *fifit*, 3 *-fifea*, r *fibas*, p *fiibthir*
Thurneysen, Zu ir Handschriften 54, P 2 *fibaid* LL 251b 24,
VIII S 2 *-r-oæ* Mon Tall 155 21 *-rr-oa*, 3 *-foe* Rawl B 502
126b 27, *foiæ* 35 (looks like *foite*) *fíu*, P 1 *femmir*, 2 *-febair*, 3 *fétir*
Wi 139 5, *féotar* X *feiss*, *fess* For varying forms (with the vowels
-o-, *-a-*, *-æ-* promiscuous and with *-s-*-flexion in the pret) v VKG

§ 553. *gaib*- 'to take', 'to sing' v § 444, § 466, IV S 3 *-gaba*,
-ro-gba, r *gabas*, p *gabthar*, P 1 *gammai*, 2 *-ro-gbaid*, 3 *-ro-gbai*,
p *-ra-gbat[h]ar*, V S 3 *-gabad*, *-ro-gbad*, p *-gabthae*, P 2 *-gabthae*,
3 *-gabtis*, p *-gabtis*, VI S 3 *gebaid*, r *gebas*, P 3 *-gebat*, *-gébat*, with
obj *gebtit*, VII P 3 *-gebtis*, *-gebtais*, VIII S 1 *gabsu*, *-gabus*, 3
gab(a)is, with obj *gabs-i*, *ro-gab*, p *gabthe*, *ro-gabad*, *-ro-gbad*,
P 1 *-ro-gabsam*, 2 *-ro-gabsid*, 3 *ro-gabsat*, p *ro-gabtha*, *-ra-gbtha*,
IX ger *gabthi*, X *gabál*

(1) With *fo-ad*- 'to leave' I S 3 *-facaib*, P 3 *fuácbat*, IV P 2
-fa-r-gbaid, V P p *-fa-r-cabtis*, VI S 1 *fo-t-uigeb*, P 3 *-faicebat*,

VIII S 1 *fo-t-r-ácbus*, 3 *facab, fo-r-acab, -fa-r-ggaib*, p *fo-r-acbad*,
P 3 *fo-r-agabsat*, X *fácbáil*

(2) With *com-* 'to hold' I S 3 *congaib*, p *congaibther*, P 3.
ɔgaibet, p *ɔgaibter, congaibetar*, II S 3 *ni congebed*, P 3 *-congbartis*,
VIII S 3 *congab*, (with perf *-ad-*) *conacab*, P 3 *ɔgabsat*, X *congbáil.*

(3) With *di-* 'to take away, diminish' I S p *dogaibther*, P p *do-
n-gaibter*, IV S 3 *-de-r-gaba*, VI P p *-digebtar*, VIII S 3 *du-ro-gab,
-dígaib* p *do-ro-gbad, di-ro-gbad*, P 3 *du-ro-gabsat* IX *digabthe*,
X *digbáil*

(4) With *to-for-ess-* I S 3 *dofuarasgaib* O'Dav 822, cf Corm
756, 1301, P 3 *-tuarascbat* 'express', X *tuarascbáil* 'description'

(5) With *fo-* 'to find' S 1 *-fágbaim*, 2 *-fogbái*, 3 *fogaib, -fagaib*,
p *fogabar, -fagabar*, P 1 *fogabum*, IV S 3 *fógaba*, P 3 *-fagbat*,
V P 3 *-fagbartis*, VI P 3 *-foigebat*, VII P 3 *f-a-gebtis*, X *fagbáil* —
Supplem VIII S 1 *-fuar*, 3 *fo-nd-uáir*, p *fofrith -frith*, IX *frithe*

(6) With *frith-* 'to restrain' I S 3 *-frithgaib*, II S 3 *frisgaibed*,
VIII S 3 *-ru-frithgab*, IX neg *neph-frithgabthe* X dat pl *frith-
gabálaib* O'Mulc 521

(7) With *in-* 'to reproach' I S 3 *ingaib* Ériu 7 162 § 6,
III S 3 *a-tab-gabed*, IV S 3 *-ingaba*, p *ingabthar*. P p *ingabtar*,
V S p *-ingabthe*, VI S 1 *ingeb*, p *-incebthar*, X *ingabál* — With
di-in- to take away, ward off repel' I S 3 *-dingaib*, p *-dingabar*
ZCP 15 335 § 27, III S 2 *dingaib*, IV S 3 *-dingba, do-r-ingba*,
VI S 1 *-dingeb*, 3 *do-t-ingeba*, X *dingbail* 'to ward off', 'an equal'
— With *ess-in-* to exceed' I S 3 *asingaib*, IV S 3 *as-r-ingba,
-esngaba*, P 3 *asingbat* VIII S I *as-r-ingbus*, 3 *as-r-ingaib*, P 3 *as-
r-ingabsat, -r-esngabsat*, IX *esngabthi* (leg *-the*)

(8) With *com-od-* 'to raise' 1 S p *conocaba⟨r⟩*, P 3 *co-ta-ocbat,
co-ta-ucbat*, II S 3 *co-tn-ucbad*, P 3 *chonucbartis*, III S p *co-tab-
ucabar*, IV S 2 *-cumgabœ*, 3 *conocba*, P 3 *-cumcabat*, V S 3 *conucbad*,
P p *conucabtis*, VI S 3 *conocœba*, p *conuicgebthar*, VIII S 3 *conuccaib*,
perf *connuargab, -ru-chumgab*, p *conuargabad*, P 3 *conocabsa⟨t⟩,
ɔnucaibset*, IX *cumgabthœ*, X *cumgabál* — With *to-for-od-* (or *to-
ro-od-*) 'to raise, make known' I S 3 *dufurgaib*, perf *tuargaib*,
p *dofurcabar, -turgabar*, P 3 *dufurga⟨ba⟩t*, II S 3 *dufurcbad*,
V P p *dufurgabtais*, VIII S 1 *-tuárgabus*, 3 *du-r-urgab, du-r-urgaib,
tuargab, tuargaib*, p *tuárgabad*, P I *du-r-urgabsam*, 3 *dofuargabsat*,
p *du-r-urgabtha*, IX *turgabthœ*, X *turcbál* — With *imb-od-* 'to
avoid' I S 1 *immimgabaim*, 3 *imimgaib, -imgaib*, III S 2 *imcaib*,

ımm-an-ımcab, P 2 *ımgabaıd*, IV S 1 *ımm-e-n-ıngaıb* (leg *-ımgaıb*), *-r-ımgaıb*, 3 *ım-n-ımgaba*, P 1 *ımmımgabat, -ımgabat*, V S 3 *ımm-e-n-ımgabad*, VI S 3 *-ımgeba*, VIII P 3 *ım-r-ımgabsat*, IX ger *ımgabthı*, X *ımgabáıl* — With *to-od-* 'to raıse' X *tucbál*, no fınite forms ın OIr , but ın MlIr thıs cpd replaced *to-for-od-gaıb-*, beıng mostly treated as sımple I S 3 *tocbaıd* etc , MnIr I S̀ 1 *tógaım*, X *togáıl*

(9) Wıth *aır-ro-* (ın some cases treated as ıf ıt were sımply *aır-*) 'to seıze' I P 3 *ar-da-gaıbet*, V S 3 *-arrgabad*, VIII P 3 *ar-an-gabsat*, IX *aurgabtha*, X dat *ergabaıl*, gen *aurgabale* — Wıth *to-ro-* 'to commıt a crıme' I S 1 *dorogbaım*, 3 *dorogaıb*, P 3 *dorogbat*, IV S 3 *dorogba*, P 2 *dorogbıd*, V S 1 *dorogbáınn*, VIII S 1 *durogbus*, 3 *dorogab, -torgab*, p *dorogbad*, P 3 *dorogabsat*, IX *torgabthe*, X *torgabal, turgabáal*

Note   W *gafael, gafel* to take hold ('a hold') ıs conjugated regularly wıth *gafael-* as stem, Co *gauel* 'a hold — A varıant of the root, wıth ınıt *ƙ-* (IE *gh- q-*), occurs ın Brıt   MlW *caffael, cahel* (WM 130 8), *cael, caffu* BBC 53 13, MnW *caffael, cael* 'to get, obtaın, fınd , MlW I S 1 *caffaf, cahaf, caf*, 2 *ceffy, cehy, cey*, 3 *ceıff, caffawd* LlH 104 21, *keffıd* 17, p *ceffır, caffawr, ceffıtor* (OW *cephıtor*), *ceır*,   P 1 *caffwn, cawn*, 2 *ceffwch, cewch*, 3 *caffant, keffynt* LlH 104 18, II S 1 *caurı*, 2 *caffut*, etc   IV S 1 *caffwyf*, 2 *ceffych*, 3 *caffo, caho, caffwy*, etc , V S 1 *kaffun, kahun* WM 127 32, etc , VIII S 1 *cevers*, 2 *ceverst*, 3 *cavas*, p *caffat, cahat, cat*, P 1 *cawss-am, -om*, 3 *cawss-ant, -ont*, plpf S 1 *causswn* etc , also 1 *cawssoedwn*, 3 *cawssoed, cawssoedeı, caussoedat* RC 33 221 20, *kawssodyat* 220 28, *cathoed* (v RC 46 73¹) — Co *caf(f)os, cafes, cafus*, I S 1 *cafaf* 2 *cefyth*, 3 *cef, cyf* p *cefyr*, P 1 *cefyn*, 2 *cefough*, 3 *cefons*, II S 1 *cyfyn* RD 1850, IV S 2 *cyffy*, P 3 *caffons*, V S 1 *caffen*, P 1 *caffan* MC 240 3, VIII S 3 *cafas, es*, P 3 *caffsons*, IX *cef(f)ys* — MlBr *caf(f)out, caff(o)ıt* I S 1 *caf(f)af(f)*, 3 *gueff*, p *caffer*, P 2 *caffet*, II P 1 *cafemp*, IV S 1 *quıffıf*, 2 *quıf(f)y*, 3 *caf(f)o*, P 1 *caffymp, caf(h)ymp*, 2 *queffet*, V S 1 *caffen*, 2 *caffes*, 3 *caffe, caf(h)e* p *cuffet*, P 2 *caffech*, VIII S 3 *caffas*, p *caffet*, P 3 *quef(f)sont*, plpf S 3 *cafse*, p *cafset*, IX *caf(f)et* — Cf § 445 n 3, p 280

§ 554. *gaın-* 'to be born' (dep) I S 3 *-gaınedar*, r *gaınethar*, P 3 *-gaınetar*, V S 3 *-genad*, VI S 3 *-gıqnethaır* (MlIr for *-thar*), r *gıgnıther* Érıu 7 4 9, VII S 3 *-gıgned*, VIII S 1 *genar* Érıu 2 102 § 9, *-genar*, 3 *génaır, -gén(a)ır, -gen(a)ır*, P 3 *-géna[r]tar, -genatar*, X *geın*, dat *ge(ı)nım*, gen *ge(ı)ne* —Wıth *aıth-* I P 1 *adgaınemmar* 'we are born agaın'

Note   Cf W *genı* 'to gıve bırth , Co *genys, gynys* born', Br *genel* to gıve bırth', ın W as a rule only the passıve forms are used   But, as ın Br , ınstances occur ın MlW of the use of an act form   VIII S 3 *genıs* 'gave

birth to' Yst Car Mag 28 27, 30 3, RC 33 240 16 (*a enis llewenyd* begat joy') Etym § 34, 2

§ **555.** *gair-* 'to call' I S 3 *-gair,* P 3 *-gairet,* X *gairm* neut , gen *garma*

(1) With *ad-* 'to sue, claim, summon' I S 1 *adgaur,* 3 *adgair,* *-acair,* P 2 *a-t-gairith,* IV S 3 *adgara,* VI S 3 *-aigera,* P 3 *-aicerat,* VIII S 3 *a-dob-ra-gart,* p *ad-ro-grad,* X *acre* — With *to-ad-* 'to sue, plead' I S 1 |*taccru* Anecd III 28 1, 3 *duacair,* VI S 3 *taiccéra,* VIII P 1 *do-r-acartmar,* X *tacre*

(2) With *air-* 'to forbid' I S 3 *argair,* P 3 *ar-an-gairet,* IV S 3 *-airgara,* V S 3 *ar-id-garad,* VI P 3 *argerat,* VIII S 3 *argart* 'called', *argairt* 'herded', *ar-a-ro-gart,* *-argart,* p *ar-ro-grad,* IX *argarthae,* X *irgaire, ergairi* (log *-e*)

(3) With *com-* 'to call, cry' I S 1 *congairiu, congairim,* 3 *conggair,* p *congarar,* P 3 *conggairet,* VIII S 3 (with perf *-ad-*) *conacart,* p perf *conacrad,* P 3 *conacartatar* — With *to-air-com-* (*to-air-in-*?) 'to promise' I S 3 *duairngir,* r *duairngir, tairngir,* P 3 *duairngerat,* V S p *duairngerthe,* VI P 3 *-tairngérat,* VIII S 1 *du-n-da-r-airgiurt,* 2 *du-r-airngirt,* 3 *du-r-airngert,* p *do-r-airngred,* *do-r-airngerad,* IX *tairngirthe,* X *tairngire* neut — With *css-com-* 'to declare' I S p *ascongarar,* VI S 1 *asconyér,* VIII S p *as-ro-chongrad,* IX gen *csngarthi,* X pl (neut) *esngaire* — With *for-com-* 'to order' I S 1 *forcongur, for-chongrimm,* 3 *forcongair, -forgair,* p *-forconga(rar),* II S 3 *far-chongrad,* IV P 1 *for-chongram* VIII S 3 *for-ro-chongart,* p *for-ru-chongrad, fo-rr-orcongrad,* IX nom pl *forngarti* (leg *-thi*), X *forngaire* neut , *forga(i)re*

(4) With *frith-* 'to answer' I S 3 *frisgair,* VI S 3 *friscera,* VIII S 3 *frisgart,* X *frecre* neut

(5) With *to-imb-* 'to demand' VI S 1 *-timgér* ZCP 10 45 23, VIII S 3 *timgart, do-m-r-imgart,* X *timgairi*

(6) With *ind-* 'to guard, tend' X *ingaire* — With *di-in-* 'to call' VI S p *-dingerthar* Rawl B 502 125 b 18, IX *dingarthae,* X *dingrae* 'appellation' — With *for-di-in-* 'to express' I S 3 *fordingair,* P 3 *fordingrat* — With *to-in-* 'to guard, tend' I S 3 *tinghair* ZCP 8 197 § 12, IV P 3 *do-n-r-ingrat*

(7) With *di-od-* VIII S 3 *do-r-iucart* 'shouted', X *diucrae* gl clamor — With *fo-od-* 'to proclaim, denounce' I S 3 *fo-d-uacair,* *-fuacair,* VIII S 1 *fo-s-r-ocurt,* 3 *fu-s-ocart,* p *fo-r-ócrad,* X *fócre* — With *air-fo-od-* 'to suggest, announce' I S 3 *ar-a-focair,* p *arfo-carar,* X *irócre, irfócre* 'a warning'

(8) With *to-* 'to call'- I S 3 *dogair*, P 1 *dogairem*, 3 *dugairet*, IV S p *to-ro-garther*, VIII S 3 *do-ro-gart*, p *dograth*, *do-ro-grad*, X *togairm*

Note. Cf OBr *ar-uuo-art* gl fascmauit Etym § 67

§ 556. *gat-* 'to steal' I S 2 *-gati*, 3 *-gatda*, III S 3 *gatad*, VI S 1 *-gét*, VII P 2 *-gette*, VIII S 3 with obj *gats-ai*, X *gait* — With *tre-* 'to pierce' I S 1 *trisgataim*, *trecatim*, IV P 3 *tris-n-gatat*; VI P 3 *-thregtaifet*, VIII S 3 *dris-ro-gat*, *ro-t-tregdastar*, IX *inna tragdai⟨de⟩* gl fossorum

§ 557. *gel-* 'to consume, graze' I S 3 *gelid*, P 3 r *géldae*, VIII S 3 *ro-gelt*, IX nom pl *neph-glidi*, X dat *gleith*, *geilt* Etym § 34, 3

§ 558 *gell-*, *gill-* 'to pledge, promise' IV S 3 *gellaid*, VI S 1 *gillfit*, X *gellad* — With *for-* 'to testify, promise' I S 1 *forgell(im)*, *for-t-gillim*, 3 *forceilla*, P 3 *forgellat*, V S 3 *far-id-gellad*, VIII S 3 *for-ru-géll*, P 1 *for-ro-gelsam*, X *forgell* neut, *forcell*, *forcal* — With *di-od-* 'to buy' I S p *diuclither* ZCP 18 323, *-dergeltar* SM Gloss 276, IV S 3 *doruaicle*, *-deirgle* SM , V P 1 *deirchimmis*, VIII S 3 *dirrógel*, p *doruaicled* Atk LBr p 854, P 3 *d-a-rucellsat*

§ 559 *ger-* with *fo-* 'to heat' I S 3 *fogeir*, IV S 3 *fogera*, VIII S 3 *fo-sn-gert*

§ 560 *glád-* with *ad-* to address (dep) I S 1 *adgládur*, 3 *adgládathar*, *-acalladar*, II S 1 *a-tat-gladuinn*, 3 *-acáldad*, III S 2 *a-tom-glaite*, IV S 1 perf *-arladur* (for *-ar*), *-acilhur* (for *-er*), P 1 perf *-arladmar*, 2 perf *-arlaidid* (also in MIIr *-s-*forms S 1 perf *-arlasar*), VI S 1 *a-ta-gegallar*, 3 *a-ta-gegalldathar*, *a-ta-geglathar*, VIII (cf § 465 n 6) S perf 2 *ad-ro-gailser*, 3 *a-ta-raglastar*, *-arlastar*, *-arlasair* (also *adgládastar*, *-aiclestar*) P 1 *adglaasmar*, IX nom pl *acailsi*, X *accaldam* fem

§ 561. *gle-n-* 'to stick fast' I S 3 *glenaid*, *-glen*, II P 3 *-glendais*, IV S 1 *-gléu*, 2 *-glie* Anecd 1 11 30, P 3 r *glete*, VI P 3 *giulait* VII S 3 *-giulad*, VIII S 3 *ro-giuil*, r *giulæ*, X dat *glenamain* — With *to-* 'adhere' I S 3 *doglen* Corm § 676, *-toglen*, X *toiglenmain*, *toglenemon*, *toglenamon*

Note Cf W *glynu* 'to adhere', *erlid* to chase, persecute (MIW *erlynaf*, MnW *erlidiaf* 'I persecute', but *erlynaf* I prosecute' with a new vn *erlyn*), MIW *dilit* 'to follow' (*dilynaf* I follow', MnW vn *dilyn*), MIW *canlit* to follow (*canlynaf* MnW vn *canlyn*), v BBCS 2 108, MIBr *en-glenaff* Cf § 34,2

§ 562. *glenn-* (1) With *di-* 'to glean' I S 1 *digliunn* O'Dav

631, *doglinn* (for *-iunn*), 3 *doglinn*, p *doglennar*, X *diglaim*, MnIr *dioghluim*

(**2**) With *ess-* (for which *in-* appears in proclisis) 'to examine' I S 1 *adghunn* ('I examine' = 'I reject') RC 24 48 § 6, 2 *-eclainni*, 3 *as-n-gleinn*, *asglinn*, P 3 *inglennat*, II S 1 *asgleinn⟨inn⟩*, IV S 2 *ingléis*, 3 *-ecail*, perf *-ergail* ('examines' = 'rejects') Ériu 7 187, IX neg *neph-ecailse*, X *eclaim* neut , *eclim* — With *to-ess-* 'to seek out, choose' I P 3 *doeclannat*, p *du-n-eclan⟨nar⟩*, VI S p *-derglastar* RC 45 58 1, VIII S p perf *duérglas, doerglas, -térglas*, IX *tecail⟨se⟩*, X *teclimm*

(**3**) With *fo-* 'to learn' I S 1 *foglunn*, 3 *fo-d-glein*, P 3 *foglennat* O'Mulc 5, IV S 1 (?) *fogles* O'Mulc 665, VIII perf S 3 *-roeglaind*, IX ger *fogailse* (for *-si*) ZCP 3 449 10, X *foglaim*

(**4**) With *for-di-od-* 'to swallow', I S p *for-n-diuclannar*, IV S 3 *-fordiucail*, P 3 *for-tam-diucuilset*, VI P p *fordiuguilsiter*, IX nom pl *fordiucailsi*, X *fordiuglaim*

Note. The root in the case of 1—3 probably was Pr Celt **glend-na-*, 4 had a different origin, prob IE **gl-nā-mi*, and is cognate with *gel-* § 557 The 3 sg **-glen* > **-glenn*, *-*glann* (cf § 312), and then became confused with *glenn* of 1—3

§ 563. *gni-* 'to do' I S 1 *n-a-gníu*, 3 *gniid, gniith, -gni*, r *gnís*, p r *gnither*, P 3 r *gníte*, p *gnitir*, p r *gniter*, III P 2 *gnid*, IV P 3 r *gnete*, V P 1 *-gnemmis*, 3 *-gnetis*, VI S p *gént[h]ir*, p r *géntar*, P 3 r *gende*, VIII S 3 *genais, ro-géni*, p *ro-gníth, ro-n-gníth*, P 3 *ro-n-da-geinset*, p *ro-gnítha, -ro-gnatha*, IX acc pl *gnethi*, X *gním* (*-u*-st)

(**1**) With *com-* 'to help' I S 3 *ogni*. P 1 *congniam*, IV S 2 *cungne* (? III), 3 *congné*, perf *conacna* Thes II 349 6, VI S 3 *congéna*, X *cungnum, conggnam*

(**2**) With *di-* 'to do' I S 1 *dogníu, -denim*, 2 *dogni, -deni*, 3 *dogni, -déni*, perf *-de-r-ni*, p *dogníther, -déntar*, P 1 *dogníam, -denam*, 2 *dogníith, -denid*, 3 *dogníat, -dénat*, perf *-dernat*, p *dogníter, -denatar*, II S 3 *dugníth*, p *dognithe, -dentae*, P 3 *dugnitis*, III S 2 *dene*, 3 *d-an-g(n)úd, dénad*, P 2 *do-sn-gniith, dénid*, IV S 1 *dognéo*, perf *do-nd-rón*, 2 *dogné, -déne*, perf *dorronai*, 3 *dogné, -dena*, perf *doróna, -derna*, p *dogne(i)ther, -dentar*, perf *dorróntar, -derntar*, P 1 *do-s-gnem, -denam*, perf *-dernam*, 2 *dogneid, -denaith, -dernaid*, 3 *dugnet*, p *dugnetar, -dénatar*, V S 1 *d-a-gnenn*, **dugnén**, *dognein*, perf *duróininn, -derninn*, 3 *dogned, dogneth*, perf *duronad*,

-*dernad*, p *dognethe*, -*dente*, perf *dorónta*, P 1 *dugnemmıs*, -*denmıs*,
perf *derınmıs*, 2 *dognethe*, -*dénte*, perf *doróntœ*, 3 *dugnetıs*, -*dentıs*,
perf -*derntaıs*, VI S 1 *dugén*, -*dıgén*, 2 *dugene*, 3 *dogéna*, p *dogéntar*,
P 1 *du-n-genam*, -*dıgenam*, -*dıgnem*, 2 *do-n-génıd*, 3 *dogénat*, -*dıgnet*,
perf -*dergenat*, VII S 3 *dogenad*, -*dıgned*, P 1 *dogenmıs*, 2 -*dıgénte*,
perf *d-a-rı-gente*, VIII S 1 perf *do-rı-genu[a]s*, *do-rı-gnıvus*, -*deır-
genus*, -*dernus*, 2 perf *do-m-rı-gnıs*, -*dernaıs*, 3 *dı͡génı*, *dogénı*,
-*dıgnı*, perf *do-nd-rı-génı*, *do-rı-gnı*, -*de(ı)rgénı*, -*dergını* (MIIr
-*dérnaı*, -*derna*), p perf *du-d-rónath* ZCP 17 224, *doronad*, -*dernad*,
P 1 perf *do-rı-génsam*, 2 perf *do-d-rı-génsıd*, 3 *dogensat*, perf *do-
rı-génsat*, -*dergensat* (MIIr -*dernsat*), p *dugnıtha*, p perf *dorónta*,
IX ger *déntı*, *de(ı)ntı*, X *dénom*, *dénum*, gen *dénma*

(3) With *fo-* 'to serve' I S 3 *fo-n-gní*, p *fognıther*, P 3 *fo-n-
gnıat*, -*fognat*, p *fognıter*, II S 3 -*fognad*, III S 3 *fognad*, P 2 *fognıd*,
IV S 3 -*fogna*, P 1 *fognem*, 2 *fogneıth*, VI S 1 *fu n-gen*, 3 *fogéna*,
VIII perf S 3 *forııgénı*, -*forgenı*, P 1 -*forgénsam*, 2 *forııgensıd*,
3 *forııgensat*, X *fognam*, gen *fognama*, also *fognad* — With *aır-fo-*
'to be servıceable', 'to prepare food or drınk' I S 3 *arfognı*, P 3
arfognat, II S 3 *arfognad*, III S 3 *érgnad*, P 2 *aurgnaıd*, IV S 3 *ar-
da-fogna*, VI P 1 -*orgenam* 'wıll obey, follow the advıce' LL 175 b
50, 173 b 46, VII S 2 -*ernta* 'would obey' 71a 41, 72 a 20, 109 a 26,
110 a 43, VIII S 1 -*aırgenus*, 3 -*forgénı* (*for-* ınstead of -*aur-*),
P 3 -*argénsat*, X *urgnam* (*er-*, *ır-*, *for-*), new form *aurfognum* —
With *ımb-fo-* 'to be construed' I S 3 -*ımfognı*, V S 3 -*ımfognad*,
X *ımmognam*, *ımfognam* 'constructıon'

Note *gnı-* belongs to the same group as Lat *gıgnō* etc § 34, 2, the
semantic development was 'to beget' > 'to brıng forth' > to make   There
ıs a tendency ın Ir to use a stem **g'nī-* or **g'nıe-*, **gnıjo-* throughout the
paradıgm, but orıg the subj had a stem **g'nā-*, thus 3 sg -*déı͡a* < **de g'nāt*,
3 sg fut -*géna* < **g'eg'nāt* or **gıgnāt* For the Brıt vbs denotıng to make,
do' v § 491 n 2

A W cognate ıs OW *gnım* MlW *gnıf* labour, toıl' Correspondıng to
the Ir cpd wıth *fo-* are W *gweını* to serve' § 181, 4 (-*m-* ınf, lıke Ir *fognam*),
Co *gonys*, *gones* 'to work, serve' MlBr *gounıt* 'to merıt' § 36 (-*t-* ınf, lıke Ir
fognad, cf W *gweınıd-og* 'mınıster'), ın the fınıte forms the stem was ın -*ıj-*
(> W -*ydd-* etc) W *gweınyddaf* I serve, Co *gonetheugh* serve ve', MlBr
IV S 3 *gounezo*, etc, ın W a new vb nn *gweınyddu* has been formed

§ 564 *gnı-n-* 'to know', only ın cpds wıth almost ıdentıcal
meanıng

(1) Wıth *aıth-* I S p -*aıthgnıntar*, IV S 3 -*aıthgné* LU 5870,
V S 3 *atgnead* LU 10323, VI S p *a-tat-gentar*, VIII (wıth pres.

sense) S 1 *adgén*, 3 *adgeuín, -aithgeuin*, P 1. *adgenammar*, IX nom.
pl *œtgnithi* (for *aithgnithi*), X *aithgne, aidgne* (MlIr *aichne*)

(2) With *ess-* I S 1 *asagninaim*, p *as(s)agnintar*, P p *asagnin-
tar, asgnuntar*, IV S p *asagnoither*, VIII (with pres sense) S 2
asgen, -acen (with *a-* for *e-* influenced by *aith-*), X *ecne* 'wisdom,
knowledge'

(3) With *etar-* I S 1 *itargninim*, 3 *itargnin*, VI P 3 *etirgenat*,
VIII (partly with pres sense) S 1 *etirgén, itargén*, 3 *etirgein*,
-etargéuin, X *etargne, etarcne*

(4) With *in-* IV P p *-enggnatar*, VIII S 3 *-ingeuin*, IX acc
fem du *ingnaidi*, ger *ingnaidi*, X *engne* 'understanding'

Note. The old pret has pres sense in Brit throughout, the plpf has
ipf sense MlW pret -pres *adwaen, adwen, atuen* etc § 460 n 1d, plpf -ipf
atwaenum etc , impers *etweinit* Co pret -pres S 1 *asuen* Beun Mер 73,
3 *asuon*, P 1 *aswonyn*, VIII S 1 (a new formation) *aswonys* RD 1319,
MC 84, X (new form) *aswon* OM 1488 Cf § 488,3

§ 565. *gon-* 'to wound, kill' I S 1 *gono* ZCP 13 106, 3 *gonaid*,
-guin, -goin, r *gonas* ZCP 11 86 1, p r *gonar*, IV S 2 *-gona* (MlIr
for *-e*), P 3 *ro-n-gonat*, VI S 1 *gegna, gena, -gén*, 3 *genaid*, p
-gignether, geogainter, VIII S 3 *geguin*, r *gegna* LL 170b 42, p *góite*,
góeta, goita, -gœt, P 3 *-gegnatar*, IX *goite*, X *guin* neut — Etym
§ 38

§ 566. *grenn-* X *greim* 'authority, power' — With *in-* to
persecute' I S 3 *adgreinn*, P 3 *ingrennat, a-tam-grennat, as-id-
grennat*, II S 3 *ingrenned*, P 3 *ingreintis*, III S 3 *ingrainned*, IV
S 3 *-ingre*, V P 3 *ingriastais*, VIII perf S 2 *inroigrann*, 3 *inroi-
grainn*, P 3 *adroigegrannatar* (with restored redupl), X *ingreimm,
ingraim* (neut *-n-stem*)

Note From **ghrendh-nd-*, cf Lat *gradior* Cf BBCS 3 54f

§ 567. *gu-, go-* 'to choose', only in cpds — With *ess-* 'to wish'
IV S 3 *asagú, adgo*, for other MlIr forms v ZCP 18 325 From
the subj a stem *guis-* developed I S 1 *adgúisiu*, 3 *adgúsi*, IV S 3
ass-a-gusea, VIII P 3 *as-ru-geset*, IX gen sg neut *ecguisti*, compar
ecguistiu, X *aicsu* — With *rem-od-* V S 3 *reme-n-uicsed* gl prae-
optare — With *to-* 'to choose' I S 3 *dogoa*, P 3 *do-n-goat*, VI
S 1 *dogega*, P 3 *do-n-gegat*, VIII perf S 1 *doi-b-roiga*, 2 *duroiga,
dorroega*, 3 *doróigu*, p *do-ro-gad, doroigad*, P 2 *doroigaid*, 3 *doroi-
gatar*, IX dat pl *tuigsib*, superl *tuichsimem* (Wb has always
tuicse, so from *to-od-gu-*), X *togu* Etym § 25,5

§ 568. *guıd-* 'to pray' I S I *guıdım(m)*, *-guıdıu*, *-guıdım(m)*, 3 *guıdıd*, *-guıd*, p r *guıter*, P 1 *guıdmı*, *-guıdem*, 3 *-guıdet*, r *gute*, III P 2 *gudıd*, IV S 1 *-ges*, 2 *-geıss*, 3 *ges*, *-gé*, p *gessır*, P 1 *-gessam*, r *gesme*, 2 *-gessıd*, 3 perf *-roı-gset*, V P 1 *-gesmaıs*, 3 *-gestaıs*, perf *-roı-gsıtıs*, VI, VII, v § 456, VIII, v § 459, S p *gesse* ZCP 9 191 § 5, *gessa*, *ro-n-gess* LU 5985, IX ger *gessı*, X *guıde* fem — Etym § 38

With *ad-* 'to request, to give the security of a surety' I S 1 *adguıdıu* (for *adguıdıu*) RC 17 230 15, *aıcdıu* Thurneysen, Burgschaft 15 § 51d, 3 *adguıd*, p *atguıdter*, *-aıcıter* ZCP 13 23 3,4, P p *adguıter*, *-aıcdıter* ZCP 13 22 16f , III S 2 *aıcc* ZCP 15 366[2], V S p *ad-ro-gesta* SMGloss 16, VIII S 3 *adroegaıd*, X *aıcde*

With *dı-* 'to deprecate, beg pardon' (Érıu 7 193) S I 3 *d-an-guıd*, III S 3 *d-an-guıdeth*, *dıgded*, X *dígde*

With *aır-nı-* 'to pray' I S 3 *ar-a-n-neget*, P 3 *arneıgdet*, II S 3 *arnıg⟨d⟩ed*, III P 2 *ırnıgdıd*, X *ırnıgde*, *ernaıgde*

§ 569 *ıb-* 'to drınk' I S 3 *-ıb*, p *-ebar*, P 3 *ebaıt*, III P 2 *ıbıd*, V S 2 *-eba*, 3 perf *róıba*, P p r *ebtar*, V S 3 *-ebad*, VI S 1 *ıba* LL 119b 41, *-hib*, P 3 *ıbaıt*, VII S 3 *- íbad*, VIII S 3 *ıbıs*, perf *-essıb*, p perf *asıbed*, *-esbed*, P perf 1 *assıbsem*, 3 *atıbset*, *-esbetar*, X dat *oul* — Etym § 29

§ 570. *ıcc-* (cf § 422, 5) **(1)** With *aır-* 'to brıng about, fınd' I S 3 *-aırıc(c)*, p *arecar*, *-aırecar*, P p *ar-a-n-ecatar*, IV S 3 *arí*, *-aırı*, p *arısar*, V S p *arısta*, *arıstae*, VIII S 3 *ar-a-anıc* *-aırnıc*, p *arícht*, *-aırecht*, P 3 *are-r-ancatas* § 389 (wıth *-ro-*), *-aırnechtar*, X *aırec* — With *ımb-aır-* and permanent ınfıxed neut pron 'to suıt, have reference to' I S 3 *ımm-e-aırıc*, *ımm-e-aırc* (*ımmaırc*), P 3 *ımmaırcet*, IV S 3 *ımm-e-n-aırı*, VIII S 3 *ımm-e-arnaıc*, P 3 *ımm-ıd-arnactar*, X *ımmaırecc* 'conflıct' (wıthout the neut pron we have VI S 3 *cona-m-an-aırceba* 'so that they wıll not meet' RC 11 442 10, VIII S 3 *ımm-an-arnaıc dóıb* 'they came together' LL 285 b 47, *co-mm-an-arnaıc doıb* Érıu 4 22 § 3, for the ımpersonal construction v VKG II 311 Muršıhs Sprachlahmung 81) — With *fo-aır-* (mıxed wıth *fo-ro-*) 'to fınd' IV S p *-fuırestar*, V P 3 *-fuırsıtıs*, VI S 3 *forıcfa* LL 294a 22 (Gwynn, Hermathena 19 94), VIII S 3 *fo-n-aırnıcc*, *-farnıc*, p *-furecht*, X *fuırec* welcome, feast' — With *to-fo-aır-* (*to-fo-ro-*) 'to fınd' VI S 3 *dofuırcıfea* — With *to-aır-* 'to come' III S 2 *taır* (properly a subj , cf § 452 n 3), 3 *taırced*, IV S 3 *do-mm-aır*, *nı-m-thaır*, P 3 *taırset*, V P 1 *-taır-*

simmis, VIII S 3 *tarnaic* 'was finished', *-tarnic*, P 1 *tarnecmar*
Ériu 3 4 11, 3 *do-n-arnactar*, X *tairec* 'preparations'

Note 1 Different from *to-air-icc-* is the regular *-i*-stem OIr I S 3
doáirci, X *tairciud* (with *-ā-*), *tárcud* 'to cause', 'to offer' (for the latter
meaning cf especially Ml 72b 10), v VKG This verb has undergone a
curious transformation in MIr the long *-a* has been replaced by a short
vowel (by anal with *to-air icc-* ʔ), VIII S p took the form *tarcas* following
a general tendency (§ 466 n 2), this again gave rise to an active VIII S 3
-targaid etc The vb thus looks as if it were a cpd of *guid* to pray' with
to ro-ad- (Bergin, Ériu 11 140), but neither is such a grouping of the pre-
verbs normal nor is *guid-* likely to have developed the meaning 'to offer'

(2) With *com-* 'to be able' I S 1 *coniccim, -cumcu, -cumgaim,*
2 *co-tn-ici, -cumci*, 3 *conicc, cunic, -cum(a)ing, -cumuing*, p
cumangar, P 1 *-cumcam*, 3 *conecat, -cumcat, -cumget*, II P 3.
-cumgaitis, IV S 2 *choniis*, 3 *ǫi, -cumai, nád chum*, P 3 *-cumset*,
V S 1 *-cuimsin*, 3 *-cuimsed*, P 1 *cho-t-ísmis, -cuimsimmis*, 3
chonístis, VI S 1 *conicub, -cumgub*, P 2 *conicfid, conicfed*, 3 *-cum-
gubat*, VII S 3 *ǫicfed, -cumcaibed*, P 1 *ǫicfimmis*, 3 *connicfaitis*,
VIII S 1 *co-t-aneccar*, 2 *-coemnacar*, 3 *co-t-ánic, ǫanacuir, -coimna-
cuir*, P 1 *-coimnacmar*, 2 *-cóimnacaid*, 3 *-co(i)mnactar*, X *cumang*
— With *to-ad-com-* 'to reach to' I P 3 *-tacmainget* LU 5932, II
S 3 *tacmungad, tacmaicced*, P 3 *-thacmuictis* RC 3 345 23 — With
for-com- 'to happen' V S 3 *forcuimsed*, P 3 *farcuimsitis, farcuimi-
sitis*, VIII S 3 *forcomnucuir, forcomnacuir, forcomnacair, -for-
comnucuir*, P 3 *forcomnactar, -forcomnactar*, IX *forcmachte* — With
in-com- 'to strike, chance, happen' II S 3 *adcomced* Wi 281 14,
III (ʔ) S 3 *adcoimged* O'Mulc 578, IV S 3 *adcumai[d]* SM IV
278 18, *-ecm(a)i, -ecma*, VIII (with pres sense, S 3 *at-tot-chomnicc*
'thou art' § 484), S 1 *a-ta-comcus*, 3 *adcumaing* (MIr also *ad-cho-
maic*), *-ecmaing*, P 1 *-ecmaingsem*, 3 *adcomcisset*, X *ecmong* — With
to-in-com- 'to happen' I S 3 *do-nd-ecmaing, -tecmaing*, P 3 *doec-
mungat, -thecmongat*, IV S 3 *do-n-ecmai*, V S 3 *doecmoised, -thec-
maised*, VIII S 3 *tecmoncuir*, (without syncope) *teccomnocuir,
to-nd-echomnuchuir (-ch- = /g/)*, X *tecmang*

(3) With *ro-* 'to reach, come' (*roiccu less* with g 'I need')
I S 1 *roiccu, ricu, ruicim, -riccim*, 2 *co-rricci* 'until', 3 *-ricc*, p *recar*,
P 1 *-recam*, 3 *ru-n-ecat, -recat*, III P 1 *recam*, IV S 1 *rís*, 2 *rois*,
3 *rohí, rú, -rí*, P 1 *rísam*, 2 *risid*, 3 *rísat, -rísat*, V S 1 *rísin, -risin*,
VI S 1 *riccub, ro-n-icub, -ricub*, 3 *ro-n-icfea*, p *-ricfider*, VIII S 1
ránac, -ránac, 3 *ránic, ro-b-ánic*, p *-rícht*, P 3 *ráncatar, -rancatar*,

X *ríchtu.* — With *com-ro-* 'to meet' (in MIIr a *-d-* intrudes between *-n-* and *-r-* in loose comp) I S 3 *oricc, -comraic,* P 3 *condrecat, -comrucat,* II S 3 *condriced,* IV S 3 *-comuir,* P 1 *co-t-ríssam, -comairsem,* 3 *co-t-risat,* V P 3 *-comairsitis,* VI S 3 *condricfa, -comricfea,* VIII S 3 *condránic, conranaic,* X *comrac* 'encounter, combat' — With *imb-com-ro* 'to meet, come together'˙(Wi 622) VIII S 3 *imm-a-comarn(a)ic,* X *imchomrac* — With *imb-ro-* 'to happen' IV S 3 *co mm-a-rí, conna mm-an-airi* (as if from *imb-air-*), VI S 3 *imm-a-ricfa,* VII S 3 *ní m-a-riccfed*

(4) With *to-* 'to come' I S 2 *con-did-ticci* 'until (thou comest to) it', *con-dici* ZCP 7 481 9 'until', 3 *do-da-ic, tic,* p *tecar,* II S 3 *-ticed,* III S 3 *ticed,* P 3 *tecat,* IV S 3 *to-sn-i* Ériu 7 144 § 30, *-tí,* P 3 *-tísat,* V S 3 *tised, do-da-issed, -tised,* VI S 3 *do-sn-icfa, -ticfea,* P 3 *du-nd-icfet,* VII S 3 *do-n-icfad, -ticfed,* P 3 *du-nd-icfitis,* VIII S 1 *tanac,* 2 *tánac,* 3 *du-nn-ánic, tánicc, -tánaic,* p *ticht* Rawl B 502 132 a 21, P 1 *tancamar,* 2 *do-n-fancid,* 3 *doancatar, táncatar, -tancatar,* X *tíchtu* (MIIr *tiachtain*)

Note The same root appears in W MIW *aghei* 'would escape' BA 22 20, W *dianc* to escape' (stem *dihang-* with *-h-* due to accent), MIW *ranc* in *ranc bod* 'to satisfy' (MnW *rhyngu bodd*), *cyfranc* 'encounter, story', cf BBCS 1 6

§ 571 *ith-* 'to eat' (suppl paradigm) I S 1 *ithim,* 3 *ithid,* with fem obj *itius,* r *hithes,* P 3 *ithit,* II S 3 *-ithed,* P 3 *-ittís,* III S 3 *ithed,* P 1 *etham,* 3 *ethat,* IV S 1 perf *co n-daesur,* 2 *eser* ZCP 7 269 §15, 3 *estir, -estar,* perf *doestar* Ériu 7 146 § 2 (oe diphthong, cf ibid §4), P 1 perf *con-dessamar,* V S 3 *-essad,* P 3 *-estais,* VI S 1 *-ísa (-ís sa)* Ériu 5 234 51, *ro-forn-iss* Dinds 4 140 104, P 3 with obj *istait,* VII S 3 *-issad,* P 3 *-ístais,* VIII S 2 *deodh* ZCP 12 285, 3 *aduaid, duaid, doid, dofuaid* Salt 1287, *-duaid, -doid,* p *-dáes* Trip L 180 25, *-does,* P 3 *dootar, dujuetar* Ériu 7 164 § 8, *dofeotar, deotar* Anecd II 59 11, *duatar* (disyll) Salt 3328, *aduatar, -dotar,* IX dat pl *eisib,* X *hithe*

§ 572 *laig-* 'to lie down' I S 3 *laigid,* II S 3 *laiged,* III S 3 *laiged,* P 2 *laigid,* IV S 1 *i-llius* 'where I may lie down', P 3 perf *-dellset, -deilset,* V S 3 *-less(ed),* P 3 *-lestais* TBC (Str -O'K) 3451, VIII perf S 3 *dellig* (v Trans Phil Soc 1895—98 62), *-dellechuir,* P 3 *dellgetar,* X *lige* — With *com-* VI S 3 *conlee,* X *coblige* 'copulation' has *com-fo-* (Thurneysen, Handb 120), cf W *cywely* 'bedfellow' (*gwely* 'bed' = **upo-* + a cognate of Ir *lige,* cf § 35, 4)

§ 573. *laim-*, dep , 'to dare' (for *ro-* in ind and subj v §421,2)
I S 1 *ro-laumur*, *ro-laimur*, *ro-lomur*, 3 *ro-laimethar*, p r *lamar*
(without *ro-*), P 1 *ro-laimemmar*, II S 3 *na laimed*, p *ɔná laimtheá*,
P 3 *ní laimtis*, III P 3 *na laimetar*, IV S 1 *ro-llámar*, 3 *ní   lá-
mathair* (for *-thar*), V S 3 *no-lamad*, VI S 3 *ro-t-lemathar*, *noco-
lémaither*, p *ni lemthar*, VIII S 3 *ro-lámair*, P 3 *ro-lámratur*, X
nom pl *inna letena* gl ausus (later *laimiud*)

   Note 1 The vowel of the vb 'to dare' was short in the pres , long in
the pret Perhaps cognate is *lamas-* (*lamas-*) (cf Thurneysen, ZCP 1 182 14)
with *fo* 'to threaten' (active flexion and abstract subject), 'to be on the
point of' (deponent flexion, subject a living being) VIII S 3 act *fo-m-lámas
bádud fothri* 'drowning threatened me thrice', S 1 dep *con folmaissiur
derchoiniud* 'so that I was on the point of despairing' (the *s-* of the stem
and the flexional *-s-* have coalesced), 3 *co folmastar cach dib aidid a chéle
isin tig* 'so that every one in the house was on the point of killing the other'
('so that they had nearly killed one another'), X *folmaisiu* The coalescence
of the two *-s-* in the pret has given rise to an *ā-*stem pres (I S 3 *folamadar*)
– With *air-fo-* 'to await one, to be in store' (active, abstract subject), 'to
purpose' (dep) I S 3 *ar a-folmathar* (anal *-ā-*stem), P 3 *arfolmotar* 'they
purpose', VIII S 3 *is cian arfolmas dún insin* of old this has been in store
for us'

   Note 2 Cf W *llafasu llyfasu* 'to dare' (MlW I S 3 *lleueis, lleuys*),
Co *lauasos* 'to venture', MlBr *lafuaez* 'permitted', v RC 32 304f , where
Loth connects with this the W *cyflafan* outrage, massacre' (' daring act ')

   § 574 *leg-* 'to read' (*ā-*st) V S 3 *-légad*, VIII S 1 *ro-llegusa*
(= *-us sa*), *-roilgius* 2 *ro-legais*, 3 *in ro-lég* (*-leg*), P 1 *ru-n-da-
legsam*, 2 *ro-légsid*, *-roilgisid*, 3 *ro-legsat*, X *legend* neut — With
air- 'to recite' I S 3 *arlega*, p *ar-a-llegthar*, P p *ar-a-légatar*, III
S 2 *airléch*, IV S p *-arlégthar*, *-árlægthar*, perf *arroilgither*, P 2
-arlégid, VIII S 3 *-arleg*, X *airlegend*

   Note From Lat *lego*, whence also the Brit forms MlW *llev* (= *-u*)
'to read' RC 33 229 9, *lleer* will be read RP 1051 35, *meybyon llen* (trans
Lat *clerum*) clerics, scholars' Llanstephan MS 1 138 17 (= *yscolheigon*
RBB 169 3), W *gûr llên* — Ir *fer legind* With **to-are-* MlW *darlleaw* 'to
read' BT 12 19, more common *darllein* (I S 3 *darlle* RC 33 190 21, P 1
darllewn, 2 *darllewch* Hen MSS II 261 5,4, VIII S 3 *darllewys* RP 580 25),
the stem *darlle-* persisted in MnW but is now replaced entirely by the stem
darllen- (*darllenaf* 'I read) from the vb *nn darllen* which was orig a spoken
form of *darllain*, the form *darllein* may be due to MlW *dilein* 'to destroy'
(stem *dile-*), v § 575 Br *lenn*

   § 575 *leg-* 'to dissolve, melt' (reg *-ā-*st) I S 3 r *legas*, VIII
P 3 *legsit* Anecd III 59 11, X *legad*, gen *legtha*, *lechtha*   —
With *di-* 'to destroy' I S 3 *dolega*, III S p *dilegar*, IV S 2 *-de-r-*

legae, p *du-n-dam-legthar*, VII P 3 *du-s-leichfitis*, VIII S p perf
duroilged, **X** *dílgend* (formed by anal with *leg-* 'to read')

   Note Etym ≬ 52 W cpd with *di-* MlW *dilein* 'to destroy' (st *dile-*,
v ACL 1 507, the infinitive goes back to *gn-* and is not identical with
Ir *dilgend*), *dileith* destruction', MnW *dileu* 'to destroy, delete' (st *dile-*),
with **to-ate-* *dadlaith* 'to thaw' The root also occur in W *-lleas* 'death',
MlW *lleassu* 'to kill' WM 152 21, cf BBCS 3 270

   § 576. *léic-* 'to leave' v § 444, 452, 456, 459, 466, **X** *le(i)ciud*
   (1) With *air-* 'to lend' I S p *ar-á-leicthar, -airlicther*, VI
S p *arleicfither*, VIII S p *ar-a-rei-lced, ɔ-r-airleced*, **X** *airlicud* —
With *com-air-* 'to permit' I S 2 *conairleci*, 3 *ɔairleci*, P 3 *conairlecet*,
p *conairleicter*, III S 2 *-chom[m]airlic*, IV S 2 *-comairléce*, 3 *con-
damm-airleicea, -comairlecea*, p *ɔairleicther*, V S p *-comarleicthe*,
VI S 1 *-comairleciub*, VIII S 1 *con-r-airleicius*, 2 *ɔ-id-r-airlecis*,
-comarlecis, 3 *con-r-airleic, -chomairleic*, IX *comarleicthe*, **X** *comair-
leciud*

   (2) With *od-ess-* (in loose comp *ess-od-*) 'to open' I S 3 *asoilgi*,
VIII S 3 *ad-r-olaic* Wi 297 21, *asóilgg, asoilg, a-tn-oilc*, **X** *oslucud*
From OIr close comp MlIr *oslaigid* 'opens', MnIr *osglaim* 'I open'
— With *air-od-(e)ss-* 'to open' I S 3 *ar-n-da-osailci*, p *arosailcther*,
P 1 *arosailcim* (leg *-cem*), 3 *ar-da-osailcet*, III S 3 *ersoilced*, IV
S 3 *ar-an-osailcea*, P 3 *ar-an-osailcet, -ersoilcet*, p *ar-an-osailcter*,
V S 3 *arosailced* VI S 1 *arosulcub*, 3 *-ersoilcfea*, VII S p *-ersoilcfithe*,
P p *-ersoilcfitis*, VIII P 3 *-airsoilset* (for *-lcset*), **X** *ersolcud* (*-gud*),
irsolcoth — With *to-od-ess-* 'to deliver, release' I S 3 *dufuasilci*,
p *dofuasailgther, dofuasilcth(er)*, P 3 *dojúasailcet, dofuasalcat*, IV
S 2 *dufuasailce*, 3 perf *do-n-fo-r-slaice* (for *-ea*), VI P p *tuáslaicfit(er)*
VIII S 3 *du-n-fo-r-sailc*, r *tarslaic*, p *dofo-r-sailced*, IX pl nom
tuasilcthi, **X** *tuas(s)ulcud, tuasolcud, tuasulgud, túaslucud* By loss
of proclitic preverb, MnIr *fuasglaim* 'I release, redeem' (or is it a
cpd with *fo-od-ess-*? cf SMGloss 424, SR 7319, 7399 and Thur-
neysen, ZCP 13 298)

   (3) With *to-* 'to let, cast' (*to-leic-*, but *-teilc-*, rarely *-tailc*, with
perf *ro* the forms are *do-reilc-*, but *-tarlic-*, v Marstrander, RC 37
23, 212ff) I S 1 *do-s-leicim* Wi 101 16, 3 *dolléici traigid* TBC
(Str -O'K) 2153, P 3 *dolléicet*, III S 2 *teilc* Thes II 258 12, *teilc
traigid* TBC (Str -O'K) 2151, P 2 *-teilcid*, IV P 2 *-ta-r-licid traigid*,
V S 3 *-teilced traigid* TBC (Str -O'K) 2155, *-tailced*, p *-da-r-licthe*,
VI S 1 *tilcfe, teilgfe* (sc *traigid*) TBC (Str -O'K) 2152, VIII S 3 *do-*

rei-lg LL 146a 38, *-tarlaic* RC 22 282 1, *tarlaic* W₁ 101 15, IX dat *teilcithiu*, X *tailciud*, *teilciud*   Analogically *-tailc-* could lead to *do-failc-* and *tarlic* to *dofarlic-*, this is found in OIr only in combination with *don* 'to yield'   I S 3 *du-d-failci don*, V S 3 *dufailced don*, VIII S 3 *do-fa-r-laic don*, *-tairlaic don*

Note. Etym § 59

§ 577. *le-n-* 'to adhere to, follow' (with the prep *di*)   I S 3 *len(a)id*, P 3 *lenit*, V S 3 *-liad*, VI S 2 *lile*, 3 *liltith* Ériu 5 242 178, r *liles*, P 3 *lilit*, VIII S 3 *ro-d-lil*, P 3 *ro-leldar*, *-ruildetar* (*-ld-* = *ll*) W₁ 207 6, X *lenamain*

Note The orig meaning was to adhere to', cf Lat *linō* 'I besmear', Skr *li-nā ti* 'clings to'   With older meaning OIr *ua lenomnaib* gl lituris, OBr *linom* gl litura, cf W *llynu* 'to infect', *edlynu* 'to besmear', OW *imm-is line* gl allinebat *liniisant ?* 'they befouled', v BBCS 6 118

§ 578 *len-* (*lén-* ?) with *ess-* 'to pollute' (reg *-ā-st*)   I S 1 *aslenaimm*, *aslennim*, p *as(s)lentar*, II P 3 *aslentis*, *a-t-léntais*, IV P p *aslentar*, V S p *aslentae*, VIII S 3 *ru-n-eillestur* (*-ll-* < *-ln-*), p *as-ro-llennad*, *ro-heilled*, P 1 *-r-eildisem* (*-ld-* = *-ll-*), 3 *as-ru-lensat*, p *as-ru-lenta*, IX *éilnithe*, ger *eillnithi*, X *éllned*, *eilled*

Note This cpd has hardly anything to do with MIr X *leunath*, *lénuid* (Pokorny, ZCP 15 203), MnIr *léanadh*, I S 1 *léanaim* I damage, injure, ruin, destroy'   For *as len-* seems to have a short vowel and the definite meaning 'to defile, pollute' (in spite of its being used to translate Lat *violāre* Ml 63a 16, 127a 13, 128d 2)

§ 579. *lig-* 'to lick'   I S 1 *lígim*, VI P 3 *lilsit*, VIII S 3 *ro-leluig*, P 3 *lelgatar* — Cf § 35, 5

§ 580 *ling-*, *leng-* 'to leap'   I S 3 *lingid*, P 3 r *lengtae*, IV S 3 r *has*, VII S 3 *-ribuilsed* (*-rib-* = the redupl *lib-*), VIII S 3 *ro-leblaing*, X *léim* —With *fo-* 'to jump up, anticipate, prevent' I S 3 *folingg* ZCP 10 46 § 9, P 3 *folengat* LL 126b 19, VIII S 1, 2 perf *fo(r)roiblang*, P 3 *fo-rru-leblangtar*, p *foroiblachta*, X *folaimm* Salt 3253, *folam* Ml 38d 1 — With *to-air-fo-* 'to dismount' VI S 2 *-tarblais*, VIII S 3 *doeirbling*, *doarblaing*, *tairbling*, *tarblaing*, P 3 *taurlaingset*, X *turlaim* — With *rem-fo-* 'to anticipate, prevent' III S 2 *remfolaing*, IV S 3 *remifoil* — With *to-* 'to leap, spring before' I S 3 *doling*, II S 3 *dolinged*, VIII S 3 *dolleblaing*, *dorroeblaing* — Cf § 8, 2 c

§ 581 *long-* 'to eat, drink' (*-o-* *-e-st*)   I S 1 *-lungu*, 3 *loingid*, r *loingis*, P 3 *longait*, IV *-ā-*subj   S 2 *-longe*, 3 *-longe* (leg *-a*), *-s-*forms   S 1 *-lu(s)*, 3 perf *as-lú*, *at-lu* Ériu 7 192, r *lús*, *lúis* 194,

p *lusair*, P 1 *loisiom*, 3 *lusait, ad-lúsat*, V S 3 *-lúsad*, P 3 *-lústis*, X *longud*.

Note Cf W *llewa* 'to drink, eat', I S 2 *llewi* Hen MSS II 340 24, VIII S 1 *lleweis* BT 68 7, 3 *llewas* LlA 111 27, *llewes* RP 1274 36, *lleuawd* RC 33 218 5, P 3 *llewyssant* 224 1, *ny lawssant* LlA 117 27 (for -ew-), *llewssant* Peniasth MS 44 21 16, plpf S 3 *llewsei* RP 1045 32

§ 582. *lo-n-g-* With *fo-* 'to support, sustain' I S 1 *folung*, 3 *foloing, folloinc, -fulaing*, P 1 *follongam, -fulgam*, 2 *-fulngid*, 3 *folongat, -fulngat*, II S 1 *fulungáin*, III P 2 *fulget* (for -*ith*), 3 *fulngat*, IV S I *fulós, follós*, 3 *folló, -ful*, P 1 *-fulsam*, perf *-fo-chom-olsam*, 2 perf *-fo-chom-alsid*, 3 *follosat*, V P 3 *folostais*, VI S 1 *fohlus, -fóelusa*, 2 *-fǽlais*, 3 *folil* Ériu 2 208 § 28, *-faol* (-*ao-* = OIr -*oi-*), p *fulilastar, -faelustar*, P 2 *-fǽlsaid*, 3 *folilsat*, VII S 1 *fulilsain*, 3 *-félsad*, p *fulilastæ*, P 3 *-foí⟨l⟩sitis*, VIII perf S 1 *focoemallag*, P 3 *focoimlachtar*, IX *fulachtae*, X *folog, fulach, fulang*

With *imb-fo-* 'to cause' I S 3 *imfolngi, -immolngoi*, p *imfolngar*, -*immolngaithær*, P 3 *imm-e-folnget* (-*lngat*), -*imfolnget*, IV S 1 *-r-imfolngar* (dep , Thurneysen, KZ 37 105[1]), 2 *imfolngae, -imfo-r-lainge*, 3 *imm-e-folnga*, p *imm-e-folngither*, P 3 *imm-a-folnget*, V S 3 *imm-e-folnged, imfolnged*, p *-imfolangide*, P 3 *-imfolngitis*, VI S 3 *imfolnguba*, VIII S 2 *im-im-fo-r-laingis* (-*im-* 'me'), 3 *imfo-r-l(a)ing*, X *imfolang*

With *in-* 'to put in, put together, to furnish (with live stock, Ml 84 a 6), to engage' I S 3 *inloing, -ellaing* Corm 447, p *inlongar*, *ellangar* Thurneysen, Burgschaft 28 § 76, 15 § 51, VIII S 3 *inlolaig* p *ro-ellacht* Salt 3551 (latc *ro-heillged* O'Dav 1130), IX *ellachtae*, X *ellach*, g *ellaig* — With *to-in-* 'to take possession' IV S 2 *tellais*, X *tellach*

§ 583. *lu-* 'to move, fly' (orig dep) I S 1 *-luur*, II S 1 *-luinn* Imr Br II 291, 4, VIII S 3 *luis*, X *lúud* impulse', *luamain* 'flying'

(1) With *com-ad-* 'to stir up' (Binchy, Ériu 12 62) I S 3 *conalai, -comlai*, X *comlúth*

(2) With *ess-com-* gl proficisci I S 3 *-æscomlai*, VIII S 3 *as-ro-chumlai, as-ru-chumláe*, X *escumlúd* gl ingressus, migratio — With *to-com-* 'to set forth' I S 3 *documlai*, P 3 *documlát, documlat*, VIII S 3 *documlaiset*, X *tochumlud*

(3) With *ess-* 'to go away, escape' I S 3 *aslui* (-*oi*), *atlúi* (-*oi*), P 3 *asluat*, II S 3 *asluad*, IV S 3 *-ro-héla*, P 1 *-elammar*, 2 *ciacloid*

(leg *cι a-t-loιd* Irske St 55), V S 1 *aslóιn*, VI S 1 *-élub*, 2 *-éláfa*; VIII S 1 *as-ru-luís*, 2 *at-ru-llaιs*, 3 *ad-ru-lluι* Wι 380 (-*ll*- by analogy), *-erla* (*-ē-*) YBL 122b 5, P 3 *asluιset*, X *élud*

(4) With *fo-* 'to fly' I S 1 *follúιur*, P 3 *foluatar* O'Mulc 368; V S 1 *fuluιnn*, X *fuluth* K. Meyer, Bruchst d alt Lyrik 68 159

(5) With *com-od-* 'to rise, ascend' I S 3 *conhualaι*

§ 584 *luιg-* (1) With *fo-ad-* 'to overthrow' I S 1 *foalgιm*, 2 *fufálgι*, p *fo-mm-álagar*; VIII S 3 *fo-r-alaιg*, X *falgud* — With *to-ad-* 'to lay down, soothe, appease' (cf Marstrander, RC 37 216, in VKG erroneously under *léιc-*) III S 2 *talaιg*, X *talgud* (*-ā-*)

(2) With *dι-* 'to forgive' (subj st *dι-loga-*) I S 1 *doluιgιm*, 2 *-dιlgaι*, 3 *do-d-lugι*, *dulugaι*, P 2 *-dílgιd*, *-dιlgaιd*, 3 *duluget*, p *duluιgter*, III S 2 *dιlιch*, P 2 *dílgιd*, IV S 2 *dulogae*, *-de-r-laιg⟨e⟩*, 3 *-dιlga*, *d-a-ro-lgea*, p *duloιgther*, P 2 *dulogaιd*, *d-a-ro-lged* (for *-ιd*), V S 3 *-de-r-lιged*, p *-de-r-laιgthe*, VI S 1 *d-a-lugub*, *-dιlgub*, 3 *duluιchfea*, *dulugfa*, p *-dílgιbther*, VIII S 2 *do-ro-lgιs*, 3 *do-ro-laιg*, p *du-ro-lged*, P p *do-ro-lgetha*, *do-ro-lgιda*, *-de-r-laιchta*, X *dílgud*

(3) With *fo-* 'to hide' I S 1 *fullugaιmm*, 3 *folungι* Anecd III 57 14, VIII S p *fo-roι-lged* ιbιd I 3 1, X *folach* — With *ιnd-fo-* 'to hide' IX *ιnfolgιthe*, g *ιnfolngιthι*

§ 585 *mag-* wιth *to-for-* 'to ιncrease' I S 3 *doformaιg*, *dofórmaιch* p *doformagar*, *-tórmagar*, P 3 *dofórmgat*, p *do-formmagddar*, III S 2 *tórmaιg*, IV S 2 *-tormaιs*, 3 *do-r-ormaι*, *-thorma* O'Dav 1505, p *-tormastar*, P 2 *-thormassιd*, VI S 2 *duforma*, p *dufórmastar*, *doformastar*, VII S 3 *dofoιrmsed*, VIII S 3 *do-r-ormacht*, r *tormacht*, p *du-r-ormacht*, IX *tórmachte*, ger *tormachtaι*, X *tórmach*, *tórmaιg*, gen *tórmaιg*

Note Cf OW *dι-guor mechιs* has added' (v Thurneysen RC 11 205, *-ch-* may be = *-gh-*, cf OW *helcha* to hunt', *helgha* 'hunt thou')

§ 586. *maιd-* 'to break' (in the pres an *-ι-st* , ιntrans , *maιdιd re n-* "ιt breaks before (someone)" '(someone) vanquιshes', *maιdιd for* "ιt breaks on (someone)" '(someone) ιs defeated') I S 3 *-maιd*, *-maιth*, P 3 *maιdιt*, III S 3 *maιded*, IV S 3 *máιs* LL 332 c 57 *-má*, *-mæ*, V S 3 *-maιssed*, VI S 3 *memaιs*, *mebaιs*, *-mema*, perf *-roιma*, P 1 *mebusmet*, *-memsam*, 3 *-mebsat*, r *memsιte*, VII S 3 *-mebsad*, P 3 *mebsaιtιs*, VIII S 3 *ro-mmemaιd* (perf), *co-mmebaιd*, *co-rróemιd* (perf), P 3 *memdaιtιr*, *-mebdatar*, perf *-raιmdetar*, X *maιdm*, gen *madmae* — With *to-* 'to break forth' IV S 3 *doma*, VI S 3

dommema, VIII S 3 *dommemaid*, perf *-toróimed* (for *-mid*), X *tomaidb*

§ 587. *mair-n-* 'to betray' (Asp ı Irsk 104) I S 3 *-mairn*, r *mairnes*, *marnas* LL 346b 53, P 3 *mairnit*, IV S 2 *-mera*, P 3 perf *-ro-mrat*; V S 3 *-merad*, VI S 2 *-mera*, P 3 *-merat*, VII S 3 *-merad*, VIII S 3 *ro-mert*, P 1 *-mertamar*, 3 *ro-me⟨r⟩tatar*, X *mrath* neut (MlIr *brath*, cf W *brad* 'treachery' Co *bras*)

§ 588. *mel-* 'to grınd' I S 1 *melım*, 3 r *meıles*, p *melair*, III P 3 *melat*, IV P 3 *-melat*, Eleanor Knott, Hermathena 22 274, VI S 3 *-méla*, VIII S 2 *ro-meılt*, 3 *mılt* ZCP 8 308 3, *-melt* X dat *mlıth*, *bleth* — With *com-* 'to rub, grınd' I S 3 *co-t-meıl*, VI S 1 *ɔmel*, 3 *cu-tan-méla*, P 3 *co-to-mélat* (*-to-* for *-tob-*), VIII perf S 3 *con-a-mmelt*, *co-tn-o-malt* Wı 296 10, X dat *c⟨o⟩mmlıth*, *commılt* MnIr *cuımlım* 'I rub, grınd between the palms' — With *fo-* 'to spend, use up' IV S 3 *co-ro-foımlı* (*-ı* for Olr *-ea*), X *fomeılt* — With *to-* 'to consume' I S 3 *domneıl* P 1 *dumelam*, 3 *d-a-melat*, III S 2 *tomıl*, 3 *-thoımled*, IV S 1 *-to-r-mal*, V S 3 *d-a-melad*, *do-ro-mlad*, P 1 *dumelmıs*, 3 *domeltıs*, VIII S 1 *-to-r-mult*, 2 *do-ro-maılt* LL 246a 8   X acc *tomaılt*

Note W *malu* to grınd Br *mala* (Skı *mrnānn* 'crush', Lat *molō*)

§ 589 *me-n-* with *to-dı-* 'to bınd' (v Marstrander, Présents à nasale 11—13, Thurneysen, ZCP 16 273f) I S p *do-n-uıdmenar* O'Dav 1511, *-tuıdmenar* SM IV 374 27, IV S 2 *do-sn-dıme* O'Dav 702, IX pl *tuıdmıthı* Ml 58a 9, cf O'Dav 1522, X *tuıdme* O'Dav 1511, cf O'Mulc 507, Salt 4278

Note Cf Skr *mı nō tı* 'he establıshes, buılds'

§ 590 *mid-* 'to judge' v § 465—6, IX *messe*, X *mess*, g *messa*

(1) With *ad-* 'to attempt' I S 3 *admıdethar*, III S 3 *aımmded*, P 3 *-aımdetar*, IV S 3 *admestar*, VI S 3 *a-tot-mıastar* Fıanaıg 36 19, VIII S 3 *admıdır*, *ad-ro-madaır*, X *ammus*, gen *aımsea*

(2) With *aır-* 'to hit upon, attaın, understand' I S 3 *-ırmad-adar*, IV P 2 *-ırmıssıd*, V S p *-ırmastá*, VIII S 3 *-ér-r-madaır*, P 3 *-ırmadatar*, *-armadatar*, X *ermaıssıu*, *urmaısı*   For MlIr finite forms modelled on X (stem *ermaıss-*) v CIrL 62, Wı 129 32

(3) With *com-* 'to gıve orders, have power over, be able' I S 3 *conmıdethar*, III S 2 *ɔmıttı* (leg *com-*), IV S 1 *ɔmesar* (for *-sur*), 2 *conmeser*, 3 *ɔmestar*, *-coımmestar*, V S 1 *conmeasaınd* (= *conmessaınn*) Anecd I 13 1, 3 *-coımsed*, VI S 3 *conmıastar*, VIII S 1 perf *ɔ-a-mmadar*, 3 *ɔmıdır*, perf *ɔ-a-mmıdır*, p perf *con-aı-*

mes, con-a-mmas Ériu 7 142 1, P 3 *saimthitar*, IX *cuimse* 'fitting', X *comus* 'power'   Cf *coimdiu* 'lord'

(4) With *ess-* 'to refuse, fail, beware' (only MIIr forms with active endings)   I S 3 *emid*, III S 2 *eimide, émhde*,   IV P 3 *-r-emset* LL 287a 11   — With *fo-ess-* 'to be unable, at a loss to' (only MIIr act forms)   I S 1 *fo-r-emdim*, P 3 *femdit*, VIII S 3. *fo-r-émmid, fo-r-émid*, P 3 *fo-r-emdetar*

(5) With *imb-ro-* 'to transgress, sin'   I S 3 *-imruimdethar*, P 3 *imm-e-ruimdetar*, II S 3 *imm-e-roimded*; IV S 2 *-imroimser*, 3 *imm-e-romastar, -imromastar*, P 2 *imroimsid*, V P 1. *imroimsimmis*, 3 *-imroimsitis*, VI P 3 *imroimset*, VIII S 3 *imrumadir, imm-e-rumediar* (leg *-dair*), p *imm-e-romas*, P 3 *-imruimdetar*, X *imm-armus* (MIIr *imarbus*)

(6) With *to-* 'to measure, weigh'   I S 3 *dummidethar*, IV S 3 *dumestar*, P 3 *domessatar*, VI S 1 *dummessur*, VIII S 3 *do-ru-madir*, P 3 *du-rui-mdetar*, IX *toimse*; X *tomus*, g *toimseo*

Note   Cf MIW *medu* 'to be able, rule, control' MnW *meddu* 'to possess', W *gomedd* 'to refuse' (cf MIIr *fo-r-emdim* 'I cannot', with *fo* ess-), MIW *cymes* 'measure, due' (cf Ir *cuimse*), *anghymes* inordinate', *amryfes* 'sin' (cf Ir *immarmus*), *amryfys* 'wrongful' (whence MnW *amryfus* erroneous', *amryfusedd* 'error'), etc , cf BBCS 1 23ff , further MIW *med* MnW *medd* 'inquit' (used in pres and ipf only, v Morris-Jones, WG 378), Co *y-n meth* 'inquit', pl 3 *y-n medens* (1 sg *methaf* Gwreans an Bys 1352, vn *methes*), MIBr *emez* 'inquit' MnBr *eme* (with pronominal subj MIBr *emezaff* 'inquit' MnBr masc *emezhañ* fem *emezhi* pl *emezho*, cf Ernault, RC 11 465, 476), also W *meddwl* 'to think'   To Lat *medeor*

§ 591. *mleg-* 'to milk'   I S p r *(m)blegar*, II S 3. *-blighed*, P 3 *-mbligtis*, VIII perf S 1 *doommalgg*, p *doomlacht*, X *blegon*, g *mbleguin*   — With *in-od-* 'to levy'   I S 3 *inombligh*, p *inomblegar*, X *in(m)bleogan*   — With *fo-in-od-* 'to be indulgent to'   I S 3. *-fóinblig* Tec Corm 34 105, V S 3 *-fuinmilsed* RC 22 401 33, X *foenblegon* Tec Corm 34 106   — With *to-in-od-* 'to draw out, elicit, levy', used twice in MI as translation of Lat *promulgare* (no doubt inaccurately)   IV S 3 *duinmail, -tuinmell* SM IV 332 14 ('which not the whole country levies'), O'Dav 1597 ('-tinola'), VIII S 3 *du-r-inmailc*, X dat *tinmlegun*

§ 592. *moin-, muin-*, subj *mena-* 'to think' (dep)   VIII S 3 *ro-ménair, -ru-muinestar*

(1) With *air-* (always with *féid*) 'to honour'   I S 3 *ar-as-muinethar*, p *armunter*, IV S 3 *armentar*, p *ar-a-mmentar*, VI

S 1 *ar-at-muinfer*, P 3 *ar-a-mmuinfetar*, VIII P 3. *ar-ru-muinset*, X *ermitiu, airmitiu*

(2) With *aith-* 'to honour, admire' I S 1 *admuiniur*, 2 *ad-muinter*, P 1 *admunemar* — With *for-aith-* 'to remember, mention' I S 3 *foraithminedar, fo-da-raithmine(dar)* (by confusion of *for-* with *fo-ro-*), p *foraithmenter, foraithmentar* (for *-minter*), P 3 *foraithmenatar*, V S 2 *for-n-aidminte* (for *-menta*), VIII perf S 3 *-ru-foraithmenair*, P 3 *fo-r-uraithminset*, X *foraithmet* neut — With *to-aith-* I S 3 *doaithminedar, -taidmenadar*, r *taidminedar*, X *taidmet*

(3) With *fo-* 'to beware of' III S 2 *fomnae*, P 2 *fomnid*, IV S 2 *fomentar*, P 2 *fomenaid*, 3 *fummenatar*, X *foimtiu*

(4) With *for-* 'to envy' I S 3 *farmuinethar*, P 3 *for-dob-moinetar*, VIII P 3 *formenatar*, X *format*

(5) With *di-ro-* 'to forget' III S 2 *-dermainte*, IV S 3 *-der-manadar*, P 1 *-dermanammar*, V S 3 *do-roimned* VI S 2 *du-n-dam-roimnife*, P 3 *duroimnibetar*, VIII P 1 *-dermenmar*, X *dermet, dermat*

(6) With *to-* 'to think' I S 1 *domuin(i)ur, domoiniur*, 2 *do-mointer*, P 3 *domuinetar, do-d-mainetar*, IV S 3 *dummenathar, -tomnathar*, P 1 *dumenammar, dumenmar, -tomnammar*, 3 *-tomnatar*, V S 3 *domenad, -tomnad*, p *-tomainte*, P 3 *-tomnitis, -tomontis*, VI S p *-tomnibther*, VII S p *dommuinfide*, VIII S 1 *doménar, du-ru-menar, -to-r-menar*, 3 *do-ru-menair, du-ru-menar som*, P 1 *-to-r-ménmar*, 2 *-tho-r-menid*, 3 *do-ru-menatar, -to-r-menatar*, IX dat sg neut neg *neph-t(h)oimtiu*, X *toimtiu*

§ 593. *nasc-* 'to bind' I S 3 *-naisc*, p *nascair, -nascar*, P 3. *-nascat*, IV S 2 *-nais*, 3 *-na*, p *nasair, -nasar, -nastar*, P p *-nasatar*, VI S 2 *nenais* O'Dav 1594, P p *nensitir* ZCP 3 463⁶, VIII S 1 *-nenasc*, 3 *nenaisc*, p *ro-nas*, X *naidm*, g *nadma*

(1) With *air-* 'to betroth' III S 2 *ar-ot-naisc*, IV S p *-ar[a]-nastar*, VI S 1 *arnenas*, VIII S 1 perf *ar-ob-róinasc*, 3 *arnenaisc*, X *urnaidm*

(2) With *fo-* 'to bind' I S p *fonascar*, IV S 2 *fonais*, p *-fo-r-nastar*, VI S 3 *fonena*, X *fonaidm* — With *imb-fo-* 'to bind, fasten together' III S 2 *immonaisc*, IX *immainse*

Note. Etym § 25, 2 The root ended in *-d-* < IE *dh-*, *-sc* forms the pres stem, subj and fut. *-s-* < IE *-dhs-*, pret pass *-s-* < IE *-dh-* + *-t-*

§ 594. *ned-* with *fo-* X *fuined*, g *fuinid* 'setting (of the sun)'

The MlIr finite forms from a stem *fuin-* are re-formations — With *to-air-fo-* 'to lower, take down' I S 3 *t-an-aurnat*, II P 3 *dofairnitis*, III P 2 *tairinnid* (*-nn-* < *-nd*) Analogical forms I S 3 *tairindi*, *tairnid* 'lies down' RC 24 198 § 14 (with the ending of a simple vb), III S 2 *tairinn*, X *tairinnud*, *tairniud* — With *to-fo-* 'to come down' X *toined*, remodelled *tóiniud* The MlIr finite forms from a stem *tóin-* are analogical

Note VKG § 733 *ned-* consists of the preverb *ni* and the weak grade of IE *dhī-*, cf Skr *ni-dhā-* 'to lay down', Skr *upa-ni-dhā-* contains the same preverbs as Ir *fuined* The infinitive *ned* is *ni-dh-o m* For the preverb *ni-* cf *ir-ni gde* § 568, *ness-*, *neth* , the root *dhē- *dha-* also in *iad-to close* VKG § 750, cf Skr *api-dhā-* 'to close', Gk θύρας ἐπέθηκε 'she closed the door (quoted by Marstrander, NTS 2 297)

§ **595** *ness-* (stem in -*ā*-) (1) With *ad-* 'to accuse' X *áinsem*

(2) With *com-* 'to trample, condemn' I S 3 *connessa* ZCP 3 27 16; p *conestar*, P 3 *connessat*, III S 2 *comainse*, IV S 3 *-cho-mainsea*, VI S 1 *co-t-nessiu(b)*, 3 *onesfea*, VIII S 3 *co-ru-nes*, X *comainsem*

(3) With *di-* 'to despise' IV S 3 *dunessa*, *-de-r-nessa*, VI S 2 *donesbe*, VIII S 1 *d-a-ru-nesus*, X *dínsem*

(4) With *for-* 'to tread, kick', also 'to accuse, censure' (O'Dav 861) I S 3 *fornessa* LU 6021, cf Wi Táin 294⁴, RC 11 452 4, VI S 1 *for-da-nesiub* Wi II 2 246 66

(5) With *to-* 'to walk, step, to crush', I S 3 *do⟨n⟩essa* Pokorny, ZCP 10 200, P 3 *-tuinset* Wi 280 10, V S 3 *-tuinsed* K Meyer, III Stud 2 590, X *tuinsem* By wrong analysis I S 3 *dounsi* Wi

Note The meanings to trample, to tread' point to *ni-stā-*, cf § 623 And even the fig meanings could be explained from this starting point For the semantic development we might compare Lat *insistere* 'to step upon' (*iacentibus*), 'to pursue press upon' (*hostibus*) From 'pursue' to accuse' the way is not long, cf Gk διωκειν 'to pursue' and to prosecute, bring an action against, accuse', φεύγειν 'to be accused', *ness-* with *com-* 'to condemn may have meant 'to cause to be condemned, to succeed in pursuing, to tread on the neck of the adversary"

§ **596** *neth-* (1) With *air-* 'to expect' I S 1 *arneut*, 3 *ar-dom-neat* LU 3019, cf ZCP 8 196 20, p *ar-a-neter*, P 1 *ar-a-nethem*, 3 *arneithet*, II P 3 *ar-un-nethitis*, IV S 2 *ar-a-nethe*, p *-eirnestar*, VI P 1 *ar-da-nesamar*, 3 *bar-da-nessat*, VIII S 1 *ar-ut-neithius*, *ar-ro-t-neithius*, 3 *ar-ro-neith*, *ar-rú-neid*, *ar-ru-neastar* P 3 *ar-ru-neithset*, X *irnaide*

(2) With *ind-* 'to expect' I S 1 *inneuth*, *adneot* Wi III 51 21

(cf 19), III S 2 (dep) *indnite*, 3 *indnadad*, VI S I *ni-sn-idnus*, VIII S 3 *ad-ro-neestar*, X *idn(a)ide* (neut)

(3) With *to-* I S 3 *t-a-neat* (perhaps 'is due', v Bergin, Ériu 11 136), p |*tuinither* ZCP 13 24 2, X *tuinide* 'a holding, possession'

Note. According to the brilliant explanation given by Bergin, Ériu 10 111, *neth-* comes from **ni-sed-* (*-th* from *-hd-*) This is confirmed by the form of the infinitive, cf *suide* § 611 The semantic development of (1) and (2) is very clear, to 'sit' often develops a nuance of awaiting', as *to tuinide* we must wait for more finite forms before trying to trace the development of meaning

§ 597   *nig-, neg-* 'to wash' I S 3 *-nigh*, r *niges*, p *-negar*, p r *negar*, V S 2 *-nestá*, VI S 1 *-ninus*, p perf *-roe-nastar*, VIII S p perf *-roenacht*, X *nige* — With *di-* I S 3 *dinigh*, VIII perf P 3 *docoemnagtar*, X *dínech* — With *fo-* VIII S 3 *fonenaig*, X *funech* — With *di-fo-* I S I *dofonug, -uch*, P 3 *dufonget*, VI S 1 *dofonus*, X *díun(n)ach* — Etym § 39, 2

§ 598. *no-* 'to proclaim, make public' I S 3 *nóith-ium, nóith-iut* 'magnifies (?) me, thee' Wi 261 22 ZCP 11 80 § 2, p *nuit(h)ir* Ériu 12 50 § 62, X *noad* SM , *noudh* O'Dav 1287

(1) With *imb-ad-* 'to delegate, bequeath' II P 3 *imm-an-ántis*, V S 3 *immánad*, VIII S 3 *imm-e-r-áni*, p *ro-immanad*, P 3 *imm-r-ansat*, X *imna* 'gift, bequest' — With *to-imb-ad-* 'to bequeath, commit, command' I S 1 *timnaim* O'Dav 1566, 3 *ni thimuin* ZCP 6 261 27, P 3 *-timnat* Cáin Ad § 43, VIII S 3 perf *t-an-immairni*, p perf *doimmarnad, timarnad*, X *tim(p)ne, timnae* neut

(2) With *aith-* 'to entrust I S 3 *a-t-nói*, III S 3 *atnoad* Wi 142 15, IV S 3 *adnoodur*, VIII S 3 *ad-ro-ni* Wb 29d 29, X *aithne* 'deposit, wealth'

(3) With *ess-* (or *ad-*, *aith-*, or *in-, ind-*?) 'to swear' I S 1 *adnuu* ZCP 3 216 4 (Stokes 'I promise'), VIII S 3 *asnoi* Hib Min 50 7, *asnai* RC 6 178 34

Note. To li *aithne* corresponds W *adnau* deposit, pledge' — The vb *fo-no-* to cook' is quite different I S p *fonither*, IV S p *funaither*, VIII S p *fonoad*, P 3 *fonoiset*, IX *fonaithe*, X *fuine*

§ 599. *o-* With *com-* 'to guard' I S 3 *onói, co-ta-óei*, P 3 *co-tn-oat*, III S 2 *co-t-o* RC 25 22 3, 3 *comad*, P 2 *comid, co-td-óith*, IV S 3 *conoadar, -comathar* LL 119a 29, Ériu 2 204 § 24, p *co-tam-r-oither*, VI S 3 *co-tn-óba, co-tn-oaba, co-tn-ofadar*, X *comad*, v Michael A O'Brien, Ériu 11 86 — With *for-com-* I S 3 *for-ta-comai, for-t-chomi, -forcmi*, p *for-dom-chomaither*, P 1 *-forcomam*,

3 *forcomat, -forcmat,* p *forcomaidder,* IV S **3** *forcomedar,* V P **3.**
-forcmatis, VIII S **3** *-forcmastar,* X *forcomét*

§ 600. *od-* 'to lend' I S **3.** r *oides,* p *odur* (for *-ar*), P p r.
odatar, III S **2** *óid,* p *odar,* IV S **2** *-ois* Tec Corm **38** 21, *-uis*
Ériu **11** 126 (Eoin MacNeill), **3** *-o* l c , VIII S **2** *-huad,* **3** *-huaid,*
IX ger. *oissi,* X OIr *huán,* dat *uáin* (nom *huaín* 'leisure'), MIr
SM *oin, on,* g *ona*

§ 601. *org-* 'to kill, destroy' I S **1** *orgo* ZCP **13** 106, *-urg*
18 332, **3** *orcaid, -oirg,* r *orcas, oirges,* p r *orgar* Ériu **2** 210 **3,**
II S p *-oircthe,* III S **2** *orge, orge* ACL 1 280, 629, p *orgar,* IV
S **3** *-orr, -oir,* p *-ortar,* P **3** *-orat,* V S p *-ortha,* VI S **2** *-irr, -hierr,*
3 *úr-th-und* 'will kill us', r *iuras,* p *ní húrthar,* VII S p *-iurtha,*
VIII S **3** *oirt* Rawl B 502 118a 34, *ro-ort,* p r *orta, ro-hort, -ort,*
-r-ort, P p *ro-horta, -r-orta,* X *orcun,* g *oircne*

(1) With *com-air-* 'to err' VIII P **3** perf *con-r-erortatar,*
X *comrorcon* 'error', g *comrorcne*

(2) With *ess-* 'to strike' I S **1** *essurg* (leg *assurg*) O'Mulc 306,
3 *asoirc, asóircc,* VIII perf S **1** *as-com-ort,* **3** r *as-chom-art,* p *as-*
com-art, P p *as-chom-arta* (r), *-r-esarta,* IX *esartae,* X *essarcon* —
With *di-ess-* 'to slay' VIII S **3** perf *duescma⟨r⟩t,* X dat *diusarcuin*
(leg *dias-*) — With *ind-ess-* 'to move, drive, thrust' I S 1 *-innsurg,*
p *ni hinnsorgar,* VIII S **3** *-indsort* Ériu **2** 122 § 61, IX *insarta,*
X *innsorguin* — With *air-ind-ess* 'to move' (intrans) VIII P **3** *ar-*
r-insartat⟨ar⟩ — With *to-ind-ess* 'to thrust into, against' VIII
S **3** *do-da-insort, do-insort* Thurneysen, Ir Recht 12 — With *to-*
ess- 'to rescue' I S 1 *tessurc, do-m-esurc,* **3** *du-n-esairc,* P **3** *du-*
n-escarat (leg *-esarcat*), IV S **2** *d-a-essoir* (?), V S p *do-n-esartha*
LL 283b 41, VI S **3** *do-da-essarr,* VIII (with perf *-com-*) S **3** *do-*
nn-esmart, p *tescmart* Anecd I 59 78, X *tesarcon*

(3) With *frith-* 'to offend' I S **2** *frisorcai,* **3** *frisoirc,* p *frissor-*
car, P **3** *frisorcat, -frithorgat,* II S **3** *frisorcad,* P **3** *frisoirctis,* III
S **3** *-fridoirced,* P **2** *-frithorcaid,* IV S **3** *fris-n-orr,* perf r *fris-*
chom-arr, P **3** *fris-n-orrat,* p *fris-n-orratar,* V S **3** *fris-n-orrad,*
P **2** *frisorthe,* VI S **1** *frissiurr,* **3** *fri-tamm-ior, fri-tatn-iarr,* P **3** *fri-*
tamm-iurat, fris-n-errat, VIII perf S **1** *fris-com-urt,* **3** *fris-com-art,*
-frith-chom-art, p *fri-tum-chomart,* P **3** *friscomartatar,* IX *frithortae,*
X *frithorgon*

(4) With *to-imb-* 'to compress, shorten, chastise' I S **1**
doimmurc, **3** *do-m-immuirc,* p *-timmorcar,* II S p *duimmaircthe,*

P p *doimmairctis*, III S 3 *timmargad*, IV perf S 3 *d-a-im-chom-arr*, V S p *do-n-immarthae*, VI S 1 *doimmarr*, p *du-immarthar*, VIII S 3 *d-an-immart*, perf *do-b-im-chom-artt*, IX *timmartae* 'short', X dat *timmarcuin*, g *timmoircne*

(5) With *to-* 'to crush, grind' (in loose comp *f-* appears before the verb, this led to the form *tuarg-* in close comp instead of **torg-*, and then *-ua-* was transferred to the loose comp forms, this did not happen in perf forms), I S 3 *dofuáircc, dofuairc*, P 3 *dufuargat*, II P 3 *dufu[i]arctis*, p *dofuaircitis*, III P p *tuargatar*, IV S 3. *dufuarr*, perf *do-com-ar*, P 2 *dufuarraid*, V S 3 *-tuarrad*, P p *-tuartis*, VI S 1 *dufiurr, -tiur(r)* ZCP 10 46 4, 2 *dufurr* (leg *-fiirr*), 3 perf *du-com-arr*, VIII perf S 3 *do-com-art*, p *du-com-art*, P 3 *do-com-artatar*, IX nom pl *tuartai*, ger *tuarti*, X *tuarcun* — With *com-to-* I S p *contuarcar*, III S 2 *comtuairc* VIII perf S 2 *conto-chm-airt*, X *comtuarcan*

Note Ir *orn* 1 *orgon* Corm 1010, O'Cl (RC 5 31) may be *orgnā Lidén, Arm St 87, compares Ir *org-, or n* with Armen *harkanem* 'I strike', aor *hari*, assuming an IE root beginning with *p-*, but the Armen *h-* (usually < *p-*) might be unetymological Cuny, Revue hittite et asianique 2 205, compares Hitt *hark-* 'to be destroyed', *harganu-* 'to destroy', which would point to a root without *p-* The third possibility, a root beginning with *j-*, is excluded by the Brit cognates OBr *treorgam* gl perforo, *orguat* gl caesar, G *Orgetorix* The ingenious explanation of W *dyniorn* 'homicide', *cyferhorn* 'error' (= Ir *comrorcon*) proposed by Ifor Williams, BBCS 1 227f, therefore presupposes that final *-u-* with initial *o-* has given *-jo-*, which would seem to be possible, if these cpds be very old

§ **602.** *rá-* 'to row' I P 3 *rait* K Meyer, Otia Merseiana 1 125 16, p *-rathar*, VIII S 3 *reris, rerais*, r *reras* ZCP 13 103 (later form P 3 *ro-ráiset*) — With *di-* 'to go away, come down' VI S 3 *dorera* ZCP 11 85 4 (according to the conjecture of Thurneysen), IX *dirathe* gl demersus (?, cf VKG § 820) X *díram* ZCP 18 333 — With *imb-* I S 2 *imm-e-rái*, II S 3 *imm-e-raad*, VIII S 3 *immreræ* (later forms S 1 *-rous*, P 3 *-roiset, -raset*), X *imram*

§ **603.** *reg-, rig-* 'to bind' (only in cpds) (1) With *ad-* 'to bind' I S p *adregar* (*adragar*), *-arragar*, IV S p. *adriastar*, VI S 2 perf *adroeris*, VIII P 3 *atrechtudur* (for *-atar*), X *árach*

(2) With *com-* 'to bind' I S 1 *oriug*, 2 *conrigi*, 3 *conrig*, p *conregar*, P 3 *conregat*, IV S 1 *con-da-rias*, VI S 2 *oriris*, p *cotan-rirastar*, VIII S 3 *oreraig*, perf *o-idn-arraig, co-tob-árrig*, p perf *conarracht*, IX *cuimrechta*, ger *cuimrechti*, X *cuimrech* neut

(3) With *di-* 'to uncover' I S 2 *durigi*, 3 *durig*, III P p *dírgetar*, IV S 3 *du-n-dat-re*, V S 3 *dureised*, VIII perf S 3 *do-com-arraig*, *do-choimarraig*, P 3 *ducoimrachtar*, IX *direchtae*, X *direch* — With *fo-di-* X *fuidreach* ɪ *nochtadh* O'Cl

(4) With *di-ess-* 'to strip' II S 3 *do-sn-erged* LU 4990, X *dérach*

(5) With *fo-* 'to delay' I S 3 *fo-d-rig*, IV S p *foriastar*, P p *foriasaiter*, VI S 3 *-foer*, *-fœir*, *-foir*, VIII S 3 perf (with *ro-*) *fo-t-roiraig*, P 3 *fo-t-rergatar*, X *fuirech* — With *air-fo-* I S 3 *ar-id-fuirig*, p *ar-a-furechar*, IV S 2 *arfuris*, V S p *arfuirestae*, VI S 2 *ar-a-foiris*, P 3 *ar-n-dam-fuirset* — Cf § 604, 3

Note Cf Br *ere*, *kevre* § 35, 5, W *rhwym* § 26, 11

§ 604. *reg-*, *rig-* 'to stretch out' I S 3 *rigid*, VI P 3 *rigfet* Cáin Ad § 11, VIII S 3 *reraig*, p *ro-recht*, P 3 *ro-rergadar*, IX *rechtae*, X *hi rigi* 'straight'

(1) With *aith-air-* 'to repeat, emend', intrans 'to repent' I S 3 *ade(i)rrig*, III P 2 *aithirgid*, IV S 3 *atheirr*, *atherr*, *-aithir* Ériu 7 146 § 32 172 § 2, 162 § 4, p *-aithirrestar*, P 3 *-aithirset*, p *adersetar*, VI S 1 *aderrius*, VIII S 3 *-r-aitherracht*, X *aithirrech* neut 'to repeat, reform', *aithirge* fem 'to repent, repentance'

(2) With *ess-* (with infixed reflexive obj which may drop in [MlIr] close cpds) 'to arise' I S 1 *a-tom-riug*, 3 *a-d-reig* (*-d-* for usual *-t-*), MlIr *a-t-raig*, P 3 *a-ta-regat*, *a-ta-fregat*, III S 2 *a-t-ráé* (v §452 n 3), *e(i)rig* (MlIr *eirg*, *eirgg*, *airg*, *airc*, */g/* may have arisen before *su*, otherwise Thurneysen, KZ 59, 7), 3 *erged*, P 2 *éircid*, IV S 1 *-erus*, 3 *eir*, P 3 *-áerset*, *-eirset*, (*-érsat*), V S 3 *a-t-ressed*, *-eirsed*, VI S 1 *a-tamm-res*, *-érus*, 3 *a-t-ré*, P 1 *-eresom*, 3 *a-t-resat* (for *-ta-*), VII P 3 *a-t-restáis* (for *-ta-*), VIII S 1 *-é-r-racht*, 3 *a-t-racht*, *as-ra-racht*, *-é-r-racht*, X *éirge* — With doubled *ess-* (without reflex pron) 'to rise' V P 3 *-esersitis*, *-esáersitis*, VI P 3 *asseirset*, *-eséirset*, VIII S 3 *as-r-éracht*, X *esséirge* neut — With *com-ess-* (sometimes with infixed reflex pron) 'to rise' I S 1 *ɔergim*, 3 *ɔerig*, *-comérig*, P 3 *co-ta-éirget*, III S 2 *comeir*, *coméirig*, P 2 *comérgid*, IV S 3 *-choméir*, VI P 3 *ɔérset*, VIII S 3 *co-t-r-éracht*, X *coméirge* neut — With *di-ess-* 'to desert' I S 3 *-derig*, p *duœragar*, P 1 *-dergemar* (dep), 3 *duœrget*, IV P 2 *-dé(i)rsid*, V S 1 *duœrsinn*, VI S 1 *duœrus*, 3 *-dér*, VII S 3 *-deirsed*, VIII S 3 *du-r-eracht*, P 2 *do-r-érachtid*, 3 *-de-r-aerachtatar*, IX *dérachtae*, ger *derachtai*, X *dœrge* neut

(3) With *to-di-fo-* 'to irritate' I S 1 *dodúrgimm*, p *du-n-dab-durgathar*, P 3 *dodúrget*, II S p *dudurgaithe*, P p *dudiurgat⟨is⟩*, V S 3 *dudursed*, IX pl *tudrachtai*, X *tudrach*   Perhaps to § 603

Note. The same root appears in OW *ar cib-renou* gl sepulti, MIW *argyu-rein* 'to lay out (a corpse), bury', MIW *ar-wyrein*, *ar-wyre* 'to rise, exalt' (I S 3 *arwyre*), *cyf-wyrein* 'to rise', 'exaltation', *d-wyrein* 'to rise' (I S 3 *dwyre* BT 60 8, the vn *dwyrau* occurs in Delw y Byd A 86 1), also 'east' (MnW *dwyrain* 'east'), *ar-d-wyrein* to exalt, praise' (I S 1 *ardwyreaf*), *d ad-wyrein* id (VIII S 3 *datwyreith* 'raised', *-t*-pret, BT 27 17), *dy-rein* to arise, come' (I S 3 *dyre*, VIII S 3 *dyrreith* cf III S 2 *dyre* MnW *dere* come thou)   Cf BBCS 4 53ff

§ 605 *re-n-* 'to sell' I S 3 *-ren*, r *renas*, p r *renar*, P 3 r. *rendœ*, IV S 2 *-riae*, *-ria*, 3 *-ria*, P 3 *-riat*, VIII S 3 *-rir*, p *ríthœ*, IX ger *ríthi*, X *reic*, g *reca*

(1) With *di-* to pay' I S 3 *doren*, *di|ren*, p *di|renar*, P 3 *di|renat*, p *di|renaiter*, *dorenaiter* *-direnaiter*, VI S p *dorirtar*, VIII perf p *do-com-rad* ZCP 15 348, X *díre* compensation'

(2) With *ess-* 'to (re)pay, expend' I S 2 *asrenai*, 3 *asren*, *-eren*, perf *as-com-ren*, p *asrenar*, *-eranar*, perf *escomrenur* (= *-ar*), P 3 *asrenat*, perf *-es-comh-rad* (= *-at*) IFAnz 33 35, II S 3 *asrenad*, III S 2 *ernn*, P 1 *érnem*, 2 *errenaid*, IV S 2 *asria*, 3 *asria*, *-eirre*, perf *as-com-ra*, p *asrethar*, p perf *-es-com-rait⟨h⟩er*, P p perf *-escomriter*, V S 3 *asriad*, VI S 1 *asririu*, 3 *asriri*, p *usrirther*, VIII S 1 perf *as-com-rar* Thurneysen, Burgschaft 18 § 56, 3 *asrir*, perf *as-com-rair*, p perf *as-com-rad* IX ger *eirrithi*, X *ér(a)ic*

Note Etym § 446 With h *dire* cf W *dirwy* 'fine' (? *-wy* by anal with *gobrwy* § 527 n)

§ 606. *reth-* 'to run' I S 3 *rethid*, r *rethes(s)*, P 1 *-retham*, 3 *reth(a)it*, r *retae*, II P 3 *-reithis* (for *-tis*), IV P 1 *resmai* Fél Prol 257, V S 3 *-ressed*, VIII S 3 *raith*, P 3 *rathatar*, *-ro-⟨r⟩thatar*, X *riuth*, *rith*, g *retha* (*-o*)

(1) With *ad-* 'to catch' 1 P 3 *a-t-rethat*, IV S 3 perf *ad-roi-r*, p perf *ad-ro-rasdar* (*-tar*), V S p perf *ad-ro-reasta*, VIII P 3 *a-ta-roi-rthet⟨ar⟩*

(2) With *air-* 'to seize, assail' I S 1 *ar-riuth*, 2 *ar-a-rethi*, P 3 *arrethat* IV S 2 *-arrais*, VI S 2 *-arrais*, VIII S 3 *-arraid* — With *to-air-* 'to overtake, hit upon' I P 3 *do-sn-árthet*, II S 3 *-tairthed*, VI S 2 *tarrais*, VIII S 3 *do-m-árraid* *tarraid*, *do-s-farraid*, p *tarras*, P 1 *-tart⟨h⟩amar*, 3 *dofarrt⟨h⟩atar*, *tarthatar*, X *tairrecht* Ériu 7 7[1]

(3) With *to-imb-dı-* 'to serve' VIII S 3 *do-d-r-ımthırıd*, P 3 *do-r-ımthırthetar*, X *tımdırecht, tımthırecht, tımthrecht*

(4) With *to-etar-* 'to seıze, overtake, reach' I S 3 *duetarrat*, P p *do-n-etarthatar*, IV S 2 *-thetarraıs*, V S 3 *d-an-ettared* (leg *-etarsed*), VI S 1. *-thetarraıs*, VIII S 3 *duetarrıd, -tetarraıd*, p *do-r-etarracht*, X *tetarracht*

(5) With *fo-* 'to help' I S 1 *forrıuth*, 3 *foreıth*, p *forethar* Thurneysen, Burgschaft 19 § 59, IV S 3 *-fóır*, VI S 3 *fu-m-ré*, P 3 *farresat* ZCP 11 92 § 10, VII S 3 *foreıssed*, VIII S 3 *furráıth*, perf *fo-ro-raıd*, P 3 *fo-s-ráthatar*, IX *foırse* Thurneysen, Burgschaft 20 — With *to-ıarm-fo-* 'to follow' I S 3 *do-d-ıarmorat*, VI P 3 *do-t-ıarmórset, tıarmórset*, X *tıarmóracht*

(6) With *ınd-* 'to ınvade, lay waste' I S 3 *ınreıth*, IV S 3 *ınré*, V P 3 *ınrestaıs*, VI S 3 *ınré*, VIII S 2 *ın-ro-rad*, 3 *ın-ro-raıd*, P 3 *ın-ro-rthatar, ın-ro-rthetar*, IX *ındrısse*, g *ındırsı*, ger *ındrıssı*, X *ındred* (neut), *ındruth*

(7) With *dı-od-* 'to remaın over' I S 3 *dofuarat*, P 3 *dofuaırthet*, II S 3 *dufuaırthed*, V P 3 *dıfuaırsıtıs*, VI S 3 *-dıuaır*, VIII S 3 *du-r-uarıd, -de-r-uarıd*, P 3 *do-r-uarthatar, do-rr-uaırthetar*, X *dıurad* 'remaınder'

Note. MlW *redec* MnW *rhedeg* 'to run' (I S 1 *rhedaf,* etc) Co *resek* MlBr *redec* MlW *gwa-ret* to save, delıver (IV S 3 *gwares* § 453 n 1, VIII S 3 *gwarawt* § 460, n 1d) MnW *gwared*, Co *gueres*, MlBr *goret* (ın phrases lıke *ne allaff goret* 'I cannot help ıt')

§ 607. *rım-* with *fo-* 'to place' (-ī-st) I S 3 *-fuırmı*, V S p *-fuırmıthea* (for *-the*), P perf 3 *furruımtıs* (for *-ruırmtıs*), VIII perf S 1 *fo-ru-rmıus*, 3 *fo-ruı-rım, forruım* (*-m < -rm*), *forruıb*, p *fo-ruı-rmed*, X MlIr *fuırmed* — For MlIr forms with non-palatal *-m-* v ZCP 18 335

§ 608 *rím-* 'to count' (-ī-st) I S 1 perf *-ruı-rmıu*, 2 (dep) *rımther*, p r *rímther*, II P p *-rímtıs*, VII S 3 *rımfed*, VIII S 3 *ro-rímı, ro-rím*, p *ro-rımed*, P p *ro-rímthea*, X *rím*, g *rımœ* — With *ad-* 'to reckon' I S 1 *-aırmım, -aırmıu*, 2 *adrımı*, 3 *adrímı, -áırmı*, p *adrımther*, P 3 *adrımet*, p *adrımter, adrımıter, adrımetar*, IV S 1 *-arım*, 2 *adríme*, p *adrımther*, P 3 *adrımet*, V S 3 *adrímed*, *-aırmed*, VI P 1 *adrımfem*, p *adrímfıter* (*-fetar*), VIII perf S 3 *ad-ruı-rím*, *-arraım*, p *ad-ruı-rmed*, P 3 *ad-ruı-rmısset*, IX ger *aírmıthı*, X *áram*, g *aırme* — With *to-* 'to recount' I S 1 *dorımu*, 3 *dorímı, -tuırmı*, p *dorımther*, P 1 (dep) *do-s-rımemar, -tuıremar*,

IV S 3 perf *do-rui-rme* (for *-rmea*), P 1 *dorímem*, VI S 1 *dorimiub*,
P 1 *dorímfem*, VIII perf S 1 *do-rui-rmius*, 3 *do-rui-rmi*, *do-rui-*
rim, P 1 *do-nd-rui-rmissem*, X *tuirem*

Note Denom vb from *rím* 'number' § 11

§ **609.** *rind-* with *to-fo-* 'to signify' I S 3 *dofoirndea*, *dofoirnde*,
p *dufoirndither*, p r *thórnther*, P 3 *dofoirndet*, *-tóirndet*, p *dufoirnditer*,
V S 3 *do-foirnded*, VIII S 3 perf *tororan*, *do-s-rorann* Ériu 7 28[1],
IX *toirndide*, X *tórand* neut , gen *tóraind*

Note. Denom vb from *rind* 'point'

§ **610.** *ro-n-d-* 'to redden' VIII S 3 *rend* ZCP 8 600, p *-ros*
330, 3 — With *fo-* I S p *(-)forondar*, IV S p *-furastar*, VIII
S 3 *fo-ro-raid*

§ **611.** *said-* 'to sit' I S 2 *saidi*, 3 *-said*, r *saides*, p *sedair*
Ériu 2 210 3, P 3 *sedait*, II S 3 *-saided*, P 3 *-saiditis*, IV S 1 *-sius*,
2 *-seiss*, V S 3 *-sessed*, VI S 3 *seiss*, VII S 3 *-sesed*, VIII S 3 *síasair*
(also MIIr *seiss*), perf *des(s)id*, *dofessid*, *du-n-essid*, P 3 r *siasatár*,
X *suide* neut , gen *suidi* — With *imb-* 'to besiege' I S p r *imm-*
æ-saitar, VIII S 3 r *imm-a-siassair*, IX *impesse*, X *imp(s)uide* —
Etym § 24, 2

§ **612** *saig-* 'to make for, seek' I S 1 *saigim*, 3 *saigid*, *-saig*,
r *saiges*, p r *segar*, P 3 *segait*, *-segat*, IV S 3 *-sa*, V S 3 *-sásad*,
VI S 1 *-sius* Gwynn, Dinds IV 330, 3 *siais* IFAnz 33 35, *-sia*
Cáin Ad § 31, VIII S 3 *siacht* IFAnz 33 35, X *saigid*

(1) With *to-com-* 'to preserve, support' I S 3 *tocoisigh* O'Dav
1563, II S 3 *do-d-coisged* Wb 9a 6, IV S 2 *du-s-coisis* Fianaigecht16
§ 40

(2) With *com-di-* 'to seek, ask' I S 1 *-cuintgim*, 2 *chondaigi*,
MIIr *onaigi*, perf *oattgi*, 3 *condieig* (regular), *condaig* (anal), perf
conaittaig, p *condegar*, P 1 *condegam* (MIIr *onagam*), *-cuingem*,
3 *-cuinget*, p *-cuinchetar*, II S 3 *-otagad*, III S 2 *cuindig*, 3 *cuinged*,
IV S 3 *-cuintea*, p *condesar*, *-comtastar* (perf), *conníestar* (the old fut
form [7]), V S 1 *condesin*, 2 *condesta*, P 3 *condestis*, VI P 3 *condesat*,
VIII S 1 perf *conaitecht*, 3 *con(n)iacht* (MIIr *-nn-*, *-n-* for *-nd-*),
perf *conaitecht*, *-comtacht*, p perf *-comtacht*, IX pl *cuintechtai*,
ger *cuintechti*, *cuintesta*, X *cuingid*, *cuindchid*, g *cungeda*

(3) With *fo-* 'to assail, tempt' I S p *fo-n-segar*, P 3 *fo-dan-*
segat, II S 3 *-fochad*, P 3 *fosaigtis*, IV P 3 *f-a-sásat*, X *fochuid*,
fochaid, *fochith* (very frequent as noun, 'tribulation') — With
iarm-fo- 'to ask' I S 3 *iarma-foich*, *iarmifoig*, II S 3 *iarmi-nd-*

ochad, IV S 1 *-ıarfus*, V S 3 *ıarmı-d-oısed*, VI P 3 *ıarmıfoıset*, *ıarfassat*, VII P 3 *ıarmıfoıstıs*, VIII S 3 *íarmıfoacht*, *-r-ıarfact*, IX *ıarfachta*, X *ıarf(a)ıgıd*, g *ıarfaıgtho*

(4) With *to-od-* 'to preserve, support' VIII P 3 *do-m-r-oısechtatar*, X *toschıd*

(5) With *ro-* 'to reach' I S 3 *rosaıg*, *-roıg*, *-róıch*, p *rosegar*, *rosechar*, *-roagar* ZCP 3 453 § 26, P 3 *rosegut* (for *-at*), *-roıchet* (ın MlIr *-o-* for *-a-* occurs by anal ın loose comp , e g S 2 *rosoıchı*), II S 3 *rosaıged*, *-roched* (anal *rosoıged*), P 3 *-roıchtıs*, III S 3 *roıched*, IV S 2 *rosaís*, 3 *ró-d-sá*, *-roa*, *-ro*, p *rosasar*, *roastar* Érıu 7 154 § 3, *-rostır* (for *-ster*), P 2 *-rrossıd*, 3 *-rrosset*, V S 1 *-roıssınn*, 3 *rosassad*, *rosaıssed*, *-roısedh*, *-rossed*, P 3 *-rostís*, VI S 2 *-róıs*, 3 *rosıa*, *-ró*, P 1 *rosesıum* (*-ıum* for *-em*), 2 *rosesaıd*, 3 *rasesset*, *-roısset*, VII S 3 *roseısead* (*-ea-* for older *-e-*), *-roıssed*, VIII S 3 *rosıacht*, *-roacht*, X MlIr *rochtaın*, *ríachtaın* (new formatıons) — With *to-ro-* 'to reach' 1 S 3 *do-n-roıg*, *doroıch*, *-toraıg*, III S 3 *do-m-ro(ı)ched*, IV S 3 *-tora*, P 3 *-toırset*, V S 3 *doroısed(h)*, *-tórsed*, P 3 *dorostaıs*, VI S 2 *do-m-ruıs*, 3 *do-n-rua*, *dorıa* (anal), *do-b-ro*, *-tora*, VIII S 3 *doroacht* (anal *dorıacht*), *-toracht*, P 3 *dorochtatar*, *-torrachtatur*, *-torachtatar*, X MlIr *torachtaın*, *tarrachtaın* (new formatıons)

Note MlW *haedu* 'to reach deserve' MnW *haeddu* to deserve', MlW *cyrhaed* MnW *cyrraedd* to reach', Co *hethy* to reach' (cf IV S 3 *d-re-heth-o*), MlBr *dı r-haes* MnBr *dıreza*, OW *pan aedbıd* where ıt shall have arrıved', cf RC 30 259f BBCS 3 261 To Lat *sāgıō* I perceıve acutely', Gk *ἡγέομαι* I lead', Goth *sōkjan* to seek'

§ 613 *scar-* 'to part, separate' (*-ā-*st) I S 3 *-scara*, r *scaras*, P 3 r *scarde*, II S 1 *-scarınn*, III S 3 *scarad*, IV S 3 perf *-ra-scra*, V S 2 *-scartha*, VI S 1 *-scaırıub* (MlIr new form *-scér*), VIII S 3 *scaraıs*, *-ro-scar* (new form *-ro-scart*), P 1 *ro-scarsam*, 2 *ru-d-scarsıd*, 3 *ro-scarsat*, X *scarad*

(1) With *com-* 'to destroy' I P 1 *-coscram*, V S 3 *chonscarad*, *-coscrad*, VI S 3 *ɔscéra*, VIII perf S 2 *co-t-ascraıs*, 3 *conascar*, *-comscar*, p *conascrad*, P 3 *ɔascarsat*, IX *leth-chosgarthaı* gl semı-rutas, X *coscrad* (*coscur* 'vıctory')

(2) With *etar-* 'to sever, to part wıth' I S p *ıtarscarthar*, P p *etarscartar*, IV S 3 *-etarscara*, perf *eter-ró-scra*, p *-etarscarthar*, P p *etırscartar*, V S p *etırscarthe*, VI P p *eterscértar*, VIII S 3 *etar-dan-ro-scar*, *-ru-etarscar*, *-r-etarscar*, IX *etarscarthe*, X *etarscarad*

(3) With *to-* 'to overthrow' I S 3 *doscara*, p *doscarthar*, III S 3 *-tascrad* (?), VIII S 3 *tascraıs*, *do-s-tascar*, *ro-thascaır*, p

doscarad, *ro-tascrad*, P p *tol·scartha*, X *tascrad*   From *tascr-*
developed later *traxcr-*   e g I S 3 *trascraid*, X *trascrad*

Note. Etym § 7, 2 W *ysgar* to part', *gwa-sgar* 'to scatter' Cf also
VKG II 615, Lloyd-Jones, BBCS 1 7f

§ 614- *scend-* 'to leap, start' II S 3 *-scended*, VIII S 3
-sescaind, X *sceinm*

Note Cf MIW *cy-chwynnu* to rise, start MnW *cy-chwyn* 'to start'
(SW dial *cwmnu* 'to rise', v Delw y Byd 128) Etym § 25 2

§ 615- *scuich-* 'to depart, end' I S 3 *scuchaidh*, r *scuchas*,
P 3 *scuchait*, *scuichit* III S 2 *scuich*, P 2 *scuchaid*, IV S 3 *-roi-sc*,
VIII S 3 *ro-scáich*, *ro-scáig*, X *scucht*

(1) With *fo-* 'to remove, change' I P 3 *fosco(i)chet*, IV P 3
-ro-oiscet, X *foscugud*

(2) With *com-od-* 'to remove, alter' I S p *ooscaigther*, *-cum-scaigther*, *-cumscichther*, perf *-ro-chumscigther*, P 3 *ooiscet*, *oosc_iget*,
-cumsciget, p *conoscaigter*, IV S 1 *co-tamm-oscaig*, 2 *conoscaige*,
p *con-dat-oscaigther*, P 3 *conoscaiget*, *chonoschiget*, *-cumsciget*, V
S 3 *-chumscaiged*, VI S 2 *connoscaigfe*, VIII S 2 *con-r-oscaigis*,
3 *con-r-oscaig*, *ooscaig*, p *o-r-oscaiged*, *-comarscaiged*, IX *cum-scaigthe*, ger *cumscaichthi*, X *cumscugud*   — With *di-ro-od-* 'to
surpass, excel' I S 3 *duróscai*, *dirósc(a)i* *-derscaigi*, p *diróscaither*,
doroscaithœr, *doroschither*, P 1 *-derscigem*, 3 *duróscat*, *diroscat*,
II P 3 *doróscaitis*, IV S 3 *doroscea*, P 3 *doroscat*, V S 1 *duroscainn*,
3 *durosced*, *dirosced*, P 1 *doroscaimis*, VI S 3 *duróscaibea*, *duro-scaifea*, P 3 *duroscibet*, *duroscaifet*, p *duroscaibtar*, VIII S p *du-n-dan-roscad*, P 3 *duróscaisset*, IX *derscaigthe*, X *derscugud*

Note Etym § 53

§ 616. *sech-* (act) 'to say' 1 S 3 *-sich* Thurneysen, ZCP
16 223

(1) With *fo-ad-* 'to announce' III S 2 *fásaig* ZCP 13 299,
X *fásc* 'notice, renown'   — With *to-ad-* 'to announce' VIII S 3
t-a-faisig 'she announced him' RC 11 446 63, p perf *dofa-r-siged*,
X *tásc*

(2) With *com-* 'to correct, reprimand' I S 3 *osecha*, p *osechthar*,
P 3 *osechat*, p *coisctir*, *coscitir* (as simp), III P 2 *n-a-coscid*,
IV S 3 *-ro-chosca*, VI S p *co-tob-sechfider*, VIII P 3 *ru-d-choiscset*,
p *ro-coscad* (as simp), IX g *coiscthi*, X *cosc*   — With *ind-com-* 'to
signify' I S 3 *incoissig*, *in-chos(a)ig*, *-inchoisig*, p *incoissegar*,
P 3 *in-choisget*, *-inchoisget*, p *incoisgedar* (*-d-* = /d/), II S 3 *in-coisged*, *a-t-coisged*, V S 3 *incoississed*, VIII S p *in-choisecht*, *in-*

ro-choissecht, X *inchosc*, g *inchoisc* With *in-com- écosc* 'appearance' — With *to-ind-com-* VIII S 3 *do-r-inchossig* LL 287a 35, X *tinchosc* 'teaching' With *to-in-com-* I S 3 *texsaidh* (leg *tecsaig*) 'that teaches', III S 2 *tecoisc*, VIII S 3 *do-m-r-ecuisc, d-a-rr-ecoisc, tecoiscis, tecoscais, ro-m-thecoisc*, X *tecosc* 'teaching'

(2) With *di-od-* 'to awake' I S 3 *dofúisci, -diuschi*, II S 3 *do-s-fuisced*, IV S 2 *-diusca*, perf *-de-r-saige*, 3 *do-n-fosca, -diusgea*, V S 3 *-diuscad*, VIII S 1 *do-s-r-uisces* (for *-ius*), 3 *dofúissig, ro-dúsig, -de-r-saig* — With *to-di-od-* I P 3 *to|ddiusgat*, III S p *todiusgadar*, V S 2 *du-n-diusgada*, VI S p *dodíusgibther*, VIII S 3 perf *d-an-de-r-saig*, p *do-ro-diusgad*, X *todiusgud (-chud)*

Note. The simplex occurs in OW *hepp* 'inquit' MlW *hebyr, heby* MnW *ebr, eb, ebe*, also MlW *hebu* 'to speak' Cpds W *cosb* 'punishment' Ir *cosc*, — W *ateb* 'to answer, an answer' Ir *aithesc* neut answer', — W *gwrtheb* 'answer' (MlW), 'objection' (MnW) Co *gordeby* 'to respond' MC 144 3, — W *gohebu* 'to respond' (MlW), to correspond' (MnW), — MlW *dihaereb* 'proverb', pl *diaerhebyon* This word has nothing to do with Ir *airesc, arusc* 'stipulation' (*air-* + *sech-*, *air-* has here a temporal meaning, previously') But this juridical term must be etymologically different from Ir *arasc* 'saying, proverb' Ml 55a 13, dat *arusc rere* 'for instance', lit ' with a saying of voluntariness" K Meyer, CIrL 127, may be right in ascribing to this word an initial long *a* , it may have been shortened in the proclitic locution *arusc rere* If so, *árasc* could easily be combined with the synonymous W word, the Ir word containing **ad-ro-* and the W word **di-ad ro-* Cf § 56

§ 617. *sech-* (dep) 'to follow' I P 3 *sechitir, -sechetar*, III S 3 *seiched*, P 1 *seichem*, IV S 3 *-sechethar*, P 1 *-sechemmar*, V P 2 *-sechide*, 3 *-sechitis*, VI S 3 *seichfed* (leg *-fid*), VIII S 3 *ro-sechestar*, IX ger *sechidi*, X *sechem* fem — With *to-com-* 'to follow' I S 3 *docoisgedar*, P 3 *du-d-choisgetar*, II P 3 *du-choisgitis*, IV S 3 *docoisgedar*, V S 3 *d-a-choisged*, VII S 3 *docoischifed*, VIII S 3 *du-ru-choisgestar*, X *tochoisgem* — With *com-to-com-* I S 3 *otochosgedar*, P 2 *contochosgid*, VIII S 2 *o-ru-thochoisgesser*

§ 618. *sel-* (1) With *fo-com-* 'to take away' I S 3 *focoisle* (*-e* for *-ea*), IV S 3 *-foxla*, VIII S 3 perf *forróxul*, p *foroxlad*, P 3 *forochsalsat*, X *foxol, foxal* — With *to-fo-com-* 'to draw, take, distrain, inherit' I S 3 *dofoxla*, II P 3 *to|foxlaitis*, VIII perf S 3 *dofo-r-chossol*, P 1 *dofo-r-chosalsam*, X *toxal, tóxal*

(2) With *to-od-* 'to slip, fall' (deponent) I S 1 *dofuislim*, 2 *-tuislider*, 3 *dufuisledor*, IV S 3 *dufuisledar*, VI S 3 *-tuislfea*, X *tuisled*

Note *sel-* with active endings was transitive, with deponent endings

it was intransitive   But infractions to this rule are common in MIr , here *sel-* (act) with *com-* is found with the meaning 'to go (away)' , and deponent forms may be transitive *focoislethar = focoisle* O'Mulc 849   The paradigms of *axal* 'approach, visit' (*ad-com-* + *sel-* K Meyer, Ill. Stud II 576) and *tarmchossal* 'transgression' are not known (we should expect deponent flexion) Cf Ir *sel* 'a turn, a time, a while', *des-sel* 'righthandwise', *tuaith-bil* 'lefthandwise' (with **sw-*), W *chwŷl* 'a turn, a course'

§ 619.   *sem-*   (1) With *to-ess-* 'to pour out'   I S 3 *doessim,* *-teisim* Ériu 7 142 § 14, § 12, p *du-n-esmar, duesemar,* P 3 *doesmet,* arch. *tuesmot,* p *du-n-esmiter, -teismetar,* III S 2 *tessim,* IV S p *do-n-esmider,* V S p *du-mm-esmide,* VIII S p *do-r-esset,* X *teistiu*

(2) With *to-od-* 'to produce, bring forth'   I S 1 *dofuismim,* *dufuismiu,* 3 *dofuissim,* p *dufuissemar* P 3 *dofuismet,* IV S 3 *dufuisme* Ériu 7 142 § 11, V S 3 perf *-to-r-samad,* VI S p *dofuisémthar,* VIII S 3 perf *dorósat, dofo-r-sat, (do-rea-rúasat* 'who has created the heavens', v Bergin, Ériu 8 99), P 3 *dufo-r-saisset,* p *-to-r-sata,* IX *tuiste,* X *tuistiu* 'generation, creation'

§ 620.   *senn-* 'to play, make music'   I S 3 *-seinn,* r *sennes,* p *-sennar,* P 3 *sennait,* II S 3 *-senned,* P 3 *-sendutís,* III P 3 *sennat,* VI S 1 *sibra* (leg *sibsa*), 3 *sifais,* VIII S 3 *sephainn,* *seafainn,* X *senim,* pl nom *senman* — With *to-* 'to chase' I P 3 *du-m-sennat,* II S 3 *duseinned,* p *dusente,* III S 3 *toibned,* IV S 1 *dusés,* V S 1 *dusésainn,* VI S 3 *dossib,* VIII S 3 *du-n-dasepfainn, dosephain,* P 3 *dosefnatar (tafnetar, taifnitir,* perf *do-m-roi-pnitar, -d-a-ra-fnetar* are late irreg formations), p *to|sessu,* X *tosun* (dat), *toffunn, topund,* cf MIr *tafann* 'act of chasing, barking at'

§ 621.   *ser-n-* 'to spread' (also with various abstract meanings) I P 3 *-sernat,* III S 2 *sérnn* gl *stude,* IV S 3 *-sera* SM IV 318 13, VIII S p *-sreth,* IX *srithe,* ger *srethi,* X *sreth* — With *com-* (same meanings) III S 3 *cosrad* gl *studeat,* P 2 *cosrid* gl *studete,* VIII S 3 *consert,* IX ger *comsrithi,* X *cossir, cossair*

§ 622.   *seth-* with *to-ind-* 'to blow, inspire'   I S 3 *do-n-infet,* *tinfet* (rel), P 1 *do-n-infedam,* IV S 3 *-thinib,* VIII S 3 *du-r-infid,* p *do-r-infess,* X *tinfed* 'inspiration, aspiration, breathing', g *tinfid*

§ 623.   *siss-* (dep)   X *sessam* 'to stand'

(1) With *air-* 'to rest'   I S 1 *ar-a-sissiur,* 3 *ar-a-sissedar,* *-airisedar,* P 3 *ar-a-sissetar, -airesetar,* IV S 3 *arsisset⟨h⟩ar, -airissedar,* V S 1 *arsissinn,* VIII S 1 perf *arroississiur,* 3 *-airsir,* perf *arroisestar,* X *erissem* — With *to-air-* 'to rest, remain' I S 1,

duairsiur, *do-n-airissiur*, 3 *-tairissidar*, P 2 *do-n-airissid*, IV S 2 *du-n-erissider*, P 3 *-tairissetar*, VIII perf S 3 *tar-r-asair*, *-tar-r-astar*, X *tairissem*, *terissem*, *tairsem*

(2) With *fo-* to acknowledge', 'to protect' (the latter meaning not attested in OIr) I S 1 *foisisiur*, 3 *foisisedar*, P 1 *fo-b-sisimar*, 3 *foisissetar*, *-fuisedar*, IV S 2 *foisisider*, 3 *fasisidar*, P 3 *foisisetar*, VI S 1 *foisisefar*, VIII perf S 3 *furoissestar*, X *foessam* 'protection', *foisitiu* 'confession'

§ 624. *slaid-* 'to strike' I S 3 *slaidid*, *-slaid*, p r *sládar*, IV S 2 *-slaiss*, VI S 1 *-selos*, 3 *-sel* (and *-sela* ?, v Thurneysen, ZCP 13 102¹), VIII P p *-slassa* ZCP 8 118 § 31, X *slaide* — With *air-* 'to defend' I S 3 *arslaithi*, VI S 3 *ar-don-sela* Fel June 23 — With *to-* I S 3 *du-slaid*, p *do-sladar* LL 294b 1

Note Cf W *lladd* to kill' (also to strike, cut'), MlW VIII p *llas* § 467 n 3, OBr *ladam* gl caedo, MlBr vn *lazaff* MnBr *laza* to kill'

§ 625. *slí-* (1) With *ad-ro-* 'to deserve' I S 1 *adroilliu*, 3 *adroilli*, *asroilli*, *-áirilli*, IV S 3 *asroillea*, VI P 3 *as-id-roillifet*, VIII S 3 *asroilli*, p *asroilled*, P 1 *as-ind-roillissem*, *-arilsem*, IX *airillte*, ger *airillti* X *airilliud*, g *airilteo*, pl nom *arilti* (also pl nom *áiriltin*, acc *airiltnea*)

(2) With *to-* 'to deserve' I S 1 *-tuillim*, 3 *dosli*, *-tuilli*, P 3. *dosliat*, perf *do-rui-llet* SM IV 196 1, II S 3 *-tuilled*, VI S 1 *do-sn-uilliub* (wrong form, based on the close cpds), VIII P 1 *-ro-thuillisem*, X *tuillem*

Note Cf W *dyrllyddu* to deserve' Br *delleza*, Loth ACL 1 499, Ifor Williams, BBCS 6 131

§ 626. *slig-* 'to slay' III S 2 *slig*, VI S 3 *silis*, P 1 *silsimi*, VIII S 1 *ro-selach*, 3 *ro-selaig*, p *-slecht*, P 3 *ro-selgatar*, p *ro-slechta*, X *slige* fem

(1) With *ad-* 'to persuade to' 1 S 3 *adslig*, IV S 3 *adsléi*, X *aslach* neut

(2) With *air-* 'to kill' 1 S 3 *arslig*, VI S 3 *arsil*, P p *arsilsiter*, VIII S p *-airlecht*, IX pl *airlechtai*, X *airlech* 'slaughter , g *airlig*.

(3) With *fo-* 'to smear' I S 1 *fosligim*, p *fuslegar*, VI S 2 *fusilis*, VIII P 3 *foselgatar*, p *fo-rui-llecta*, IX *fuillectae*

§ 627. *sluc-* 'to swallow' I S 3 *sluicth-i*, r *sluces*, P 3 *slogait*, IV S 3 perf *-ró-llca*, VIII S p *-slogeth*, X *slocod*, *slucud*

Note. Cf W *llyncu* 'to swallow' Br *lonka*

§ 628 *sluind-* 'to signify' I S 3 *sluindid*, *-sluindi*, p *sluintir*, *ro-sluinter*, *-ro-sluinter*, P 3 *sluindit*, r *sluindite*, *sluindte*, *sluinde*,

VI P 1 *-sluinfem*, X *slondod, slond* — With *di-* 'to deny' I S 3 *disluindi, dosluindi, -díltai*, IV perf S 1 *-de-r-lind*, V S 3 *-díltad*, VI S p. *dosluinfider*, VIII S 3 *do-ru-slúind, do-d-ro-lluind*, P 3 *do-ru-sluindset, do-r-íltiset*, X *díltud, diltuth, díltod*

§ **629.** *sná-* 'to swim', regular X *snám* — With *to-* IV S 3 *-tonda (-nd- = /-nn-/)* Thurneysen, ZCP 12 288 — Cf § 26, 9

§ **630.** *snad-* 'to chip, cut' I S 3 r *snaides*, IX *snaise*, X *snaide, snass* — With *in-* 'to insert, graft' I P 3 *insnadat*, IV S p *a-tom-snassar*, V P 3 *insnastis*, IX *esnaisse*, X (dat) *esnid* — Cf § 26, 9

§ **631** *sní-* 'to spin, turn, strive' I S 3 r *sníes*, VIII S 3 *snidis, ro-sniastar, ra-sniestar* (all new formations), P 3 *snisit*, IX *snithe*, X *sním* 'to spin', 'sorrow'

(1) With *com-* 'to contend, contest, defend' I S 3 *consní, -chosnai*, P 3 *osniat*, IV S 3 *-chosna*, V S 3 *osniad*, VI S 3 *-chossena*, VIII S 3 *consena, -cossena*, P 3 perf *conasensat* ZCP 8 313 31, X *cosnam*, gen *cosnama* — With *ad-com-* 'to strive after' I S 3 *-ascnai*, P 3 *adcosnat*, II S 1 *adcosnain*, P 3 *adcosnaidís*, IV S 2 *adcosnae, -ascnae*, 3 *adcosna*, V S p *adcosantae*, VIII S 3 *ad-ru-choisséni*, IX dat masc *ascnaidiu*, fem *ascnaidi*, X *ascnam*

(2) With *ess-ro-* 'to escape' II P 3 *-ernatais* ACL 3 16 13, IV S 3 *asroinnea*, VIII S 3 *-érna*, IX g *neph-árnaidi*, X *ernam* Imr Br II 287 3

Note Cf W *nyddu* to spin' Co *nethe* Br *neza* § 21 4 With **kom-* W *cynnydd* increase, vn *cynyddu*, MIW *kynnydu* to conquer, try to win, *kynnyd* land obtained by conquest' *kynnif* 'contention, to strive for', v BBCS 2 299ff

§ **632.** *snig-* 'to drop, snow' I S 3 r *sniges*, VI S 3 *snigfid*, VIII S 3 *senaich*, X *snige* — Cf § 26, 9

§ **633** *so-* 'to turn' I S 2 *-soi*, 3 *soid*, r *soas*, IV S 2 *-soe*, VI S 2 *-soife*, 3 i *saibes*, P p *sóifitir, sáifiter*, VIII S 3 *soais*, p *ru-soad*, P 2 *r-a-soisit si*, 3 *ro-soisset*, p *-ro-soithe* (for *-thea*), IX *soithe*, X *soud*

(1) With *imb-* 'to turn round' I S 2 *imm-e-soi*, 3 *imsoi*, p *imm-e-soither*, II S 3 *imsoad*, P 3 *imsóitis*, V S 3 *-impád*, VIII S 3 *-r-impo*, IX ger *impaithi*, X *impu(u)d, impúd, imputh*

(2) With *to-ind-* 'to return, convert, translate' I P 1 *dointám*, IV S 2 *duintae, -tintae*, 3 r *tintá, do-da-intá*, p *-tintither*, P 2 *tintáith*, V S 3 *duintad*, perf *-tintarrad*, VIII S 3 *do-r-intai, do-n-intarrái, duintarrae*, X *tintuúth, tintúth, tintúd*

(3) With *ess-ro-* 'to fail' (orig the person who failed was the object, what he failed to achieve was the subject, e g *a-t-roi a n-guin* "their killing turned him away" 'he failed to kill them' Hib Min 70 10, cf the older construction of W *methu* 'to fail' *metha genif gael ganddynt dderbyn iau Crist* "getting them to receive Christ's yoke fails with me" 'I am unable to get them to receive Christ's yoke', cf Morris-Jones, WG 376) II S p *attroithe*, IV S 2 *-éra*, VIII S 3 *a-t-roi, a-t-roe, addró* (with the infixed pron petrified, this is a step in the direction of a personal construction, seen in P 3 *adraiset Ligur* 'they were unable to cross the Loire'), p *atroas, atrós, asrous* (leg *-as*)

Note. The same elements *ess-ro-* + *so-* are most probably contained in *éra* 'refusal' and in some verbal forms with *-ér-* meaning 'refuse', e g IV S 2 *arnáchn-éra* that thou shouldst not refuse it' Fél Epil 338 (lit "turn it away") — *ess-* + *so-* is found in VIII S 3 *uar (r)ó-essa* LU 6815 'since it was not possible' (K Meyer, ZCP 18 340)

(4) With *to-* 'to turn' I S 3 *dosoí, dosoi,* p *dosoither,* P 3 *dosoat,* III (? IV) S 2 *toe* — With *com-to-* I S 3 *otoi,* P 3 *contoat, -comthoet,* V S 3 *-comthad,* VIII S 3 *co-ru-thói, conto-r-oe, conto-r-i,* p *oto-r-ád,* X *comthoud, comthód*

§ 634. *sreng-* 'to draw, drag' (reg *-ā-st*) — With *to-* I S 3 *dosrenga,* P 3 *-tairrnget,* X (dat) *tarraing*

§ 635 *suid-* (subj *soda-*) (1) With *ad-* 'to fix, hold back' I S 2 *adsudi,* 3 *a-t-suidi, -asstai,* p *adsuiter, -astaider,* P 3 *adsuidet,* III S 3 *-astad,* IV S 2 *a-d-sode, -astae,* 3 *-asta,* P 3 *-astat,* VIII S 3 *ad-ro-soid,* p *adrodad* ZCP 16 177 § 13, IX *astide,* X *astud, asdud*

(2) With *com-* I P 3 *consuidet,* X *costud* 'a restraining, checking', v RC 36 261

(3) With *fo-* 'to entertain' I S 3 *fosuidither* SM , X *fothud* ZCP 13 301

(4) With *frith-* 'to be equivalent to' I S 3 *frisuid,* X *frithsuide, frithuide* ZCP 15 309

(5) With *imb-* 'to request' I P 3 *imsuidet* RC 36 254, X *impide*

§ 636. *ta-* with *in-,* in loose comp *in-com-* (cf § 421, 3) 'to obtain' (the pret can also have a pres meaning, 'has') I S 3 *adcota, -eta,* p *adcotar, -etar,* P 3 *adcotat,* IV S 1 *adcot,* 3 *adcota, -eta,* p *-etar,* P 2 *-étid,* 3 *-état,* V S 3 *adcotad,* p *ad-chotatæ,* P 3 *-etaitis,*

-etis, VI S 3 -etada, p -étastar Trip L 118 23, P 1 -etatham,
VII S p -étaste, P 3 -étatais, VIII S 1 adcotadus, 3 adcotedae,
adcotade, adcotad, -etade, -étada, P 1 adcotadsam, 3 adcotatsat,
-étatsat, IX étite, ettæ, étae, X acc óeit, dat éit

Note. *ta-* < IE **sthā-* 'to stand', with the redupl in VI and VIII cf
Lat *steti*

§ 637. *tech-* 'to flee' I S 3 *techid*, IV S 1 *-tes*, V S 3 *-tesed*;
VI S 1 *-theis* (for *-thess*) VIII S 3 *táich*, P 3 *-tachatar*, X *teched*
— With *ad-* 'to beseech' I S 1 *ateoch*, 3 *ateich*, P 1 *a-tab-techam*,
III S 2 *ataich*, VI P 1 *adessam*, VIII S 1 *adroethach*, 3 *atroithich*
ZCP 6 257 § 6, X *attach* — For the verb 'to run away with'
(X *fuatach*) v § 535 note

Note MIW I S 1 *techaf* 'I flee' RP 1037 18, 3 *tech* 1039 13, II S 2
techut BA 31 16f, 3 *techei* 5 7, P 3 *techyn* 33 20, IV S 3 *ry-decho* RP
1056 39, VIII S 3 *techas* 1037 28 — With *ad-* I S 1 *athechaf*, v Lloyd-
Jones, Geirfa 47 — Br X *techet* There forms are probably based on the
subjunctive stem Cf also MIW *tebet* (*A vo y uryt ar debet ny wna da kynn
y u(yn)et* he whose mind is upon flight will do no good before going' RB
1057, cf *ar y gerdet* upon going (away)' in a variant form of the proverb
BBCS 4 3 76), *godep* shelter retreat' cf RC 38 301

§ 638. *tend-* 'to break, cut, crack (a nut), solve' I P 3 *-tendat*,
VIII S 3 *-tethaind*, with obj *tethn-ai*, P 3 *-tethnatar*, X *teinm*,
v Pokorny, ZCP 10 198, E J Gwynn, ZCP 17 156

§ 639 *tiag-* 'to go' (v § 420) I S 1 *tíagu*, 2 *thégi*, 3 *téit*,
-té(i)t, with obj *teit-i*, r *téte*, *theite*, p *tiagair*, p r *tiagar*, P 1
tíagmi, 3 *tiagait*, II S 3 *-teged*, P 3 *-thegtis*, III S 1 *tiag*, *tiach*,
2 *téig*, 3 *téit*, p *tiagar*, P 3 *tiagat*, IV (S p *-tiasar*, *-tiastar*, p r
tiastar) and V, v § 452, VI S 1 *riga*, *ragat* (§ 456 n 4), *-rag*, *-rig*,
3 *regaid*, *-raga*, p *rigthir*, P 1 *rigmi*, *-ragam*, 2 *ragthai*, 3 *regait*,
-regat, VII S 2 *-rigtha*, 3 *-rígad*, *-rigad*, *-regad*, *-ragad*, P 1 *-ragmais*
Anecd I 45 12, 3 *-regtais*, *-rachdais*, VIII S 1 *lód*, 2 *lod* RC 14
406 2, 3 *luid*, *-luid*, with obj *lu(i)d-i*, r *luide*, P 1 *lodomar*, *lodmar*,
-lodmar, 2 *lodsaid* TBC (Str -O'K) 823, 3 *lodatar*, *lotir*, *lotar*,
X *techt*, g *techte*, also *dul*, gen *dula* 'to go, way, manner'

The perf supplem vb I S 1 *-dichtim*, 3 *-dichet*, II S 3
-díchtheth, IV S 1 *-dechos*, *-deochus*, *-dig(i)us*, 2 *docuis*, *-dechais*,
-deochais, *-digis*, *-dichis*, 3 *docói*, *-decha*, *-dich*, *-dig*, *-dech*, *-deoch*,
P 1 *-dechsam*, 2 *-digsid*, 3 *docoiset*, *docaesat*, *-dechsat*, *-digset*,
V S 1 *-deochsaind*, 3 *-dechsad*, *-dichsed*, P 3 *ducoistis*, *do-cho(i)stis*,
-dechs(a)itis, *-digsitis*, VII S 3 *docoised*, *-dechsad*, P 3 *docóestis*,

VIII S 1 *docoad, do-chood, -dechud,* 3 *ducuaid, docoid, -dechuid,*
p *docúas,* P 1 *do-d-chommar, -dechummar,* 2 *-digtith,* 3 *docotar,*
ducuatar

(1) With *for-* 'to help' I S 1 *fortiag,* 2 *fortéig,* 3 *fortét, fortéit,*
-fortéit, P 2 *fortéit, fo(r)tegid,* III S 3 *for-tat-tet,* IV S 2 *fortéis,*
3 *for-don-te,* P 2 *far-dum-thésid,* 3 *fortiassat,* VI S 2 *forregae,* VIII
perf S 2 *for-n-dechud,* 3 *fordechuid,* X *fortacht* (§ 313)

(2) With *imb-* 'to go about, set forth' I S 3 *imtéit, imm-e-⟨t⟩ét,*
P 1 *imtiagam,* II S 3 *imm-á-theged,* P 1 *imthéigmís,* III P 2
imthigid, IV P 1 *-imthiasam,* 2 *-imthesid,* VIII S 3 perf *im-ru-*
láith, imm-á-ru-laid, P 3 *imm-e-lotar,* perf *im-á-n-dechatár, imm-a-n-*
deochatar, -im-ru-ldatar, X *imthecht* — With *com-imb-* 'to ac-
company' I S 3 *conimt⟨h⟩et,* P 3 *conimt⟨h⟩iagait* (for *-at*), V S 3
conimt⟨h⟩éised VI S 3 *co-tn-imthæ,* X *coimthecht*

(3) With *com-in-* 'to be indulgent to', also 'to accompany'
(the orig meaning) I S 3 *conétet, -chometig,* P 2 *séitgid,* III S 3
coméitged, IV S 2 *-coméitis,* 3 *conéit,* p *-cometestar,* P 1 *-cometsam,*
V P 3 *seitsitis,* VI S 3 *conéit,* IX ger *comitesti,* X *comitecht,*
cometecht, comaitecht

(4) With *in-od-* (*ind-od-*) 'to enter' I P 1 *inotgam,* 3 *inotgat,*
IV P 1 *inotsam,* VI P 3 *-inotsat,* VIII S 1 perf *inrualad,* 2
-r-indualad, 3 *inolaid,* perf *inrualaid,* P 3 perf *inrúaldatar,*
-r-indualdatar, X *inotacht*

(5) With *to-* 'to come' (ǀ*to-tiag-* > *taig-*) I S 2 *dothéig,* 3 *dotéit,*
dotét, -tait, -táet, -taet, p *dotiagar,* P 3 *tu-thegot* (archaic), *dotíagat,*
p *dutiagtar,* II P 3 *dutéigtis,* III S 3 *tát, táit, toet,* P 2 *táit,* IV
S 1 *dutias,* 3 *do-thei, -tái, -tœ,* p *dothiasar,* P 2 *-thaisid,* 3 *-taesat,*
V S 3 *-taised* VI S 1 *doreg,* 3 *dorriga, dorega, -terga, -tirga, -taurga,*
Anecd I 42 2, P 1 *duregam, -tergam,* 2 *d-a-regaid,* 3 *doregat,*
durigat, VIII S 1 *dolud* 2 *dolod, dollot,* 3 *doluid, duluith, -tulid,*
-tulaid, P 3 *dollotar, -tultatar, -tullatar,* X *tuidecht* — The perf
supplem vb I S 3 *-duidched* ZCP 3 448 14, IV S 3 *do-da-decha,*
P 3 *dodechsat,* V S 3 *dodichsed -tuidchissed,* P 1 *-tui⟨d⟩chesmais,*
3 *do-n-dichsitis,* VIII S 1 *-tuidched,* 3 *dodechuid, -tudchaid,* p
dodechas, -tuidches, P 1 *dodechommar,* 3 *du-n-dechuitar*

With *frith-to-* 'to oppose' I S 1 *-frithtáig,* 3 *fristait, -frittáit,*
P 3 *-frithtasgat* (leg *-taigat*), IV S 1 *fristáes,* 3 *frestai, fristái,*
V S 1 *fristaissinn,* 3 *-frithtaised,* VIII perf P 3 *fristuidchetar,*
X *frituidecht, frithuidecht*

Note. Brit cognates of *tiag-* W *mordwy* § 16, MlBr *mor-deiff* naviguer MnBr *mer-dei* (W has IE -*ei*-, Br has IE -*i*-), G *Moritex* MN (ZCP 6 430), — W *taith* 'journey', Br *tiz* 'speed , Co *toyth* 'speed' (W and Br have IE -*i*-, Co has IE -*ei*-) — Ir *tiag-* is related to Gk στείχω 'I walk', Ir fut *regaid* to Gk ἔρχομαι 'I come', Ir *luid* to Gk ἦλυϑε, Ir *dul* to Alb *dal* 'I go out', Ir *ducuaid* has gone' (with *di-com-*) possibly to *fed-*· as intransitive verb, cf *ro-fáid* § 544 n 1

§ 640 *tle-n-* 'to steal' IV S p *-tlethar*, VIII S 3 *-ro-tuil* (for *-rothiuil*) Thurneysen, ZCP 20 212, X *tlenamain* — With *fo-* I S 3 *fótlen*, IV S 3 *fo-da-ro-thla*, p *fo-tlethar*, X *fothla*

§ 641. *tluch-* (1) With *ad-* (and obj *buidi*, with the vn gen *buide*) 'to thank' I S 1 *atluchur*, 3 *atluchedar*, III S 2 *atlaigthe*, P 2 *atligid*, VI P 1 *atluchfam*, VIII S 3 *atluchestar*, X *attlugud*

(2) With *to-* 'to ask' I S 1 *duttluchur, duthluchim*, 2 *-todlai⟨g⟩-ther*, 3 *duthluchedar, dotluichethar*, P 1 *do-n-tlucham* Wb 21 d 9, 3 *du-thluchetar*, IV S 1 *duthlucher, ᵗtodlaiger*, V S 3 *duthluich⟨ed⟩*, VIII S 3 *dotluchestar, -ro-todlaigestar*, IX *todlaigthe*, X *todlugud*

§ 642 *toc-* 'to predestine' IV S p *-thoicther, -ro-thcaither*, VIII S p *ro-togad, ra-tocad*, v Vendryes, Ét Celt I 162, *-rro-dcad* Wi 126 27, X *toceth, tocad*

Note MlW *tynghaf*, W *tynged* 'fate' MlW *tynghet*, MlBr X *tonquaff* prédestiner' Mnlli *tonka* — In MlW the forms of this verb were confused with those of *tyngu* to swear § 644, v Loth, RC 29 59 Etym § 70, 3

§ 643 *tóis-, tuais-* (1) With *air-* 'to be silent, listen' I S 3 *ar-da-tuaissi*, IV S 2 *-erthaisse*, VI P 3 *artúaisbet*, X *erthuasacht, urtuasacht, aurthuasacht*

(2) With *com-* 'to hearken, listen to' I S 3 *contuasi*, P 3 *contóiset, contúaset, -coistet* (*-st-* < *-ts-*), III S 2 *coiste*, IV S 3 *-coitsea*, P 2 *-coitsi* (= *-sid*), V S 2 *-coistithe*, VI P 3 *-coistifet*, VIII P 3 *otúasiset*, X *coitsecht*

(3) With *in-* 'to hear' III P 3 *éitset*, IX *éitside* gl audibile, X *éitsecht*

Note Related to *to* silent' § 13, 2 Cf MlW *an-daw* to listen to' (III S 2 *andau* = *-aw* BBC 49 12, VIII S 1 *endeweis* LlH 17 5, 2 *endeueist* BBC 22 6), *gwar-an-daw* MnW *gwrandaw, gwrando*, MlW *am uar-andawyr* ' mayest thou listen" § 467, MlW *gorthaw* to be silent' LlH 122 8 (VIII S 3 *gorthewis* 7), *kynhewn* to remain silent' v Williams PKM 132 (cf 2 above) The simplex *teui* (I S 3 MlW *teu*, MnW *tau*) is common

§ 644 *to-n-g-* 'to swear' (cf § 419) I S 1 *tongu*, 3 with obj *toingth-i*, r *toinges*, P 3 *-tongat*, II S 3 *no-thongad, do-d-fongad*, IV S 2 *-thois*, 3 *-tó*, p *-tosar* Ériu 7 156 § 15, V S 3 *-toissed*, perf

dara-do-ch-taised, VI S 2 *-tithis*, p *titsait⟨h⟩er*, VIII perf S 3 *ducuitich, ducuitig*, P 3 *tocuitchetar* Cáin Ad § 29, X *luge*

(1) With *di-* 'to deny' I S 1 *dothung*, III S p *ditongar*, VIII S 3. *do-ru-thethaig*[1], X *dithech*

(2) With *ess-* 'to refuse' I S 3 *astoing, istoing*, IV S 2 *-ettis*, 3 *istoo, asto*, VIII perf S p *ad-cui-techt*, X *eitech*

(3) With *for-* 'to swear, give evidence' I S 3 *fortoing*, p *fortongar*, VI P 3 *fortithsat*, X *fortach* 'act of attesting'

(4) With *frith-* 'to deny by oath' I S 3 *fristoing*, P 3 *fristongat*, IV P 1 *fristossam*, X *fretech*

(5) With *ia-* (Gk ἐπί, cf *ia-d-* § 594 n) X *éi-thech* 'perjury', g *eithich* Cf Gk ἐπί-οϱϰος, ἐπί-οϱϰον, ἐπι-οϱϰέω For the meaning of IE *epi- cf Germ *Aber-witz* etc, Gk 'Επι-μηϑεύς

Note Cf W *tyngu* 'to swear', Co I S 1 *tof*, 3 *to*, VIII S 3 *toys*, X *ty* 'oath, MlBr X *toeaff*, MnBr *toui*, cf § 37, 4, § 642 n For Ir *luge* v § 35, 3

§ 645. *tracc-* with *di-fo* (in loose comp often *di-di-fo-*) 'to wish' IV S 1 *doduthris, dofuthris*, 2 *-dúthrais*, P 3 *dutairsetar*, V S 3 *-duthrised*, VI P 3 *du-n-futharset*, VIII (with pres sense) S 1 *d-a-duthraccar, -duthraccar*, 3 *du-d-futharcair*, P 3 *doduthractar, dofuthractar, dufutharctar*, X *dúthracht, dúdract*, gen *duthrachtan*

§ 646. *tuil-* 'to sleep' IV S 1 *-ro-tholiur* (late ending), VIII S 3 *toilis*, P 3 *tuilsitir* — With *com-* 'to sleep' I S 1 *-chotlu, -chatlaim*, 3 *contuili*, P 1 *contuilem*, 3 *otulet, otolat*, II S 3 *contuiled*, P 1 *otulmis*, IV S 1 *-ro-chotlur*, 2 (with perf *-ad-*) *-comt[h]ala*, 3 *contola* RC 17 189 2, V S 3 perf *-comt[h]olad*, VIII S 1 *contolus*, 3 *contuil*, perf *con-a-til, con-a-tail*, P 3 *contolsat*, perf *con-a-tuilset, -comtolsatar*, X *cotlud*, g *cotulta*

§ 647. *-tuit-, do-tuit*, later *do-fuit* 'he falls' I S 3 *dotuit, dufuit, -tuit*, p *to|tuiter, -tuiter*, P 3 *-tutet*, IV S 1 perf *do-ro-thuus* (leg *do-ro-thu⟨d⟩us*), 2 *-táthais*, P 1 perf *-to-r-thissem*, 3 *dotodsat, -todsat*,

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[1] This form cannot mean 'had possessed' as Stokes guessed and Thurneysen, ZCP 18 356, still thinks The gloss belongs to *quod in diserto amisum est* and runs thus *ani doruthethaig adam hipardus robu dithrub hó christ intan immerumediar adam* The chief intention of the glossator is to state that *in diserto* really means 'in Paradise', he says " in Paradise, which was a desert from Christ (a place where God did not dwell), after Adam had sinned" (and in the following gloss he speaks of "the desert of Paradise") It is then perfectly clear that *ani doruthethaig adam* corresponds to *quod amisum est* It means 'what Adam had denied' (as Strachan suggested) = 'had given up' = had lost

perf *-to-r-thaiset*, V S 1 *dotodsinn*, P 3 *-do⟨d⟩sitis* (with init eclipsis), VI S 3 *dotóeth, dofaeth, -taith*, P 3 *do-thoetsat, dofóethsat, -taethsat*, VII S 3 *dofáithsad, -tæthsad*, VIII S 1 perf *-to-r-char*, 2 perf *-to-r-char*, 3 *docer*, perf. *do-ro-chair (-choir), -to-r-char*, P 3 *docertar* TBC (Str -O'K) 2925, perf *do-ro-chratar, -tórchartar*, X *toth(a)im* MlIr new formations I S 3 *tuitid*, VI S 3 *tuitfid*, X *tuitimm*, MnIr *tuitim* 'I fall', X *tuitim*

Note The true form of the root cannot be ascertained, but the verb may be described as consisting of the preverb *¹to-* or *¹tu-* followed by the remnants or traces of a syllable beginning and ending with a dental, and always preceded by a proclitic preverb (if no other proclitic is needed, *do-* is used) The root may have been **tit-* (subj **teit s-*) or **tut-* (subj **teut-s-*) The pret is formed from a different root — There were some double cpds , e g with *com-to-* (I P 3 *otuttet*, IV P 3 *contotsat*, VIII P 3 perf *con-to-r-chratar*, X *cutuim*), and two cpds without *to-* X *taurthim, tairthim* 'numbness, swoon, trance' and *dithaim* (with some finite forms) 'delay in pound (for forfeit cattle)'

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I. Goidelic.

The arrangement follows quite mechanically the orthography with the only exception that double and single consonants (*cc* and *c* etc), lenited and non-lenited consonants (*ch* and *c*) have the same place, *œ* and *e* are taken as identical, and *h-* has no influence on the arrangement

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II. British and Gaulish.

Welsh words are as a rule not marked, when necessary they are denoted by **W** (OW = Old Welsh) Cornish words are denoted by C, Breton words by B, OBrit = Old British, G = Gaulish The Welsh alphabetical order has been adopted, and the other Brit languages have been made to conform to it Therefore *ch* = /χ/ follows after *c*, and *f*, *v*, *u* = /u/ comes after *e* and before *ff*, *f* = /f/ References to some cpd forms are given under the simple form (e g for *gochel* v *celu*) to save space Likewise references to verbal forms have been put with the verb-noun, usually in brackets When the W, C, and B words are written approximately the same, only one form (usually W) is given in the index

III. Non-Celtic Languages.